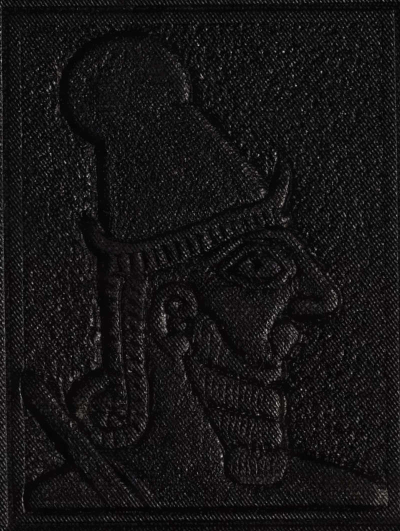


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THE LOST TRIBES A MYTH — Suggestions Towards Rewriting Hebrew History

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BY

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PREFACE

This book is written primarily for the lay reader. He is urged not to begin at the beginning, but to read first Chapter VII on "Ethnologists and Jews"; then to turn to Chapter XV, and read to the end of the book. After this the earlier chapters, that deal with the immense mass of information contained in the ancient inscriptions, can be better appreciated.

The present work is not the product of an ethnological theory. The chapter on "Ethnologists and Jews" is really a postscript; for the main features of the book were complete before I thought of collating the conclusions of modern ethnologists. The critic who assumes that the book is a thesis supporting a particular ethnological prepossession discredits himself at the outset. The notion of identifiable "lost tribes" involves certain presuppositions concerning Hebrew history, and masses of supposed local evidence in many parts of the world. These presuppositions and the assumed evidence require a candid and searching anthropological-historical examination. The book has no other purpose or method. But the examination brings to light a great body of the real facts of Hebrew history.

Nor is this book the result of a prepossession against the long-popular fancy that there were lost tribes. On the contrary, Dr. Grant's "The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes" was in the writer's hands at ten years of age: fifty-five years ago. Similar books were then prominent, and were eagerly read. But the suspicion gradually arose in my mind that the Nestorians might be Gentiles who had adopted some Jewish customs, instead of Israelites who had adopted some Gentile customs.

As a young teacher of advanced Bible classes, I early realized that the social and international relations portrayed in the Old Testament made a segregate peculiar Israel impossible. As institutional material accumulated in my card index I saw clearly that anthropologists found like social institutions everywhere in early society. I studied carefully their books and methods many years ago; and in various university seminars at a later time I heard continual insistence upon the necessity of examining all social and ritual institutions by anthropological methods. No mere claim of ethnic singularity was to be respected. Such claimants must bring historical and ethnological proof of their claim.

An examination of the prophets resulted in the material in Chapters XXVI and XXVII being published in the *Jewish Conservator,* twenty-six years ago. No loss of tribes was ever pre-

dicted, and none ever acknowledged. At that time I received from a scholarly society then at work in Jerusalem, a letter heartily approving the papers.

Dr. William Rainey Harper, first president of the University of Chicago, is largely responsible for this book. Finding that I had large collections of material in the domain of comparative religion and social institutions, he urged concentration upon what he considered a neglected corner of the Semitic field. Other professors at the University of Chicago urged the same. And a few months after Dr. Harper's death the Semitic faculty of the university offered the writer the opportunity of continuing Dr. Harper's inductive methods of teaching in a chair to be called "The Old Testament in the Light of Comparative Religion." Certain moral obligations, however, did not leave me free to accept. But I have continued to work in that institutional field with unceasing approval and encouragement from Semitic friends at Chicago, and elsewhere.

The lay reader will find no questions of literary analysis of Old Testament documents in this book. Dr. Harper asserted that no sound or final literary analysis was possible till we had first analyzed the commingling of races and institutions. Dr. George Stephen Goodspeed and Dr. Ira M. Price spoke similarly. In such sociological and anthropological inquiries the theoretical analyses of the Hexateuch have no place, as Jewish and Christian scholars alike admit. For illustration, there lies before me a scholarly study of the institution of "*Beena* Marriage in Ancient Israel," by President Julian Morgenstern, of The Hebrew Union College. In this paper Dr. Morgenstern pays no attention to the theoretical J, E, P, and D, or to the question of the supposed age and relative credibility of each Old Testament passage that he cites. His paper would have had no standing with anthropologists if he had burdened it with such documentary speculations. And precisely the same method must be used in investigating other old pre-Israelite institutions like levites or asylum-cities. The results may not please those who claim ethnic singularity, but that will disturb no scientific student of social institutions.

Such literary theories also have no place in considering the mass of evidence afforded by extra-Biblical sources. In examining these the archaeologist-historian is not concerned with "the question of where the theory or fiction of a single uncontaminated pure ethnic source arose in Israel." He is interested only in finding what ancient extra-Biblical sources actually show concerning ethnic and social elements in pre-Israelite Palestine, and in the

question of their survival. He is not concerned with documentary theories concerning conflicting points of view in the Old Testament; he is concerned only with the fact that conflicting views and social elements are there, as they are in all human society. One must know, concerning "Ur of the Chaldees," at what time it became a "Chaldee" town, before undertaking a literary analysis of any passage containing the phrase. Dr. W. F. Albright has written that any single list of towns in the Book of Joshua requires that we first find out when those towns actually existed in that political relation, else accurate documentary analysis and dating and motivation of the compilation of Joshua is impossible. Because of the lack of just such extra-Biblical information at hundreds of points, the "Polychrome Bible" was fifty years too soon—perhaps a hundred. No archaeologist would take it as his guide in fact or method. Literature is but a by-product of historic evolution. For the Jewish scholar, "the Torah is not a spade to dig with"; by the modern reconstructing archaeologist-historian any theoretical documentary analysis of the Torah is wholly ignored. Polemical discussions of theoretical analyses would be worse than useless in the present volume, just as the use of such clashing and changing documentary theories as the proper introduction to the facts of Hebrew history is worse than useless.

Similarly there is no discussion of the various outworn theories of the origin and characteristics of the Semites. For the archaeologist-historian the theory of the Semitic origins of all Old Testament institutions was dead a quarter of a century ago. Judt, as ethnologist and anthropologist, discarded it thirty years ago. The theory of Semitic origins lives only in the circle of psittacine commentators and instructors, inevitable obscurantists through the limitations of their reading.

Nor is this book an attempt to write a new history of the Hebrew people. Semitic scholars and archaeologists recognize that no existing text-book upon Hebrew history is even remotely satisfactory. The instructor who depends upon such old works is as dead as the past generation. The inquiring student is often made to waste much time upon old and useless or misleading books. Long observation of this fact has impelled me to include in the Bibliography a warning of the worthlessness of some such books. "We put some old text-books upon the reserve-shelves to be criticised, and we lecture from our notes of the rapidly accumulating archaeological material," writes one progressive university professor. No first-class scholar has attempted a new history of the Hebrews within the past twenty years. Probably none will dur-

ing the next twenty, for explorers find revolutionary data for such history almost every month. But very little of all this material has been made available for the lay reader or the college-student. This book collates much of that material and suggests the lines upon which such a new history must be written.

No index of Talmud passages has been thought necessary, since the book is intended primarily for the lay reader who knows only the English language. For the same reason the Talmudic citations are nearly all from familiar reference-books in the English language: chiefly the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and Rodkinson's *Babylonian Talmud.* It is perfectly familiar that Rodkinson's work is only a series of excerpts in English, and that he often chooses to differ from other Talmud expositors. But a like difference of construction appears in articles in the *Jewish Encyclopedia.* The efforts of some Talmudists to harmonize all elements in it are no concern of the student of social and religious institutions. He merely notes that opposing views and practices in the Talmud are of record. He also knows the immemorial dislike for for extra-Jewish sources of information that has hampered Jewish scholarship in many lands. To him this is a confession of judgment, an acknowledgment that such Jews fear to have their claims brought under the searchlight of scientific anthropological investigation. But there is an increasing number of modern Jewish scholars who welcome such anthropological and institutional inquiries.

Furthermore, some Talmudists ignore the evidence that Yahwism had been spreading in many lands for a thousand years before the compilation of the Talmud was begun. That the Talmud cites no authorities from such far lands is assumed to mean that there were no Yahwists in them. For example, Dr. William Rosenau, considering "What Happened to the Ten Tribes" (in *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume* (1925), pp. 79-88), decides that the Ten Tribes never were lost nor thought of by the Prophets as lost. But he overlooks the fact that a total deportation never occurred, and he neglects both the hundredfold larger dispersion through many agencies and Yahwism's incessant proselyting through the centuries. To such Talmudist presuppositions the modern historian replies that the Talmud does not voice ecumenical Yahwism, and that its failure to collate the Yahwist authorities in some distant lands is because the Yahwism of those regions was not of a type approved by the compilers of the Talmud. The two points of view cannot be harmonized. Some modern Jewish scholars, however, are accepting the latter point of view.

From the scholar's point of view, the book is something of a pioneer undertaking. There is certainly much information concerning the spread of ancient Yahwism and later Judaism that has not been accessible to me; and with the necessary directions for further inquiry indicated, it is certainly that kindly scholars will be able to send or make substantial additions. The work has grown under peculiar limitations, not five per cent of the material being gathered from the local library.

But the book has grown with much scholarly approval and encouragement. Dr. Ira Maurice Price of the University of Chicago, a personal friend for thirty years past, read the original draft of the book two years ago, and wrote: "You have done a tremendous piece of work, and done it systematically, and done it very fairly." He urged its publication by the University Press and the inclusion of a large collection of pictures showing the many ethnic types of Jews. These have not been easy to secure; of some interesting types no pictures at all have been obtainable. The reader will find the illustrations at the end of the volume, arranged in the order of the occurrence of the types in the text. The chapters upon social institutions were not in the original draft approved by Dr. Price, but they include matter long familiar to him.

Dr. Theophile J. Meek of the University of Toronto also approved the original draft and the method, but advised further subdivision and expansion, in the matter of regional studies. This suggestion has been followed. Dr. Meek also interested Dr. Wilfrid H. Schoff of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, in the work. Dr. Schoff has read and approved sections dealing with ancient commerce and trade routes. Dr. W. P. Few, President of Duke University, took a special interest in finding more recent sources of information relative to Chinese Judaism. Dr. W. B. Pettus of Peking was also keenly interested, and put the writer in communication with Bishop William C. White of Kaifeng, who carefully read Chapter XIII, and made many valuable additions. Drs. Martin Sprengling and W. C. Graham read and approved the chapter on Targums, in its final form. Thus the work has had the aid of kindly special scholars at important points. Finally, I am greatly indebted to the Duke University Press for making possible the publication of this study.

A. H. G.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

The Lost Tribes Theory

Imaginary discoveries of the Lost Ten Tribes, 1. Spaniards saw them in Mexico and Peru, 2. English and early Colonial authors believed the Indians the Lost Ten Tribes, 3. Theological seminaries fostered the error, 4. Mistaken anthropological and ethnological assumptions, 5. Erroneous conceptions of ancient Israelite societv. 6.

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CHAPTER IV

Hebrews are not Israelites

What historic facts underlie "Benî-Israel, not Jews"? 33. No "Hebrew kingdom" in the Old Testament, nor in Phoenician inscriptions, 34. "Hebrews" contrasted with "Israelites," 35-37. *'Ibri, 'abarah,* mean "other-siders, other-side lands," 37-40. Various mountains or waters result in various *'Ibri,* 40-42. The Hyperboreans, 43, 44. "Far-siders" south of Gulf of Aden, 45, 46. Hûd, Haûd, 47, 48. "Hebrews" includes all pre-Israelite peoples of Palestine, 49. Aramaean immigrants absorbed by Hebrew-speakers, 50-52, 56. Prophets count all the peoples "Israel," 52, 55. David's policy not Solomon's, 53, 54. Hebrew words in El-Amarna Letters, 56. Hebrew the same as Phoenician, 57. Aramaeans with Hebrew records, 58. Hebrew-Phoenician distinct from other Semitic languages, 59. No definite Phoenician race, 60. Coastal influences differentiated Hebrew: the El-Amarna Letters, 61-63. Non-Semitic pre-Israelites of Katna-Kadesh region, 64. "Caanan" not ethnographic: merely = "coast-lander," 65-69. Oracles of Aramaean supremacy, 70.

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CHAPTER II

Many Deportations from Palestine

Traditions of Israelite antecedents do not prove genealogy, 8. Sargon's deportees a very small fraction of Israel, 8. Many raids by many conquerors, 8-10. *Shebet* is not "a whole tribe," but the ruling class, 10-11. Meaning of "All Israel" and "Israel," 11-14.

CHAPTER III

Traditions of Palestinian Origin

Traditions of Israelite ancestry are not evidence of "lost tribes," 15. Jewish adventurers found new clans, 15. Dr. Wolff seeks "lost tribes" in the Orient, 16-18. North African Philistines, 19. Benjamin of Tudela's reports, 20. Provenance from a particular tribe is possible, 20. Tradition may be a historic fact, 21. Idioms of family relationship, "father, mother, son," etc., misconstrued, 21-23. Honorary "sonships," 24. Assyrian trading-posts, 25. "Mother" cities, *metropolis,* 26. "Son" and "daughter" cities, 27-29. The trade of Sargon of Akkad, 29. Ancient international commercial reciprocity, 30. Propagandist traders, 31. Each trade-post an incipient Ghetto, 31. Trade-posts no proof of political dominance, 32.

CHAPTER IV

Hebrews are not Israelites

What historic facts underlie "Benî-Israel, not Jews"? 33. No "Hebrew kingdom" in the Old Testament, nor in Phoenician inscriptions, 34. "Hebrews" contrasted with "Israelites," 35-37. *'Ibri, 'abarah,* mean "other-siders, other-side lands," 37-40. Various mountains or waters result in various *'Ibri,* 40-42. The Hyperboreans, 43, 44. "Far-siders" south of Gulf of Aden, 45, 46. Hûd, Haûd, 47, 48. "Hebrews" includes all pre-Israelite peoples of Palestine, 49. Aramaean immigrants absorbed by Hebrew-speakers, 50-52, 56. Prophets count all the peoples "Israel," 52, 55. David's policy not Solomon's, 53, 54. Hebrew words in El-Amarna Letters, 56. Hebrew the same as Phoenician, 57. Aramaeans with Hebrew records, 58. Hebrew-Phoenician distinct from other Semitic languages, 59. No definite Phoenician race, 60. Coastal influences differentiated Hebrew: the El-Amarna Letters, 61-63. Non-Semitic pre-Israelites of Katna-Kadesh region, 64. "Caanan" not ethnographic: merely = "coast-lander," 65-69. Oracles of Aramaean supremacy, 70.

CHAPTER V

The Great Schism

Israel not more pagan than Judah, 71-72. Geographical situation of each, 73. Asia Minor influences Israel: the Hittites, 74. Eight languages, 75. Aryan or Indo-Iranic elements, 76. The Hurri, 77-80. Khabirû, Kashshi, Mitanni, 80, 81. "Amorites," Amurru, "southwesters," 81, 82. Amurru includes various peoples, 83, 84. "Red-skin" peoples, 85. Confusion of "Hurri" with "Amorite," 86-88. Hivites or Achaians, and Hurri, 88. Hurri and "Horites" of Edom, 89. Hurrian governor of Jerusalem, 90. Kheba, Queen of Heaven, 90. Israel always under northern influences, 91. Scholars know that Israel was composed of many peoples, 92. Arabia and Philistia make Judah, 93-96. Origin from South Arabia not proved, 97. Prophetic outlook clings to "coastlands," 98. Never any real unity between Israel and Judah, 99. Edom's early commercial preëminence in Judah, 100. Solomon's commercial alliances, 102. The Lebanon Cultus, 103. Anath, Queen of Heaven, 103. Israel protests Solomon's Semitic paganism, 104. Cherubim are "Riding Oxen," 105. Persistence of the Jerusalem pagan shrines through centuries of war and destruction, 106-110. David's Moabite and Ammonite connections, 111-113. Rehoboam and Ammon, 114. Provenance of the 'Amm-cult, 114. Court-phrase acknowledges various gods at court, 115. "Yahu, god of Judah" does not occur in the Old Testament, 116. Judah urged to accept "Yahu the God of Israel," 116.

CHAPTER VI

Status of Deported Israelites

Deportation did not interfere with religion, 118. International covenants recognized gods of each party, 119. Deportees more useful if their cultus were fostered, 120. Deported colonies not individually owned slaves, 120. Ancient inter-tribal land-exchanges, 121. Consecration of deportees to temple-service (*zakûtu*), 122. *Zakku*-status hereditary, 123. The Khabirû, 124. *Zakku*-folk exempt from secular demands, 124. Evil social reactions, 125. Deportees as police or militia, 126. The Khabirû were such; probably Hurrian, 128. *Zakku*-guards might control liturgy and kingdom, 130. Modern use of mercenaries, 131. Effect upon those employed, 131. Jewish guardsmen in Egypt, 132. The charters of Cyrene and Alexandria, 133. Seleucids used Jewish garrison colonies, 134. Jewish "tribes" of Greek cities, 135. Greeks did not originate the Jew garrison, 136. The Elephantiné garrison-colony, 137. Anileus and Asineus, 137. Romans did not use Jewish guard-colonies, 138. Theodosius and Honorius discontinue Jewish militia-privileges, 140. Review of the social status of deportees, 142.

CHAPTER VII

Ethnologists and Jews

A Jewish race not shown on ancient monuments, 144. Propagandism worked in many races, 145. Did social institutions mingle races?, 145. Dr. S. Feist: "original Jewish race" long overwhelmed by armies of proselytes, 146. Gunther: the Jews not a race, 146. Boas and Krause: there are no unvarying somatic characters, 147. Ripley and Dixon: "no Jewish race," 148. Pittard, "none"; Salaman, "several racial types" of Jews, 149. von Luschan: "no definite somatic type," 150. Judt: Aryan-Anatolian (= Hurrian) is the "Jew," 151. Slouschz: the "Berber" is the Jew, 152. Renan: "no Jewish race," 152. Ratzel on Mavumba, 152. Deniker and Keane: "no single physical type," 153. Salaman: "Ghetto in-breeding" produced the Jew, 154. Hertz: there is no unchangeable race, 156. Salaman claims "Jewish eugenics," contradicted by Jewish child-marriages, 156. Boas: racial intermarriages speedily end blood-purity, 157. Scorn of the Hurrian Jew, 158.

CHAPTER VIII

Asmonean Propagandism

Hyrcanus and Aristobulus "convert" with the sword, 160. "Idumeans" are also Jews, 161. Peoples of Syria and Idumea, 161. Extent of Idumea, 162. Rise of the Herods, 163. Kostobar, priest of Ka'ush, 164. Idumeans rally to the Zealots, 165. Weakness of compulsory conversion, 166. Character of Itureans and of Argob proselytes, 167. Queen Helena of Adiabene, 168. Izates and Monobazus, 169. View of Mingana, 169. Christianity succeeds Judaism: finds "Hebrews" of various languages, 170. Asahel Grant's "Nestorians," 171. Benjamin of Tudela's reports, 171. Asmonean policy was pre-exilic policy, 172.

CHAPTER IX

Yemen Jews and Falashas

Various traditions of Yemen Jews, 174. Ancient Israelite migrations into North Arabia, 174. Traces of Yahwism not to be expected, 175. Inscriptions from Kataban with Hebrew terms, 176. Disappearance of Simeon, 177. Yathreb Judaized before Mohammed, 178. Are Aneyzeh Beduin of Israelite descent?, 179. Routes of Israelite trade to Indian Ocean coasts, 180. Jerusalem must hold the gulf of Akabah, 181. Jewish kings of Himyar, Sheba, Hadramaut, Yemen, 182. Traditions of Dhu Nuwas and Abu Karib, 182. Jewish King Masruk massacres Christians, 183. Mocha Jews burn genealogies, 184. Present status of Judaized Arabs of Yemen, 185. Falashas: their non-rabbinic Judaism, 186. How Yahwism reached Abyssinia, 188. Yahwism in ancient Egypt, 189. Nubia, Nubian embassies; modern Nubas, 190. Yahwist tombs in Egypt, 192. The Elephantiné garrison convoys to Abyssinia, 193. Old Testament references to the "Dispersed" of Egypt and Nubia, 195. Falasha traditions of several migrations, 196. Kingdom of Aksum; Hédar Sîôn festival, 196. The village and temple of Yehâ, 197. Christianity enters Abyssinia, 198. The Falasha kingdom, 199. Religious differences a pretext for race-war, 200. Falashas are Agau, 200. The Tabibân and Kamants, 201. The Wasambara, 202. Sakalavas, 202.

CHAPTER X

Berber, Moorish, and Negro Jews

Phoenician and Egyptian in ancient North Africa, 204. Sallust: the Catabathmos: the "Africans," 204. Hebrew-Phoenician on African coasts before Israelite times, 205. Their "Canaanite" language, 206. Palestine traditions among Berbers prove the vigor of Phoenician culture, 207. Jewish guard-colonies, Egypt and Cyrene, 207. Cyrene's revolt from Darius, 208. Founding of Greek Cyrene; Berbers in the majority, 208. Berbers a mingling of races, 209. Physical types of modern Berbers, 211. Helleno-Berbers west of Cyrene, 211. Israelite commingling meant a Berberized Yahwism, 212. Berbers join Yahwist garrisons, 213. Berber Yahwist brigands explain the Cyrenian revolt, 214. Child-sacrifices, 215. A million Jews in Egypt, 216. Josephus on Judaism in Cyrene, 217. Visigothic persecutions, 218. Modern Jews not distinguishable from non-Jews, 219. Slouschz on North African Jews, 220. Jewish communities of baalist antecedents, 221. Judaized Berber tribes and kingdoms, 222-224. Jews in Sahara oases, 225. Troglodyte Jews, 226. Cowper on Tripoli Jews, 227. Tunisian Jews claim origin from the days of Tyre and Sidon, 228. The "Lord of the heavens" at Carthage, 228. Hebrew names in the Carthage inscriptions, 229. They do not prove race, but the dominant culture, 230. Ashtart and Melkart compounds, 230. Names from Samaria, and in Old Testament, 231. Yahu-compounds at Carthage: Joab,

232. "Joshua son of Nun," 234. No Genesis-lore in ancient African Yahwism, 234. The Pelishtîm, 234. Tacitus on "Jews from Crete," 235. Minoan Pelishtîn in North Africa; and the Berber social structure, 236. The Daggatuns, 237. Character of Berber Jews, 238. Was their ancient Yahwism any better?, 240. Hatred of Cohanîm, or priests, 241. Can Judaism survive under nomad conditions?, 242. Judaism crossed the Sahara to negro tribes, 242. Wilson on Senegambia, 243. Dahomey Judaism, 244. Nigerian negro Jews, 244. Mavumba Jews of San Thomé origin, 246. Proselyted slaves become free Jews, 247. The Inquisition in the Canaries, 247. Negro Jews in Surinam, 248. Loango coast Mavûmbû, 249. Catholic missions once on the Loango Coast, 250. Nupes of northern Nigeria, 251. "Jews of Angola," at Ambaka, 252. Negro Jews of New York City, 253. Dr. Fishberg's report, 254. African provenance claimed, 255. Origin of the white race, 255. Montclair and Newark Jews, 256.

CHAPTER XI

Khazars, Scythians, and Tartars

Provenance of the Khazars, 257. Their kingdom an ethnic commingling, 257. Not militaristic, 258. Conversion of Khazar rulers, resulted from a thousand years' contact with Judaism, 259. Russian Judaism dates from Medo-Persian times, 260. Their Greek *lingua-franca* the result of centuries of Greek trade-posts, 260. The Argonauts were Achaians ("Hivites"), 261. Ionians then occupy the Black Sea, 264. Heraclea, Amisus, Cyzicus, Phasis, Chersonesus, Trebizond, 264-266. Helleno-Iranian commingling, 266. "Scythian" not a strictly ethnic term, 267. Wright on Crimean Karaites, 268. Gomer = Kimmerians, 268. The Sarmatians, 269. Crimea had an Iranic immigration, 270. Prehistoric Olivia; the Geloni, 270. Earlier Greeks did not penetrate Asia Minor, 271. Trade-routes from the Black Sea eastward, 272. Solomon in Asia Minor; the Mysians (Meshech), 273. Israel's relations with the north, 274. Humiliation by Damascus, 275. Iranians overrun Hittites; "The Northland," 276. Katapatuka, Urartu, Mannai, Ashkenaz, Tubal, Gomer, 277. Gog and Magog; "the Northland," 278: "Circumcising Syrians" of Herodotus, 279. "Syrians of Palestine," 280. The Thermodon and Parthenius of Xenophon, 281. Obadiah's Sepharad; Sfard, Sardis, 282. Sparda in new Darius inscription; Sephardîm, 283. Colchis, Colchians, of Herodotus, 284-286. Psamtik I aids Assyria; Israelites in "the cities of the Medes" much earlier, 287. Caucasus Judaism not rabbinic, 288. The Karthvel Jewish, then Christian, 289. Daghestan Jews and Derbent Pass, 290. Scythians were Iranians, 291. Ashkenazîm: origin of the term, 293. Russian Scyths disappear before 200 B.C., 295. Successive waves of barbarians, 296, 299. The "Days of the Week" in German, 297. Har-Mannai becomes "Armenia," 297. Jews in Constantinople, 298. Khazar war with Sassanids, 300. Khazar court Judaized, 300. Russia expels the Khazars, 301. Jewish revival at Kiev, 301. The Subbotniki, 302. Khazars in Hungary, 303. Karaites in Russia are Tartars, 304. Recapitulation, 304. The Caucasus peoples: Karthli, Khevsurs, Imerians, 305. Osses, Ossetes, an Iranic people, 306. Soanai or Svans, and Khevsurs, 308. Daghestan, 309. Lesghians, 310. Judaism in the Caucasus before the Christian era, 310. Daghestan Jews, 311. Non-Jewish people once Jewish, 312. Caucasian Jews unlike those of Europe, 312. Persian dialects prominent, 313. Adler on the various mountain Jews, 314. Caucasus "High-Places," 315.

CHAPTER XII

Black Jews of India

Jews of Bombay and Cochin, 317. High culture in prehistoric Orient, 317. Purânas link India and Africa, 318. Cotton, 318. Two roads from the west to India, 319. Southern road, Persian times, 320. Israel and the citron, 321.

Indian alphabets derived from the Palestinian, 322. Malayan alphabets originally Palestinian, 323. The Mappillas of Semitic origin, 324. Ophir the Bombay coast, 326. Ivory, elephants, 328. Algum trees; Tamil words in the Old Testament, 330. Earlier Hebrews reached South India, not the northwest, 331. The northwest in Persian times, 332. Greeks in India, 333. Conquered by Scytho-Parthians, 334. The St. Thomas traditions, 335. Musiris (Cranganore) cosmopolitan, 336. Jewish chorus at Scytho-Parthian court, 337. Faria y Sousa on the Judaism of St. Thomas Christians, 338. Later Jewish feasts unknown, 339. Francis Xavier finds Judaism, 339. Syriac the language of the St. Thomas Christians, 340. Tamil Judaism survived, 340. Traditions of several Jewish migrations to India, 341-347. The Cochin Chronicles, 347. Arabian influence in Cochin, 348. Yemenite Joseph Rabbân, 349. The copper-plate charters: errors corrected, 349-352. Date of Joseph Rabbân; passing of Rabbâni rulership: David Rubbêni, 353. White Jew arrogance counts Black Jews as slaves, 353. Cochin Judaism continues Hindu caste-distinctions, 355. Stavorinus and Vischer on Cochin synagogues, 356. Black Jews eager for education, 356. Elements of the Afghan Benî-Israel tradition, 357. Afghans are Iranians assimilated by a Semitic-Hindu amalgam, 358. Traces of Judaism among the Báni-Israíl, 359. The Durânis; Pukhtûns, Pushtu, 360. Cyrenian deportees in Afghanistan, 361. Greek survivals, 361. The Ghor Báni-Israíl from Media, 362. Yusofzais adopted Báni-Israíl tradition in modern times, 363. The legend of descent from Saul, 364. A conflation of Kirghiz, Rajput, and Hurrian traditions, 365. The separate traditions credible, 366.

CHAPTER XIII

Persian, Turkoman, Mongol, and Chinese Jews

Hurrian culture reached prehistoric China, 368. China in the Old Testament, 369. Iranians held Central Asian trade routes, 370. Jews passed through Media and Persia to Chinese Tartary, 370. Turkoman Jews, 371. Persian and Mongol Jews, 372. The roads to China, 373. Eastward spread of Judaism, 373. "Seres, Persians, and Medes," 374. Nestorians using Pahlawi reached Pahlawi-speaking Jews, 375. Sassanid persecutions, 375. The Hwei-Hwei, 376. Yüe-chi are Kushans, 377. Pahlawi as *lingua-franca* taught in Peking schools, 378. Tajik, Tat, and Sart, 378. The "Bamboo Books"; "West-king-mother," 379. Kan Ying in "Great Syria," 380. China kept trade-routes open, 380. Scytho-Sarmatians in China, 381. The Ephthalites become "Lost Tribes" and "Naphtali," 381-384. Judaism perished under nomad conditions, 385. Mongols overwhelm Iranians, 385. The Seres, "silk-people," = Chinese Turkestan, 386. Discoveries at Khocho, 387. Christian war on "circumcising Turkomans," 388. Prester John, 389. Oldest Hebrew MSS, 390. Nomad worship-platforms, 390. Chinese Moses-legends, 391. Chen Yuang on Chinese Jewish *danishmands*, 393. *Danishmands* and Shuh-hu must pay taxes, 393. The Sa-pan of Ch'ang-an, 395. Jewish synagogues ignored in official records, 395. Bishop White on ancient synagogues, 396. Jews called to aid the Mongol dynasty, 396. The Nestorian monument, 397. Ibn Khordhadbeh on Jewish trade-routes, 398. The Kaifeng Jewish tablets, 398. Hsi-Yü = Chinese Turkestan, 399. A part of Scytho-Parthian and Kushan India, 400. Kharoshthí and Brahmí script at Khotan, 401. Palestine heroes localized in Chinese Turkestan, 401. "The Israel Religion," but no "Israel people," 402. "Jew" an unknown term, 403. Sacrifices, 403. No rabbinic terms, 404. The Levite, 405. Chang chiao, 406. Hereditary "Levites," 406. Silk-colony at Kaifeng, 407. Boundary tablets, 407. Colony sent from Khiva, 408. Flooding of Kaifeng in 1642, 408. Jewish remnant reassembled; a census taken, 409. Hebrew names abandoned, 410. The Sinew-Extractor, 410. Plan of the sanctuary, 411. Liturgy and worship, 413. Annual sacrifices, 413. Season fasts, 414. No Maccabean survivals, 414. The word God not used at Kaifeng, 415.

Disasters made liturgy composite, 415. Notable Jewish officials, 417. The Mongol "Golden Age," 417. Flood of 1849, 418. The community ruined, 418. An effort to rally the survivors, 419. Factors in the destruction of Chinese Judaism, 420. Turkoman *versus* Mongol, 421. The Mosque at Canton, 421. Canton Jews, 423. The Japanese Jews, 423. Zafîn Ibrahîm of Madagascar, 424.

CHAPTER XIV

Samaritans, Sadducees, and Karaites

Negro appropriation of English history, 426. Many strata in the Hebrew Diaspora, 427. Samaritans *versus* Jews: conservatives and progressives, 427. Pre-Sargonic Israel protested Jerusalem paganism, 428. Significance of *Shamerîn,* 428. Gentiles confuse *Shameraîn* and *Shamerîn,* 429. Josephite traditions emphasized, 430. Montgomery and Gaster, 431. Josephus on Zealots, 431. What does "Israel" mean?, 432. High-priestly pretensions, 434. Hyrcanus captures Samaria, 435. Supports Sadducees, 436. Previous understanding with the Gerizim priesthood, 436. They become chief priests at Jerusalem, 437. 1 Maccabees credits all reforms to "Israel," none to Judah, 438. Similar credits in the Old Testament, 438. Chasîdism and Saddîkism, 439. Asmonean-Sadducean fanaticism culminated in the destruction of Jerusalem, 440. The rival poll-tax collectors, 441. Outraged Samaritans become Sicarii, 441. "Samaritan" and "Sicarian" synonymous with Origen and Hippolytus, 442. Samaritans were never "Jews," 443. The Karaites, 443. First prominence in Persia, 444. Rodkinson says "Karaites are former Samaritans," 445. Sadducees shunned by rabbins, 446. Sanballat in the Samaritan Chronicles, 446. Two Sanballats confused, 447. The Karaite-Samaritan influence on Mohammed, 447. Gentile failure to distinguish between Jews and Samaritans, 448. Romans and Byzantines destroyed the Samaritan community, 448.

CHAPTER XV

Missionaries Who Failed

Early Christian apostles were the apostles of Judaism, 451. Babylonian terms, 452. *Apostolos* a Jewish official, 452. Slouschz and Benjamin II on the *Shalîakh,* 453. Early Christian apostles sought the Jewish proselyte-communities, 454. Reinach and Geikie on Jewish proselyting, 455. Why did Judaism lose its proselytes? 456. Dio Cassius on Jewish bad manners, 456. Genealogical pretensions in the Talmud, 457. Such clashing prejudices produced Ezra, 458. Dr. Kreppel exalts European Judaism, 459. "An Aramaean was my ancestor," 460. "A curse on Boëthos," 460. Psalms of Solomon condemn Asmoneans, 461. Philo on proselytes, 462. Preaches Sicarianism, 463. Moors of Spain ostracised their own converts, 464. Civil war resulted, 465. Early church offered social equality to the proselyte, 465. Superstition in the Jewish social ostracism, 466. Varying Talmudic prescriptions relative to proselytes, 467. Baptismal exorcism, 467. Shemaiah and Abtalion, 468. Rabbân Gamaliel would exclude Ammonites, 468. Freedmen at Rome in separate synagogues, 469. Rome confused Jews and Christians, 470. Two classes of proselytes, 470. Proselytes inferior in the Talmud, 471.

CHAPTER XVI

Proselytes in the Old Testament

Levî means "joined, bound"; "joined" persons are "levited," 472. Verb applied to foreigners also; the *gêr,* 473. *Gêr* (stranger) translated proselyte in the Septuagint, 474. One may be a *gêr* in one's own land, 475. Patriarch proselytes to pagan sanctuaries, 475. Prophets would reach all nations, 476.

Proselytes to share in stated festivals, 476. Generally poor and shunned, 477. Daiches on the *'am-ha-ārets,* 478. Oppression of "widow, proselyte, and fatherless," 478. Voices of proselytes, 479. The *gêr tôshab,* 480. The *Yirê Adonai,* 481. Prophet-dream of winning the world, 482. The *mushkênu* of the Hammurabi Code, 482. The Arab *meskîn,* 483.

CHAPTER XVII

Shrine Levites

Levî interchangeable with *gêr,* 485. Tsiddîk-brotherhood, 485. Levites as armed guards, 486. Cohen, Koan; Luvi, Levi, 486. Arabian *lawî,* Samaritan *lawîn;* Galla *luva,* 487. Debra Libân, 489. Female levites, 489. Origin in *harem* devotees of the dead, 490. The woman-levite in the Old Testaments, 491. *Nethînîm;* given to the dead, 492. The Suaheli *Naddîn,* 492. A "Levite" of 3,000 B.C., 493. The Sun-Temple Levites; Beth-Shemesh, 493. "High-Place" Levites, 494. Self-dedication to a shrine, 495. Voluntary foreign levites, 496. The "Associated priests," 496. The temporary levite, *nazir,* 497. First-born become Levite, 497. Class-prejudice among Levites, 498. Prejudices against proselytes, 499. Propagandist methods, 500. General massacre of all non-Israelites never contemplated, 500. Captives made Levites, 501. Nethînîm and *nethînûth*-status, 502. *Shirâku* in Babylonia, 503. "Servants of Ezekiel," 503. "Levite-service or death!" 504. A *haram* city Levitical, among Nupes and Haussas, 504. Ezekiel acknowledges foreign Levites, 505. The Mattan-Yah; a royal gift? 506. Indian "levites" of Spanish missions, 507. Temple-weavers, 508. No "bound ones" in the early church, 508. Three stages in making a dervish, 509. *Haberîm,* "Fellows," "Associates," 510. The Levite Messiah, 510. Term *levî* unknown in Babylonia, 511. The Essenes a Babylonian order, 512.

CHAPTER XVIII

The City of Refuge

Asylum possible in the Old Testament for any one, with any people, 514. Asylum protégés contentious for the maintenance of the institution, 515. Priest-guardsmen of shrines, 516. Restoration of the Babylon-asylum, 516. All Levitical cities originally asyla, 517. Philo's explanation, 517. Asylum ends with death of the asylum-head, 518. Asylum promotes temporary marriages, 518. "Barley" marriage and *beena* marriage, 519. Familiar in Babylonia, 520. Temporary "self-devotion" of women, 521. The "robe-protection" frauds promoted promiscuity, 522. London asyla and Fetter Lane, 523. Asylum-properties became asyla, 524. The Jewish Inquisition, 525. Verbal asylum, 525. Conversion secures anyone asylum, 525. Wasambara asyla, 526. Asylum ends slavery and debt, 526. Sheikh Sa'ad; asyla steal slaves, 527. Benevolences; *nethînîm,* 527. Asylum-cities of the Sea-land, 528. Defining or limiting asylum, 528. Asyla produced congregationalism, 529. The asylum in Abyssinia, 529.

CHAPTER XIX

Captivity, Adoption, and Slavery

Judaism loses its wayward girls, 531. Semitic society makes the widow a harlot, 532. The "fatherless" or bastard may found a clan, 532. Cossack rapine of Jewish women, 533. Alexandrian brides seized, 534. The Uled Naïl, 534. Tunisian Jewess-harlots, 535. Morocco conditions, 535. Old Testament references, 536. Mari ben-Rachel, 536. Female eponyms, 537. Philadelphus ransoms 118,000 children of slave-mothers, 538. Rapine in war in the Old Testament, 539. Adoption of waifs, 540. Immoral white Jews of Cochin, 540.

Domestic slavery, 541. Savages adopt captives, 541. Clans of purchased slaves, 542. Self-sale of the poor, 543. Maid-slaves at whim of their owners, 543. Defect in proselyting ceremony made one's children illegitimate, 544. Jewish slave dealing, 544. Opposed by church councils, 545-547. Slaves in Moorish Spain, 547. Jews dealt in Viking captives, 548. Jews adopt slaves, 549. Intermarriage, 550. Abraham's "Mamelukes" compared with Mkande, 550. Tiberias a slave-colony, 551.

CHAPTER XX

Badges

Composite photographs unscientific, 552. No "Yahwist face" on ancient monuments, 552. Badges needed to distinguish Jews, 553. All earlier society used badges, 553. Islam demanded badges, 554. Badges in the Talmud, 554. Cochin Jew colors, 555. Mediaeval Europe fixed Jewish badges, 556. *Peôt,* or side-locks, 556. Of Berber and Nabatean origin? 557. Beduin "horns," 559. Theory of hair-tufts, 559.

CHAPTER XXI

The Provenance of Yahwism

Name Yahu, unknown to patriarchs, was "from the east," 561. Ya'u, Yâ, E.A. in the Sea-Land, 2800 B.C., 562. Cain or "smithfolk" from the East, 563. Flood-story indicates a tidal-wave, 564. Hurrian culture in Iranian plateau, 564. E.A. cult at Eridu, Kha-Bur, 566. "Smith-folk" in Iranian plateau proved by archaeology, 567. Elamite impulse to Egypt, 567. Yahu-cult brought to Palestine and Egypt by the Hurri-folk, 568. Isaiah of Babylon appeals to the "Coast-Lands," 569. Was he a Sea-Lander, Kaldû, Kasdîm-man? 570. Kaldû and Kasdîm in the cuneiform, 571. Cosmogony of the Servant-Singer, 573. A group of "Singers," 574. Not identified with Israel's historic past, 575. No topographical reminiscences of Palestine, 576. No historical allusions, 577. No phrase of the literary traditions of the past, 578. The Sea-Land Noachians, 580. Their non-ceremonial Code, 581. Was their *Yirê Adonai* code the original of the Decalogue? 582.

CHAPTER XXII

Survivals of Sacrifice

Pre-exilic sacrifices may survive, 584. Post-exilic cock-sacrifice, 584. No Old Testament specification of "one only" place for sacrifice, 585. Geography and industrial life against centralization, 586. Local religious assemblies familiar to all pre-exilic Palestinians, 587. Diasporic centers in Josephus, 587. Some dated from the Solomon period? 588. These appeal to Rome, not to Jerusalem, 589. Covenanters of Damascus, 590. The Onias-temple in Egypt, 591. Early Christians of Egypt sacrificed, 594. The Elephantiné temple, 595. Its proselyting activity, 596. Its Aramaean correspondence, 597. Its pagan divinities grouped with Yahu, 598. A center of authority, 599. Nubia and the Falashas, 600. Berber hatred of Cohen and Levi, 601. Their private-home sanctuaries, as in Old Testament, 601. The "Lonely" shrines, 602. "Door" sanctuaries, 603. Chinese Jewish sacrifices, 604. Negro sacrifices, 605.

CHAPTER XXIII

Exilic Propagandism

Freedom of deportee colonies, 606. The "Servant-Singer" has no mystic visions, 606. Ezekiel claims all that pre-exilic prophets claimed, 607. Exilic

sacrifices and fasts condemned, 607. Priest-activity continued in Babylonia; Yôm Kippûr added, 608. The Yekan-Yâ Yahwists voluntarily left Jerusalem, 609. Was Yekan-Yâ "The Suffering Servant," 610. Nehardea, 611. Casiphia, Kasp-Yâ, its treasury, 612. Social elements in the Yekan-Yâ colony, 612. Yahwist authority claimed by the Yekan-Yâ colony; Jerusalem authority is anti-Yahwist, 613. The Baruch letter, 613. Ezekiel's freedom, 615. The Shekînah, 613. Babylonian Shekînah not acknowledged by Zechariah, 617. "The Flying Roll," 617. The Ideal Servant, 619.

CHAPTER XXIV

Ancient Jewish Translations of Their Scriptures

Proselyting required vernaculars, 621. Cultural traditions of Babylonia compelled translations, 622. Authoritative liturgy necessary for temples, 622. Halah: where was it? 623. Its colonists supported Cyrus, 623. Holwân and the Four Regions, 624. Holwân community preëminent in the Talmud, 625. The *Ali ilâhî* and the cock-sacrifice, 626. Persian and Turkoman Judaism non-Talmudic, 627. All Targums or translations approved in the Talmud, 627. Bacher on Targums, 628. Blau on Targums, 629. Various Targums: Bacher and Krauss, 630. Iberian, Arabian, Armenian, 631. Blau points out the "Roman," 632. "Aramith" an error for "Roman," 633. "Assyrian" characters; rabbinic misconstructions, 633-35. Tablet-writing and skin-writing, 635. The name *Shapiro* proves scribal ancestry, 636. Aramaic script develops, 637. Persian Targums, 638. Did Jews write Achaemenian inscriptions? The Asaph ud-dowlah, 639. Aramaic for Samaritan "idiots," 640. Eastern Aramiac of Jews in Babylonia, 641. The ancestor of Syriac, 642. Aramaic characters did not originate in Babylonia, 642. Syriac dialect well differentiated before the Christian era, 643. Syriac script from the Parthian period, 644. "Assyrian" meant different script at different periods, 644. Bar-Hebraeus on the Peshitta, 645. Save Targums from fire, 646. Immuring books, 647. Rivalry of Targums, 647. Versions disappeared as their spoken languages did, 648. No Targums where there was no antecedent literary atmosphere, 648. Defective alphabets eliminated some Targums, 649. Rome lacked literary antecedents, 650.

CHAPTER XXV

The Babylonian Academies

Pre-exilic education not correlated, 651. "Every one according to his liturgy," 652. Immense advantage of the Nehardea Colony, 652. Education democratized, 653. Long preëminence of Babylonian academies, 653. Their locations, 654. Extent of the Sea-Land, 654. Site of Nehardea, 655. Anilai and Asinai in its jurisdiction, 656. "Sacred park" traditions; "River of Aya," 657. "Granaries" town, 658. Distance from Ezra's Ahava, 658. "The Sûk," or market, 659. Vicissitudes: *Shaf Yatîb,* 659. Academies moved, 660. Arab and Sassanid raids, 660. *Shaf Yatîb!* 661. Benjamin of Tudela's notes on the academies, 662.

CHAPTER XXVI

No Lost Tribes in the Prophets

Loss of records of early Yahwists is deplorable, 665. Befogged mediaeval conceptions of Hebrew history, 665. Prophets viewed as "fortunetellers," 656. Mediaeval exegesis devised a bipartite scheme of return from exile; wretched apologetics, 666. Return predicted by Amos, 667. Obadiah and Zechariah, 669. Isaiah and Jeremiah, 669-71. Ezekiel, 672. Judah and Israel not separate in the thought of any of them, 673.

CHAPTER XXVII

Post-Exilic References

"Carried away unto this day," 674. Some Josephite aristocracy only, 674. Theory of Lost Tribes a misconstruction of 4 Esdras 13, 675. The Zerubbabel-Judah faction failed, 676. The "all Israel" movement of Ezra and Nehemiah; no notion that any tribes are lost; many elements of "Israel" specifically included, 677-79. No "lost Israel" in any apocryphal literature, 680. Josephus' use of "ten tribes" and "two tribes," 681. "Ten tribes" of 4 Esdras 13, the preëminently faithful, 682. James, 682. Agrippa and Paul, 683. Recapitulation, 683. W. T. Ellis and Bagdad rabbis, 684.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Rewriting Hebrew History

Past efforts controlled by Jewish apologetic assumptions, 686. A parallel in Brahman claims, 686. Aryan immigrants lost their pre-history; so did early Israelites, 687. No pre-Abram Aramaean history, 688. Patriarchal traditions annexed to Proto-Elamite non-Semitic records, 689. How much non-Israelite pre-history came in with proselytes? 689. Individual incidents from Exodus to Joshua are credible; as experience of one group impossible, 690. The Yahu-captain of Joshua 5:13 ff., 691. Treaty with Achaians, 691. "Wood of Ephraim," 692. Pharaohs and "red-skins," 692. Hoshea an Egyptian mercenary, 692. Edomite Caleb in Palestine, 693. Four hundred years of oppression, 694. Hyksos kings of Tell Fara', 694. Pharaoh raids in Palestine, 695. The covenant with Yahu, 696. Monkish pre-history, 697. Lost Palestinian kings and judges, 698-700. Aramaeans not in El-Amarna Letters; oracles of their dominance originate later, 701. Yahu-oracles in various lands, 702. Are patriarchal stories post-exilic Edomite grafts? 703. Aramaean demand for extermination of non-Semites, 704. Josiah's failure, 705. Aramaean arrogance suicidal, 705. Slogan of "pure-race" has never united Judaism, 706. Why has Judaism failed among savages or nomads? 708.

Bibliography, 711

Index of Scripture Passages, 757

Topical Index, 769

Illustrations

Maps

From Palestine across Africa, facing p. 256

From Palestine to Asia Minor, the Caucasus, and Babylonia, facing p. 316

From Palestine to India and China, facing p. 366

THE LOST TRIBES
A MYTH

CHAPTER I

The Lost Tribes Theory

> "In the ninth year of Hoshea the King of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and settled them in Khalah and on the Khabur, a river of Gozan, and in cities of the Medes." 2 Kings 17:6.

The general reader knows of much speculation concerning the alleged mysterious disappearance of the Ten Tribes of Israel. No other subject seems to have had such fascination for the fanciful theorist, except perhaps the "Man in the Iron Mask"—which mask was of black velvet. Because they did not know the practical identity of many rites and customs among savage people everywhere, earlier modern missionaries were continually reporting traces of Jewish ritual in many lands. Early Baptist missionaries to Burmah were sure they had found the Lost Ten Tribes in the Red Karens. Dr. Tyler, forty years a Congregational missionary among the Zulus, found much "Judaism" among them. Bishop William Taylor, hastily touring South Africa, told the Kaffirs that their sacrificial customs were divinely ordained six thousand years ago, to teach them theology: they could find them in the Old Testament.[1] Scores of missionaries in various lands announced hasty conclusions. Some Afghan clans, notably the Yusofzais or "Josephites," claim Israelite ancestry—at least for their chieftains.[2] Their point of departure is Kish, the father of Saul, and a genealogy of forty-nine generations has been constructed to establish the connection. So some hasty Europeans have promptly decided that the whole Afghan or Pushtu stock represent the whole of the "lost ten tribes."[3] The Anglo-Saxon has shared such honor with the Afghan.[4] Pre-Christian Jewish trading posts in Abyssinia resulted in the Judaizing of a considerable part of the population, with temples of Yehâ (Yeho = Yahu) at Axum, where Abyssinian kings were crowned. Thus hasty modern observers have made the many survivals of Judaism a proof that the Abyssinians were

[1] *Christian Adventures in South Africa*, pp. 422 ff.

[2] See Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, London, 1815; H. W. Bellew, *Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857*, p. 46 ff.; and *Afghanistan and the Afghans* (1879): Sir Thomas Hungerford Holdich, article "Afghanistan" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and his article, "Afghan Claim to Descent from Israel" in *The Nineteenth Century*, July 1919, pp. 111-115.

[3] See Malcolm, *History of Persia*, II, 596 f.; G. Moore, *The Lost Tribes*, London, 1861, pp. 143-160.

[4] See article "Anglo-Israelism" in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, 600 f.

the "lost ten tribes." Others, pressing further south, have found the "lost ten tribes" in the warrior-Masai, not considering that the Masai are probably the Mazoi of the Egyptian inscriptions.[5] They controlled the northern loop of the Nile in Nubia, and from 2200 B.C. onward entered the Egyptian military service in such numbers that their name came eventually to be the regular term for "soldier."[6] Such centuries of Egyptian military service meant much Israelite contact. The Israelitish origin of the Japanese has been as infallibly demonstrated,[7] and the same pedigree for the Malay is equally indisputable.

America is particularly interesting in this respect. Every well-read American knows the mischief that was done when a Presbyterian pastor constructed a solemn romance about the wanderings of the Lost Tribes, and their final extinction by the American Lamanites. Mormon, the son of Moroni, the last of his race, left the records of his lost people. Had this manuscript not fallen into the hands of Joseph Smith, we should have no Mormon problem to vex us.

But we should remember that the notion of "lost tribes" in America did not originate with the author of the Mormon romance. It appeared as soon as early pious European explorers began to reflect upon Indian rites and customs.[8] The Spaniard Gomara was one of the earliest. DeLery, a French Calvinist, wrote upon the theme in 1556-7. Genebrard and Andrew Thevet were in the field near the same time, with their own demonstrations. Father Durán of Tezcuco, in Mexico, in his *History of New Spain*,[9] published in 1585, saw in the resemblance of the religious rites of the Indians to those of the Jews proof that "my opinion and supposition is confirmed that these natives are of the ten tribes of Israel that Salmanassar king of the Assyrians made prisoners and carried to Assyria in the time of Hoshea, king of Israel"—citing 2 Kings 17:6. Then, citing 4 Esdras 13, he sees "reason to suppose that these people are found in all the islands and lands of the ocean constituting the occident." Many Spaniards concurred.

[5] M. Merker, *Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904.

[6] Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1908, pp. 123, 153.

[7] McLeod, *Epitome of the Ancient History of Japan*, Tokyo, 1879.

[8] The following citations, unless otherwise noted, are from chapter i of Samuel F. Haven's "Archaeology of the United States" in volume viii of *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, pp. 3-16, and from John T. Short's *North Americans of Antiquity*, New York, 1880, pp. 134 ff. See also the article "Tribes, The Lost Ten" in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. xii, 249 ff.; and article in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

[9] In three vols. folio, 1000 pp.

The French scholar Lescarbot, an advocate of the Parliament of Paris, in 1609, saw in the resemblance of religious rites evidence that America was peopled by the expelled Canaanites. President Stiles, of Yale, on other grounds later urged the same view. The Spaniard García held that Ophir was Peru; "Ophir, Phiro, Piro, Peru"; and Yoktan (Joktan, Genesis 10:25) was Yucatan.[10] Lescarbot wrote in 1611, citing five current opinions, and adding that "Americans are the descendants of Noah." Thomas Thorowgood, in his *Jewes in America* (London, 1650) was the first English author to support this thesis. Harmon L'Estrange replied in 1652 with *Americans no Jewes;* but he announced Shem as the progenitor of the American races.

The manuscript of Thomas Thorowgood, who was a member of The Assembly of Divines, attracted the attention of John Dury, who urged its publication, and communicated two remarkable stories which he heard in Holland; these were published with Thorowgood's book. The first was, that a messenger from the Ten Tribes had appeared in Holland to ask after the welfare of those who were not carried away. The second was the tale of Antonio Montesînos, who said that he was entertained several days by a community of Jews in Peru. This was sworn to before Manasseh ben-Israel, Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam, who certified the good character of Montesînos. Then Rabbi Manasseh wrote *The Hope of Israel,* to prove that Israelites first discovered America, crossing by Bering's Strait, then bridged with land. He claimed identical customs. He dedicated his book to the English Parliament. Mayhew, John Eliot, Roger Williams, and other American preachers were strongly impressed with these views. The Mathers, Samuel Sewall, and most of the prominent theologians of Massachusetts, were also convinced. William Penn took up the theory, and many followed his lead. "When I look at their children, I imagine myself in the Jewish Quarter of London," he wrote. Charles Beatty in 1678 published a *Journal of a Two Months Tour* which announced his conviction that he had found the "lost ten tribes" among the Delaware Indians. Whiston, the mathematician and translator of Josephus, set forth the theory that the "Indo-Americans" were Cainites, descendants of Lamech. The Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, after the American Revolution, wrote upon the subject. Adair, Dr. Elias Boudinot,[11] the Rev. Ethan Smith, M. M. Noah, Israel Worsley,[12] Lord Kingsborough,

[10] *Origen de Los Indos,* Valencia, 1607.
[11] *Star in the West,* Trenton, N. J., 1816.
[12] *View of the American Indians,* London, 1828.

Mrs. St. Simon followed in turn. The Rev. J. B. Finlay, Methodist pioneer of the planting of Christianity among the Wyandotte Indians, wrote in 1840 his conviction that these Indians were the "lost ten tribes." Jones, in his *History of Ancient America,* Giordan in his account of *Tehuantepec,* Rossi in his *Souvenirs d'un Voyage en Oregon* (pp. 276 f.), Abbé Domenech,[13] and Mrs. Simons follow the Spaniard García, locating Ophir in Peru, the Israelites spreading from that region. For the modern reader, Lord Kingsborough has come to be spoken of as the originator of the theory because of the immense scale of his elaboration. His *Antiquities of Mexico,* 1837-1845, fills nine large volumes, championing the theory. But these citations show that many modern American minds were saturated with the notion before the Book of Mormon was written. And this fancy is still a disturber of the peace of those who seek for historical accuracy. It bobs up serenely in some of the most recent books upon discoveries in the Maya regions of Central America. It is the inspiration of a recent article in a scientific journal, discussing the origin and spread of the art of writing.

It is often heard from the pulpit. Men supposed to be scholarly are known to hold up the political disappearance of the "lost tribes" as an awful illustration of the punishment of individual sinfulness; as though becoming an American were the penalty of being a sinful Englishman. Many graduates of theological seminaries are known to speak thus, as they contrast their own ecclesiasticism with the claims of Judaism. Their education and training make their hearers assume that they speak with the authority of accurate historical information. But they put squarely before us the questions: Are they well informed concerning the history of Judaism and the antecedent Hebrew religious history? Has their seminary training achieved historical accuracy in that field? What are their underlying conceptions of the origin and history of the ancient Israelites? Do these conceptions differ in any respect from those prevalent among the casual Bible-readers?

The conception of the origin and history of the Israelites and of the later Jews, that lies back of all fanciful quests for "lost tribes" and enthusiastic discoveries of them is that the Israelites were "a peculiar people"—"after the order of Melchizedek"—that is, without ancestry or ancestral intellectual and institutional inheritances. How they could be "peculiar" or distinct in any sense from their ancestors does not disturb the brains of millions who

[13] *Deserts,* vol. I.

repeat the assertion of their uniqueness. They had a religion peculiar to this unique or "freak" race, a religion which came to them independently of the usual human contacts and resultant assimilations, which was divinely intended to be limited to this segregate people, and not spread by the usual human currents through various lands. Consequently resemblance to its religion anywhere can be explained only by assuming the presence of persons directly descended from that ancient unique race. Similarities in institutions are to be accepted as proofs of genealogical descent. To phrase the conception a little differently, a very peculiar race was chosen by God to the exclusion of all others, through which to impart some ideas to the world, and success in this divine effort depended upon keeping the race unmixed for centuries and the ideas confined within that race. That such conception makes the supposed "divine plan" commit suicide does not occur to the ordinary mind obsessed with it. That the religion of Yahu, from which in post-exilic times Judaism took form, is asserted in the Old Testament to have existed long before there was any such people as "Israel," is ignored. That it came from eastern people to Israel is also ignored. And it is assumed that at the capture of Samaria (2 Kings 17) the most of this very peculiar race to which this religion came was carried away in a body and has been "lost" somewhere ever since.

Some further assumptions of the "lost tribes" hunter are blunders in ethnology. It is commonly assumed that some peculiarity of feature or expression can originate only in a single peculiar race. Thus the "hunter," equipped with this peculiar obsession, goes from land to land, to seek for such facial peculiarities, and finds everywhere people that "look just like the Jews." Earlier blundering ethnologists did likewise.[14] When the features that dominate his mental prepossessions are found among any people, he at once assumes that they are derived by genealogical descent from Israelite ancestry. That they might be frequent in any stock or race, in any part of the world, is beyond the limits of his ethnological information. The "lost tribes" hunter has often been a Jew himself, proud of an obsession drilled into him from his youth, that his distinctive religious opinions and observances are due solely to genealogical descent from a peculiar ethnic type and to the preservation of that "pure Jewish type"

[14] *E.g.* Nott and Gliddon, in *Types of Mankind,* Philadelphia, 1854, found the "Jewish face" unchanged from the ancient monuments down to the present day.

unmixed with Gentile blood. He represents a religion that has deliberately capitalized ethnic antipathies. Such Jewish discoverer of "lost tribes" has regularly omitted to produce the needed historic links between his discovered people and the ancient Israelite.

Moreover, "lost tribes" hunters, as already stated, jump to the conclusion that if any custom in a central African cannibal tribe, for instance, be identical with one in Judaism, the resemblance proves genealogical descent from ancient Israelites who must have wandered to that place. Apart from the fact that many institutions have an origin in the psychology common to all humanity, such reasoning could prove that Methodist opinions anywhere are the result of genealogical descent from John Wesley, or that Presbyterianism is merely a matter of like descent from John Knox. The further possibility that ideas and customs may pass from land to land as buckets pass from hand to hand in a village fire-brigade does not get fair consideration. Yet Santa Claus from Holland has thus travelled far.

Nor is the nature of ancient Israelite society in Palestine, as pictured in the Old Testament, carefully examined to ascertain whether it spread its customs among neighboring peoples, or whether it welcomed foreigners as comrades in Israelite worship, and if it did, to know whether such associates or converts were accepted upon equal terms with the earlier Yahwists, or whether some ethnic prejudice and discrimination against such converts prevailed. Gentiles accepted as orthodox Yahwists might carry their adopted religion home to their own land, as Naaman did (2 Kings 5:17 f.) or as the Ethiopian eunuch might have done with Christianity (Acts 8:27). The Ethiopian was already a Jew! If ancient Israelite society, placed at the cross-roads of the civilization of the ancient world, was religiously and socially organized to promote such possibilities, its features might be found at later times in distant lands, without any Israelite ever having been in such lands.

Again, the ancient social life of Israel is to be examined to know whether it ever was a unique or segregate ethnic group, or whether it specifically planned for the extensive intermarriage of Israelites and Gentiles, incorporating such Gentiles and their children into the religio-social Israel. The "lost tribes" hunter has never done this. Further, the ancient currents of international relations are to be examined, to know whether they would logically or inevitably produce much mingling of Israelite and Gentile blood, for such mingling could produce all the phenomena that fire the

imagination of the modern "lost tribes" hunters. As a class, they have been indifferent to such careful historic inquiry. And finally, if "Israelite" is to mean pure-blooded descendants of Jacob-Israel, whom did his sons marry? Is not the notion of such a segregate "pure Israelite" race a fiction from the very beginning?

It should be said that such inquiries are prerequisite to any accurate history of ancient Israel. There is a general complaint among scholars that our popular textbooks upon the subject are far from satisfactory. In the main, they are obsessed with the same traditional misconceptions of an originally unique segregate ethnic Israel, or a divine intention to produce such, that haunt the "lost tribes" hunter. These same confused contradictions of the evidence in the Old Testament and subsequent history frequently persist in the minds of students in college Bible courses or theological seminaries, even after terms of instruction. Perhaps a monograph emphasizing the above indicated but neglected and necessary points of historical inquiry may stimulate the rewriting of ancient Hebrew history, and yield a result that does not depart so widely from the social records remaining in the Old Testament. Careful examination of the Judaistic period, from Ezra on, may bring us a better comprehension of the Yahwist or pre-exilic period.

CHAPTER II

Many Deportations from Palestine

In attempting such inquiry we are confronted by two further facts. First, it has been assumed that the whole of the "ten tribes" were deported, that there were no other dispersed Jews from whom later resemblances to Judaism might arise, and that the conditions of life in the new homes of those deported could not have favored the spread of Judaism there. Therefore, numerous local traditions of descent from Israelite ancestry prove the presence of members of "lost tribes." The possibility that a clan might arise through the self-grouping about some notable leader of Israelite origin, that such new "Gentile" clan might adopt the tradition of their genealogical descent from their Israelite eponym, has never been suspected by the average discoverer of "lost tribes." We have then to keep clearly in mind the various stages and factors in the earlier processes of Jewish dispersion, generally ignored by casual readers, and to inquire into the political-social environment of "the Dispersed." It should be remembered that Israelites have been engaged in commercial enterprises and migrations since Solomon's alliance with the Phoenicians; and that in consequence only a fraction of the present widely dispersed people can be the descendants of ancient captives. Second, those carried captive by Sargon, at the fall of Samaria, in 2 Kings 17, were a very small fraction—probably not one percent, of the total number seized and deported by various peoples during many centuries. Only total ignorance of this leading fact of Hebrew history could make any modern discoverer of a secluded group of "Jews" jump to the conclusion that they were descendants of the Sargonid deportees. Every war in which Israelites of olden time were worsted meant slavery and exile for many. The story of 32,000 captive Midianite maids in Numbers 31:35 reminds us of what Israelites could expect when the tables were turned. This number of maids, by the way, is larger than the total number of captives of all classes that Sargon claims to have deported from Samaria. Without rehearsing the whole list of defeats in the Old Testament, one may observe that in the hundred years' war Damascus reduced the Northern Kingdom to a handful (2 Kings 13:1-8). This meant an immense dispersion of Israelite captives through Aramaean lands, and through lands where Israelite captives were sold (cf. Amos 1:9). It also meant Aramaean settlers and garrisons in the

defeated Israel, with racial intermingling (cf. 1 Kings 20:34). Sennacherib reports 200,150 carried away from Southwest Judah —nearly seven times as many as Sargon carried away from Samaria twenty years before. Nebuchadrezzar's raids one hundred years later meant another large deportation. A little earlier, Psamtik I and Psamtik II had carried away large bodies of Jews and placed them as garrisons on the Nubian frontier. How large these deportations were Aristeas (12-14) does not tell us. But Isaiah knew of such deportees, even a little earlier (Isaiah 27:13, 19:18 ff., 11:15 f.). Then Aristeas tells us that Ptolemy Soter overran Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, deporting more than 100,000 "Jews" (Josephus puts the number at 120,000; *Wars,* v, xi, 3) and that the Persian (Cambyses) had previously encouraged the settlement of Jews in Egypt. In the Maccabean wars thousands more became slaves and exiles. Herodian wars and Parthian raids meant still further enslavements and dispersions. Ptolemy Lathyrus carried off 10,000 slaves from Galilee, still more from the battle on the Jordan, and an unreported number from a subsequent harrying of the country,[1] while one of the Ptolemies colonized 100,000 Jews in Libya, in the districts adjacent to Cyrene. Crassus captured 30,000 at the battle of Taricheae.[2] Josephus pictures the clashes of races and religions in Syria and Palestine that eventually brought Vespasian and Titus—"Syrians" in Palestine storming a Jewish city, massacring and enslaving; Jews retaliating upon any "Syrian" city near by. Josephus tells of like conduct of his own, storming Sepphoris twice, Tiberias four times Gadara once, the opposing seditious leaders doing like things.[3]

Then Titus swept the land, carrying off 97,000 captives.[4] Sixty-five years later Hadrian added many thousands to "the Jews that were scattered abroad"; 580,000 perished or were enslaved. And when the Jews in Cyrene, vastly increased from the 100,000 settled there by the Ptolemies, revolted against Trajan, slaying 200,000 Greeks and "Roman citizens," the Emperor depopulated the country to such extent that large bodies of new colonists had to be brought in. Jews were the major part of the population of some Armenian provinces, deported and placed by Tigranes about the city of Van; so Moses of Chorene tells us. Their descendants and proselytes were so numerous two hundred years later that the Persian king Shapur II destroyed 10,000 Jewish families in Van

[1] Josephus, *Ant.* XIII, xii, 4-6.
[2] *Ibid.,* XIV, vii, 3.
[3] *Life,* 6, 15 f.; 19, 67 f.; *Wars, passim.*
[4] *Wars,* VI, IX, 3.

alone[5] and deported thousands to Persia. There is no need of extending this list; it will be recognized that tracing all the widely dispersed Jews of later times to the single handful of "Israel" deported by Sargon is an unspeakable absurdity. Equally absurd is it to find in "Semitic" lineaments among any people, like the Afghans, proof of Israelite or Jewish ancestry. The wide dispersion of Aramaean and Arab tribes in ancient times is an outstanding fact of record. This means a large infusion of Semitic speech into various languages from Asia Minor through Persia and Turkestan to India. And traces of Semitic physiognomy left in all these lands cannot be reasonably claimed as due to a single variety of the Aramaean strain to be called "Israelite." And, as already stated, the "Semitic face" itself is an obsessing assumption of the seekers for the "lost ten tribes." None of them have ever offered any evidence that the peculiar somatic type they sought for was really Semitic.

There is further to be noticed the fact that the word *shebet,* often translated "tribe," is not primarily "tribe," but "staff, official staff"; secondarily "official, official class": those known by their bearing such staff, as a king is in our minds recognizable by his scepter (cf. Esther 4:11, 5:2). Such a staff of the officer or clan-head appears in Judges 5:14 (AV "pen of the writer"). Several such were from Zebulun. Compare "princes' staves," Numbers 21:18 and Zechariah 11:7 ff. Thirdly, such *shebet* may be put for the people or nation, whose ruler bears it, as in Isaiah 14:5. The illustrations show how several *shebatîm* may be in one little tribe, or a great empire may be spoken of as one *shebet,* while *shebet* in general suggests the official class. In like manner *makhzen,* "treasury," is used throughout Moslem North Africa as the technical term for the whole governing or aristocratic group, as "Palace" (Great House) was in ancient Babylonia. The ancient Egyptian monarch was also *Per-Ao,* "The Great House"; and throughout much of Bantu Africa to-day "the big house," or "the great place," remains a popular term for the hut or village of the chief.[6] Negroes brought the idiom to America and often referred to the home of the plantation-owner as "the big house." In the same way an official is known in Old Palestine or Egypt by his *shebet,* or staff; cf. "from Zebulun those wielding the *shebet* of an officer" (Judges 5:14). The famous wooden statue of Ra-Em-Ka of the Fourth Dynasty Period, now in the Museum

[5] Chorene, 11-19.
[6] Kay, *Travels and Researches in Caffraria,* pp. 82, 144, 266.

at Cairo, brought shouts of "sheikh el-beled!"—"The village chief!"—from the workmen who dug it up. He bore a wooden staff, as such chieftains still do. So we understand that Jeroboam, winning ten *shebatîm* in 1 Kings 11:31 is winning the ruling classes, those whose vote in council can make or depose kings. They are militarists looking for a leader. In 1 Samuel 8:4 they are "all the Elders of Israel." The warning of heavy taxation does not disturb them; they can pass those exactions along to the peasantry; they are bent on having a war-lord (cf. 8:20). Such clan-heads assemble in 10:20. The masses of fellahîn do not demand war nor originate political revolutions. The term *shebet* is not used in 2 Kings 17:6. We have "Israel" carried away. But we have to remember that the older population of Palestine was not destroyed, and was probably still in the majority. Israel had become the official or ruling class, which Assyria always had to subdue. We can get from this chapter in Kings nothing more than the deportation of the controlling aristocrats. The expression "ten tribes" is not used, and only the Ephraimite plain is involved, as the limits of the subsequent "Samaritan" country steadily remind us. We have, in short, only the deportation of the troublesome aristocracy of the central plain. When such ruling classes were deported and lost their long-cherished authority, the use of the term *shebet* in the earlier restricted sense would slowly die, and those using it would come to think of the "ten shebatîm" as meaning the whole populace, instead of the ruling classes or organizations of a district. Thus some Israelites would come to think of the ancient incident in a mistaken and exaggerated fashion. And such proud deported aristocracy would perpetuate the memory of their humiliation as deported masses would never do. It is a trait of humiliated aristocracies in all ages; and their own humiliation they report as the ruin of the whole land that they once controlled; and they would dream of a military vindication and restoration under the leadership of some "Messiah" or "Kaiser" or "Emperor." It is of record that Tamerlane and Genghis Khan were hailed by some Jews as such "Messiahs." Genghis Khan had a corps of "Jewish" troops. Such a dream logically culminates in political ruin. There is a Titus for every revenge-nursing people.

Illustrations of the vague and exaggerated use of "Israel" in the Old Testament are here desirable. In 2 Samuel 10:17 David gathers "all Israel" to cross the Jordan into the region where two and a half tribes are pictured as dwelling. Next year David sends "all Israel" with Joab into the same region (2 Samuel 11:1).

But he gets into trouble at home while "Israel and Judah dwell in tents" (2 Samuel 11:11) that will bring the like upon him "before all Israel" (2 Samuel 12:12, 16:21 f.). Though Joab had taken "all Israel" with him against Rabbah, he finally calls for "the rest of the people," and David "gathered all the people together and went to Rabbah" (12:28 f.). Similarly Absalom and "all the elders of Israel" are advised by Hushai to "gather all Israel," as though none of Israel was with David (2 Samuel 17:4, 10, 13); and in verse 24 "all the men of Israel." "All the tribes of Israel" are interested in bringing David back (2 Samuel 19:8-11, 41-43). In this last case "all Israel" asserts that it has ten parts or votes in making any king; evidently it voted by "tribes." In consequence "every man of Israel" forsakes David for Sheba (20:1 f.), but Joab recruits an army "through all the tribes of Israel," in pursuit of him (20:14). In 2 Samuel 24:2-9 the numbering of "all Israel" proves only to be a military census; but the account includes annexed districts that are in some other passages contrasted with Israel. In all these accounts "Israel" is at most only the military class. They put before us in David's latter days the fact of ten official voting districts or ten military clans. By way of contrast, when Samuel took the lead, some seventy-five years earlier, "Israel" was a small tract in Mt. Ephraim, southwest of Shechem. The narratives show the Philistines exercising a protectorate over all Southern Palestine, but Samuel excludes them from "all the coasts of Israel."[7] So Israel territorially is a very variable quantity. In no case cited above is "all Israel" the entire population. And this appears again in the Solomon régime where "Israel" means the warriors and officials. The older, settled and institutionalized peasant and trader population of "Hebrew-speaking" Palestine is being slowly forced into an inferior position (1 Kings 9:20 ff.). Thus it is clear again that the "Israel" carried captive by Sargon can only mean this arrogant and oppressive official-military aristocracy. Modern historians may one day conclude that we owe more to the old subjugated Hebrew-speaking population than to the arrogant military Aramaean Israel.

A little further attention to the uses of the term "Israel" is advisable.[8] The name appears first as a substitute for Jacob, in Genesis 32:25 ff. Yet as such substitute it does not appear in the

[7] 1 Samuel 7:13-17; contrast the "Coast of Israel" of Jeroboam II, 2 Kings 14:25.

[8] Besides Bible Dictionaries, see the later monograph of eighty pages by Edward Sachsse, "*Die Bedeutung des Namens Israel,*" Bonn, 1910.

literary sources that scholars consider distinctly northern. It is not a name for the patriarch in the earlier prophets, save in Hosea 12:12. It does appear in tales told by southern writers about early doings in the north and northeast. In 1 Kings 18:36; 2 Kings 17:20, 34; Judges 18:29, are passages in which Israel as a patriarch name is believed to be an insertion by an editor. As a patriarch name it is unknown to Jeremiah and the second Isaiah. So some believe that the ancestor Israel is a late invention to account for a religious fraternity called Israel. The fact remains that the ancient rabbinical scholars never agreed upon the origin and meaning of the term. To this point further attention will be paid. Genesis 32:24 ff. identifies Jacob with an "Israel" that had a sanctuary east of the Jordan, in the region dominated later by the pagan Israel of Hoshea (Numbers 13:16; Joshua 24:2, 14, 23). But "Jacob"—*Ya'akôb*—may be a Semitic translation of the ideogram SA-GAZ="sinew-smiter, sinew-destroyer." These SA-GAZ freebooters are an outstanding element in the El-Amarna Letters.

But if "Israel" was a religious fraternity instead of an Aramaean tribe, did not Sargon's deportation remove the most fervid Yahwist faction in the northern kingdom, instead of the most pagan? The like is openly asserted in the case of Judah by Jeremiah 24 and Ezekiel 11:15 ff. The tacit assumption of all "lost tribes" hunters that the worst of the northern kingdom were deported, can not be accepted until a careful examination is made into the origins of Judaism in the regions to which Israel was deported.

When we turn to the findings of Sachsse's monograph, the collective sense of the term Israel is our one concern. He shows that we have "Israel" and "Benî-Israel" (children of Israel) to deal with. There is a steady distinction. "Israel" alone is a definite political community or fraternity. It may be used with a plural verb (1 Kings 2:15; 12:16-18; distinct from Judah, but some of them residing in Judah,) indicating several action. Oftener, with a singular verb, it implies community or concerted political action (1 Kings 11:16, 12:1; 20:20; 2 Kings 14:12); or it is used as a geographical expression, which is never all Palestine (1 Kings 5:27; 2 Kings 15:20). In this connection, observe that Yahu is "God of Israel": never of "all the land." But the reformer-prophets use Israel as a geographical expression: all the land and people.

But "Benî-Israel" is the term regularly used when speaking of ethical and cultural relations. In Judges, for illustration,

"Israel" is oppressed, sold, judged, delivered. But it is always "some children of Israel" who do evil in the sight of Yahu. It is so in other Old Testament books. As already shown, when "Israel" is carried captive, it means the political organization is shattered: it does not mean that each of the "children of Israel" is deported.

CHAPTER III

Traditions of Palestinian Origin

We should next recognize that we can accept any local tradition of Israelite ancestry without being compelled to accept the myth of "lost ten tribes." A vast deal of writing upon the subject has treated such "Israelite" traditions very cavalierly, in order to avoid accepting the myth. The middle course is the true one. With regard to these many local traditions we have also to remember the fact ever recurrent in the Orient of dependents grouping themselves about a successful adventurer, who may later be reported as the eponym-ancestor of the clan. Now the Israelite adventurer has penetrated many lands and often gained control of tribes or kingdoms. The Jewish kings of Yemen and mediæval Abyssinia are examples. We can therefore accept the fact that an Afghan clan may be right in claiming some adventurous Israelite as its founder and its members in calling themselves "Josephites," without concluding that all the clan or all Afghans are of Israelite descent. Conversely, the clear evidence that Afghans in general are not "Israelites" does not warrant our repudiating their claim of some adventurous Israelites as the original nucleus of some Afghan clan.

As to such Israelite adventurers and leaders, omitting modern Europe, Timour had "Judah" of Germany as *shenî lammelek,* "second to the king." Genghis Khan had Soleyman; Haidar Shah of Bokhara a century ago had a Jew grand vizier. Abarbanel was chancellor of the exchequer to Ferdinand and Isabella.[1] Joseph and Daniel and Mordecai have been duplicated many times. Moses of Chorene says that after the battle of Babylon the Armenian Arshag the Great conferred upon a brave Jew, Shampa Pakarad, and his family, the right of placing the crown on the heads of kings of Armenia. The family held a satrapy and were still considerable in Moses' day. Pakarad was a dignitary of the kingdom, and governor of a province, a prince of 12,000 men. Moses has been suspected of romancing for the purpose of putting his Armenian heroes in the line of Old Testament genealogies and official successions. But the fact that the Pakraduni did not maintain Jewish customs is not an insuperable difficulty. Jews often exchange their religion for noble rank. And his Shampa Pakarad was probably a Judaized Armenian, not an exiled Israelite.

[1] Wolff, *Travels and Adventures,* II, 13 f.

This possibility puts before us a fact that must be kept in mind in all examinations of lost-tribes traditions. Jews, Moslems, and Christians alike are fond of giving converts a new name from their stock of tradition-favored names. An Indian chief, Red Dog or Running Wolf or Grey Eagle, if Judaized, might be known as Benjamin, or Manasseh, or Naphtali: his children may be recorded as descendants of such popular ancient eponyms. We find old Hebrew names widely distributed, attached to persons and places. They are worthless as evidence of Israelite ancestry, but they urge us to inquire what sort of Israelite influence or tradition has been at work in any given locality. American Christianity has a host of Salems and Jerichos and Jordans and Canaans that never knew the presence of a "son of Israel." A glance at claims of Israelite ancestry based upon mere Hebrew names will convince any one of a tremendous and widespread influence of the ancient Israelites. But the facts will not be acknowledged as evidence of genealogical descent from Israelites.

The neglected writings of Dr. Joseph Wolff, the Christianized Polish Jew, are particularly interesting because he fervently believed in the "lost tribes" and in the immediate second coming of Christ; and his missionary labors in the Orient nearly a century ago were for the specific purpose of finding and converting his lost kinsmen. He found numerous cases of bands of persecuted Jews taking refuge with wild semi-savage peoples, in Persia and eastward, and being protected by them. In some cases the protected in time came to be the dominant element in the partnership. And sometimes little remained save a tradition of Israelite origin. The modern Jews of Khiva dwell with and intermarry with the Uzbeck Tartars, he reported. He knew that the Uzbecks are relatively parvenus: that they came southward to the region of the Oxus in 1498, and established their nomad capital at Organtsch in Khiva, the ancient Chorasmia.[2] But Wolff was not minutely informed concerning the earlier history of this region, and did not know that his Jews of Khiva were themselves largely the descendants of Tartars who had been Judaized more than a thousand years before. Naturally then the Jews of modern Bokhara, when much oppressed, take refuge with the desert nomads at Mowr, Sarakhs, Akhal, and with the Hazara of Afghanistan.[3] An ancient Jewish school survived at Mowr (Merv).

[2] *Mission to Bokhara*, p. 228. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 207.

Wolff found "Benî-Israel" at Poona, India, totally distinct from the Jews of Hindustan and Europe. They came from Arabia, had forgotten the Torah, repeated certain Hebrew prayers which they could not understand, and read the Pentateuch a little without knowing what it meant. Their Arabian ancestors may have never known much more. He also found other "Benî-Israel" at Bombay—about a thousand families, entirely distinct from the Jews there.[4] Dr. Grant found Nestorian Christians in Kurdistan, who said they were Benî-Israel, but not Jews.[5] Captain Bertram Dickson reports Jewish communities all through Kurdistan, and sees no reason to doubt that they have been there since Sargon's deportation.[6] Wolff found the 15,000 Bokhara "Jews" preferring to be known as Benî-Israel. He found Afghans who were not Jews, but who insisted on their descent from the Benî-Israel. They had a long genealogical table, which he published, tracing their descent through Kish, the father of Saul, clear back to Adam.[7] At the present time Sir T. H. Holdich[8] reports the ruling Afghans calling themselves Durani and Benî-Israel; but "we are not Yahudî!"—which means that they are Moslems, and that *Yahudî* is a sectarian term, not a racial one. Holdich found an Afghan ruler claiming that their hatred of the Yahudî dated from Rehoboam's time; and those of "Hebraic face" claimed descent from Kish (1 Samuel 9:1 f.). All of which may be accepted without involving any notion of ten lost tribes. Cardinal Meignan[9] quotes another form of Afghan tradition, that Jews of the tribe of Asher were founders of the Afghans, and that they moved thence down the Indus into India; whence the Jews in India today, from the mouth of the Indus down the west coast; while Manasseh settled in the borders of China and Tartary, and five centuries later had spread all through Asia. This relates itself definitely to Jews still living in the mountains east and southeast of Afghanistan, on the Indian frontier. Wolff reports upon the heights of Badakhshan, northeast of Kabul, the "tribes" of Naphtali, Dan, Zebulun and Asher.[10] Benjamin of Tudela[11] heard of some tribes in the mountains of Nishapur, Persia. The Jews of

[4] *Researches and Missionary Labors,* pp. 320 f.
[5] *The Nestorians,* pp. 145 ff.
[6] *Geographical Journal,* April, 1910.
[7] *Researches and Missionary Labors,* pp. 337 f.
[8] *Nineteenth Century,* July, 1919, pp. 111 f.
[9] *Le Correspondant,* 171, pp. 3 ff.
[10] *Mission to Bokhara,* p. 230.
[11] Cf. M. N. Adler, *Benjamin of Tudela,* pp. 83 ff.

Bokhara told Wolff that Naphtali and Zebulun lived in the Hindû Koosh by brigandage; "but they know the Shema Israel!"[12] They told him that the Jews in the Aral Mountains claimed to be of the tribe of Naphtali.[13] The Bokhara Israel had once forgotten the Torah themselves, till knowledge of it was revived among them in modern times by Joseph the Maghrebî, from Tetuan, Morocco. In the time of Genghis Khan many of them migrated.[14] He found Malabar Jews claiming that 10,000 of their ancestors left Palestine at the time of Titus' capture of Jerusalem, and eventually reached India. They had no notion of descent from the Sargonic deportation.[15] The Jews of Aden, at the mouth of the Red Sea, "had been there from time immemorial"; perhaps they were a commercial colony of Solomon's, in the queen of Sheba's ancient domain. Wolff thought that he had found the Rechabites, in the Benî Arhab, of the Yemenite Jews. These Yemenite Jews curse the name of Ezra and will not give his name to any of their people. Their attitude suggests their origin at a definite stage in Hebrew history.[16] Benjamin of Tudela thought Aden was the Biblical Eden, whence Adamic Judaism originated. Such discoverers of Eden do not think it necessary to explain why later savage or semi-savage people are thought worthy to dwell in the land from which Adam was expelled.[17]

Contrasting with this sharp antagonism to Ezra, Wolff was told at Cairo that they had a manuscript Pentateuch, written by Ezra, held so sacred that anathemas of the rabbis were hurled at everyone venturing to open the chest where it was kept. Another older manuscript at Malta, near Cairo, worked many miracles.[18] On the other hand, among the Iranic Ossetes of Mt. Caucasus, Elijah has become a fire-god, or storm-god, and is worshipped as Mar Ilya. These descendants of proselyted people have largely lost their Judaism.

Again, in Khiva Wolff found people ostensibly Jews, yet claiming to be of ancient Canaanite ancestry: Hivite, Perizzite, Jebusite; scorning other Jews and cursing Joshua in their prayers.[19]

[12] *Mission to Bokhara*, p. 380. [13] *Travels and Adventures*, II, 15 f.
[14] *Ibid.*, II, 13 f.; *Researches and Missionary Labors*, p. 134.
[15] *Researches and Missionary Labors*, pp. 306 ff.
[16] Cf. E. N. Adler, *Jews in Many Lands*, pp. 67 f.
[17] The repetition of place-names from the lower Euphrates and Persian Gulf across Southern Arabia into Somaliland seems to suggest continuous migration from the east.—Schoff.
[18] *Travels and Adventures*, I, 221 f. [19] *Ibid.*, II, 152.

Whence came this curious tradition? Were the leading features of Judaism developed in Palestine before the Israelite invasion? There is a similar antagonism in Abyssinia between Falashas and Kamants. In the Atlas Mountains of Morocco are ancient communities of Jews, totally distinct from the Spanish Jews of the lowland towns. They call themselves Plishtin, or Pelishtim, the name we Anglicize as "Philistines." The community is very ancient. Tombs are shown that date near the beginning of the Christian era. They have a tradition that they came there after a capture of Jerusalem. Charles de Foucauld first visited them; Augustin Bernard has described them at length[20] Still more striking is it that Berbers in the Ghat oasis 800 miles south of Tunis, and 2000 miles west of the Nile, claim that they are Philistines who fled from Gath when it was destroyed. They accordingly named their new home Gath and view all Jews, whether Berber or Semitic, as their natural enemies.[21] Is it possible for people who had never been in Palestine to have learned so much history and to have claimed it as their own? Such modern Philistines give us more respect for the story of Procopius, that in his day steles stood on the coast of western North Africa with the inscription, "We are they who fled from Joshua the Robber, the son of Nun." Again, the Berber Jews that dwell in artificial subterranean excavations in southern Tunisia have some Hebrew books still, and call themselves "Plishtin."[22] Graberg von Hemsö in 1833, visiting the interior of Morocco, recognized different strata of Jewish migration, and that the oldest was the Jewish element among the Amazirgh Berbers in the Atlas mountains. They called themselves Pilistin. The Judaizing of many Philistines in the Old Testament, and their employment as royal guards and shrine attendants is to be remembered.

It should be clear to any one that we have traditions originating in different stages of Israelite development, in different epochs, and from different events. Whether well-founded or not, not one of these has any apparent connection with the deportation of a few thousand Israelites by Sargon. As a group, they afford no support whatever for a theory of "lost ten tribes."

Benjamin of Tudela found a report that the Jews of Kheibar, so bitterly opposed to Mohammed, were of Reuben, Gad, and

[20] See René Bazin, *Charles de Foucauld*, 1921; L. De Campou, *Le Correspondant*, vol. 143, p. 442; Robert Perret, *Le Correspondant*, vol. 295, p. 1079.

[21] Kreppel, *Juden und Judentum von Heute*, p. 801.

[22] Feist, *Stammeskunde der Juden*, p. 103.

Manasseh. This ancient Israelite district being the nearest to Kheibar and on the caravan road makes the claim very plausible. Brigandage has been a chief business of theirs since the days of David, "The Enlarger of Gad" (Deuteronomy 33:20). "Gad is a troop of plunderers! A troop of plunderers shall plunder him; but he shall plunder at the last"; so Stanley translates Genesis 49:14.[23] Benjamin of Tudela records Kheibar brigandage. David Reubeni in 1524 came thence through Europe to Abyssinia, claiming to be a brother of Joseph, "the king of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh." E. N. Adler cites modern scholars who think the Aneyzeh Beduin are the descendants of this one time powerful Kheibar Israelite colony. Dozy thinks they have been there since the defeat of the Amalekite brigands by David, 1 Samuel 30. Benjamin of Tudela was told by the Jews whom he met in Persia that the Israelites in the mountains of Nishapur were of the tribes of Dan, Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali. We could think of them as deportees of Tiglath-pileser III (2 Kings 15:29). They were warlike, independent, living by brigandage. Such "Israelites" were very powerful in Khorassan till recent times. Records in the Armenian monastery at Kutais are claimed to show that the whole Georgian region about Tiflis was dominantly Jewish till a few years ago. Many independent tribes calling themselves "Jews" existed in the southern Caucasus up to the time of Russian domination.[24]

These few illustrations will suffice. We have no general reason to repudiate local traditions of Israelite ancestry, nor reason to think of all Jews as descendants of captives, least of all to think of them as descendants of the one little group deported by Sargon. This we have seen to be probably less than one per cent of the total number of Hebrews deported during the centuries. We have seen claim upon claim to be survivors of Asher, Naphtali, Zebulun, Dan, Reuben, Gad, Manasseh, Joseph, Benjamin, and others. The cavalier dismissal by some scholars of all such traditions of local ancestry or descent is most surprising. It is like crediting a claim of "American" origin and rejecting the claim of Missourian or Californian or Virginian or Vermont ancestry. There is no *a priori* or inherent difficulty about preserving a tradition of ancestry from some special district of Palestine. On the contrary, the probabilities are in favor of such reminiscences surviving. A

[23] Or: "their betrayer shall be plundered"? Cf. 1 Chronicles 12:8-15.

[24] E. N. Adler, *Jews in Many Lands,* p. 188. Cf. Dr. M. Lewin, *Wo Sind die Stämme Israels zu Suchen?* and Dr. Adolphe Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?" in *Jewish Quarterly Review,* 1, 14-28, 95-114, 185-201, 408-23.

people capable of keeping itself distinct in religion from others for 2,500 years, and preserving accurate tradition of the land of its earlier religion, must certainly have some district traditions that are entitled to respectful consideration. And it should be remembered that such traditions were originally hardly genealogical; some names, like Asher, being district-names in Palestine before the advent of the "Israelites." Semitic habits of speech would result in such local Israelites being known as "sons of Asher," "Gileadites," and so on.

We must go further in this examination of traditions of Israelite ancestry. All may originate in historic facts and yet the traditions be a perversion of the facts. We have to remember the ways of thought and the colloquial idioms of Oriental peoples. A relatively recent fact may result in a genealogical tradition reaching an initial point in the remote past. An excellent illustration is afforded by the modern Bokhara Jews. Ninety-five years ago Dr. Joseph Wolff[25] found them about 10,000 in number, with favored Persian literature and various marks of emigration from Persia to Bokhara. At one time they had lost nearly all their Judaism. But Joseph ben Moses Maimoun, from Tetuan, Morocco, known as "Joseph Maghrebî" ("the Westerner"), came among them and brought about a great revival, introducing Sephardic ritual from Italy. So Elkan N. Adler found them claiming descent from the Spanish Jews driven from Spain in 1492, because Joseph Maghrebî was of such descent.[26] We see how a genealogical tradition may have its origin in the work of an outstanding personality, yet the fancy that all who follow him are his genealogical posterity, or have the same ancestry, may be baseless. Thus hosts of self-styled modern "Israelites" may have no Israelite ancestor.

Again, we have to remember the peculiar idioms of early peoples when increasing from small well-known family groups to larger social and political aggregations. They will express these larger groupings in terms of the family relationships. "Father" and "master" are equivalent terms in the diplomatic phraseology of such stages of development. "Brother" implies independence and equality. "Son" is an honorary equivalent for "vassal, subject," i.e., a vassal of high rank. Thus in the book of Joshua we read in our English Bible of a city and its "suburbs"; but the Hebrew word is "daughters." And it does not mean that the inhabitants of those "suburbs" are genealogically descended from

[25] *Researches and Missionary Labors,* "Mission to Bokhara," p. 11.
[26] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* III, 296.

those of the central city. It means that those petty villages are administratively supervised by the central city; that they are part of its little district or provincial claim.

To illustrate the point at some length: Ahaz when terrified sends to the king of Assyria: "I am thy son and thy servant; come and save me" (2 Kings 17:7). In like manner, Ben-Hadad, beaten and suppliant sends messengers to Ahab, begging for life. Ahab responds: "He is my brother"; and they instantly reply: "Ben-Hadad is thy brother"; which a certain prophet considers a diplomatic defeat (1 Kings 20:31 ff.). Turning to Hittite records 1350-1400 B.C. we find Murshilish III beginning a treaty thus: "Thus saith The Sun (= my majesty) Murshilish, the great king, the king of the land of Khatti, the favorite of the storm-god, the son of Shubbilulyuma, the great king, the king of the land of Khatti, the Hero." By styling himself "The Divine Sun," he shows us that he was regularly addressed as a god by his subjects: just as the Tell el-Amarna Letters show us the Egyptian Pharoah addressed as "my god, my Sun-god."[27] Duppi-Teshup, grandson of Aziru, whom he confirms as successor of Aziru and honored vassal of the Hittite king, he regularly calls "my son."[28] Similarly, we find in ancient Egypt that the Nubian princelings who were brought under the sway of the Pharaoh were rewarded for their loyalty with the title "King's son, of Cush." The like is still common in parts of the Orient. But how will such "sons" be understood by alien scholars, a thousand years removed, or even by Semitic would-be historians? Their own idioms mislead them incessantly.

The Old Testament gives us a good illustration. Recent excavations show that Egypt held a controlling influence over the coastal plain from Philistia northward through what we call Phoenicia, at least as early as 3,000 B.C. down to the Tell-el Amarna period. This coastal plain of Palestine-Phoenicia is the "Canaan," (Kanahi, Kenana) of the older records. Politically "Canaan" was the "son" of Egypt for a long period. Egypt was Khemi, "the Black Land" (rich alluvium). From it we get our words *alchemy, chemistry,* etc. In our English Bible it is "Ham," a title which has nothing to do with the negro race. But this "sonship" of the coastal region has no reference to the ancestry of the various peoples resident there. In the earlier period of Egyptian domination there were no Semites on the coast. The Phoeni-

[27] Cf. the addressing the Israelite prince in Psalm 45:6 f. as a god.
[28] Friedrich, *Der Alte Orient,* Band 24, Heft 3, pp. 14 ff.

cian traditions put their own arrival about 2750 B.C.[29] Egyptian records announce their struggle with the Hittites and "sea-peoples" in the Orontes valley fifteen centuries later; then the arrival of a Philistine migration in the south. But these racial changes do not affect Canaan's "sonship"; and when Egypt's control passes altogether, late compilers report from the diplomatic phraseology that Canaan was always a "son" of Egypt. So in Genesis 10:6 we have the "sons" of Khemi: Nubia, Somaliland, Upper and Lower Egypt (Mizraim, "the two Misrs") and "Canaan." It is a true statement of political dominance, whatever peoples came or went in those regions. Then in verse 15, Sidon is the older "son" of Canaan, and the Hittite next. It is a correct statement of the succession in political dominance of the coastal region called Canaan. Further, Mizraim or Egypt has other political dependents. The Ludim may be the known tributary tribes, on the lower west-coast of the Red Sea: the Adul of the Greeks;—Adîl; plural, Adaïel to-day. The Naphtûhim (10:13 f.) are the Na-p-Tuimah, "the town of the Tuimah" (or Temeh): the district known as the Fayyûm to-day. The Libyan tribe known as Tuimah was settled in that fertile basin at a very early day, and incorporated into the empire of the Pharaohs. Their tribal name clung to the basin through two thousand years. An inscription of Ptolemaic times calls the Fayyûm lake, "Pond of the Tuimah."[30] Caslûhim, certainly corrupted, as various versions show, probably means "oasis colonies" which Egypt maintained and to which political opponents were sometimes banished. All oasis-settlements in North Africa to-day are called Kasr, plural *Ksûr,* common "forts," perpetuating the tradition of their former garrisoned status. The Egyptian term for an oasis is *ûahet,* which the Semites have accepted: the Arabic *wâh.* The Copts made it *ouakhe* and the Greeks passed it to us as *oas-is.* The *Kasr-ûah* would be "oasis-garrison"; with the Hebrew plural, *Kasr-ûahîm.* The turning of "Arab-arch," "Chief of the nomads," into "Alabarch," as Josephus calls the head of the Jewish colony in Alexandria shows how the same people would turn *Kasr-ûahim* into *Kaslûhim.*[31]

[29] See Eiselen, *Sidon.*

[30] Möller, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft,* 1924, 45 ff. Brugsch and Erman have suggested Na-p-to-mhy, "town of the land of flax," which they conjectured meant the Delta: *Zeitschrift für die Alt-Testamentliche Wissenschaft,* 1890, 118 f. The great Tuimah colony did not occur to them.

[31] *Antiquities,* xx, v, 2. Slouschz points out this title of Arab-arch. Another guess at Casluhim identifies them with the Zakkala, shown in Egyptian inscriptions as coming with the Philistines, and settling along the Canaanite

Then the Pathros "son" of Mizraim is perfectly familiar as the Egyptian name for the Thebaid: Pa-to-resh, "Land of the South": the original center of Egyptian empire. But all this puts clearly the fact that the "sons" of a land are its political dependencies or its colonies: that its "sons" may be of alien races and religions. Such statements of historical fact make it clear that ancient Israel could have had many "sons" who had no genealogical connection with the descendants of Jacob.

An excellent illustration of the survival of an ancient honorary sonship is afforded by the chiefs on either side of the Hindû Koosh,—the northwest India frontier. The chieftains of Wakhan, Badakhshan, Darwaz, and Chitral, Shagnan and Roslan claim descent from Alexander the Great, canonized by the Mohammedans as "Hazret Sekunder."[32] Historically this can mean only that various frontier chiefs of olden time kept the Greek road to India open upon condition of being recognized as "sons" of the conqueror. Actually some of the present "sons" base their own claim upon recent intermarriage with families whose claim of "sonship" is very ancient. Thus the "sons of Alexander" here are positive proof of ancient powerful Grecian influence in this region; yet are no proof at all of any infusion of Grecian blood. And the "lost tribes" of Naphtali, Dan, Zebulun, and Asher, which, as already noticed, were reported by Dr. Wolff in this very region, are positive proof that there was once a very strong Israelite cultus influence there, but are no proof at all of any lost tribes, nor of any Israelite genealogy.

Another illustration of an honorary "sonship" is afforded by the so-called Cappadocian Tablets, viz., letters and contracts of ancient Assyrian trading-stations planted in the Hittite country. These little stations were established by the ancient city of Ashur. The tablets come from a period between Naram-Sin of Agade, and Ibi-Sin, of the last Ur dynasty, between 2700-2300 B.C. The city of Ashur is usually referred to as "The City" simply. No other place is conceded like dignity: it is The One City: the trading-posts from which the documents come are known as *Garu*, or *Karu*. Landsberger suggests that since the *Karu* or quay at each river or

coast, north of them. This transposes Zakkal into Kazal, then turns *z* to *s*, and ignores the guttural *h*. Cf. Macalister, *The Philistines*, pp. 28, 30, 36 f. But if they were a Canaanite coast people, why are they not reported as one of the "sons" of Canaan? The order in the text suggests especially the great southern oasis: the 'Anamîm of the preceding verse may be a transposition of 'Amanim, the inhabitants of the great oasis of the god Amen. But see Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, I, *s. v.*

[32] Wood, *Source of the River Oxus*, pp. 371 f.

canal-market in Mesopotamia was the mercantile center, the term *Karu* was extended to all trading-posts. Inland towns in America like Port William, Port Hudson, Port Royal, Westport, Jamesport, Norrisport, Newport, Rocheport, Rockport—all in Missouri—show the like American pioneer custom.

These Assyrian trading-posts were internally autonomous: cases between their own members they dealt with in their own way, through their own assembly. In matters involving outsiders they had to recognize the authorities and the laws of the land in which the trading-post was situated. The *Karu* is often expressed by the ideogram TUR. GAL, which is usually "Eldest Son." But in some cases the *Karu* is followed by *Sa-hi-ir* GAL, "great Merchant." The chief merchants of the post were the official council. It suggests that successful trade was the all-controlling consideration. The type of community is of first importance, for we shall find it persists through millenniums, and that the hereditary secular head of a Jewish community has been called The Merchant, or The Artisan, of the community, for a thousand years.

Now with Ashur as The City, the term "Elder Son" for a chief trading-post occasions no difficulties. It expresses the relation of such colony to the home city of Ashur. The Head of such colony is addressed as "Father," sometimes as "Mother," by those seeking his aid. And any one of the weaker trading-posts might address a stronger one as its "father." For example, the feeble post at Urshus, in what we now call Armenia, writes to the strong colony at Kanish, in western Cappadocia, that its own temple of the god Asshur has been robbed of everything, and the robbers have not been caught. "You are our fathers, our lords. Do, on your part, whatever you can."[33] Now here are "father and son" expressions two thousand years older than the Jewish Dispersion and the compilation of the Pentateuch. How will such phraseology be construed by the compilers of those later days? And we must remember that while the official staff of such an Assyrian "Elder Son" Colony may have been altogether Assyrian, that would not necessarily be true of its army of employees. There could be local claims later of being "sons of Assyria" by peoples not of Assyrian descent. But this ancient form of trade-colony

[33] Bruno Landsberger, "Assyrische Handels-Kolonien in Klein-Asien," in *Der Alte Orient,* Band 24, Heft 4 (1925). These trade-colonies probably resulted from a campaign Sargon of Akkad made, pushing northward from the Katna region into the Hittite country. See E. Weidner, "Boghaz-Keui Studien," VI (1922) and Albright, in *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research,* 1923, pp. 1-20.

organization is very important, because we shall find examples of its survival in some modern Jewish communities, a small group of merchants being the real rulers of a community, the rabbin in some cases being unknown. Such heads may also be technically known as *dayanîm,* or judges: the equivalent of the *shofetîm* from whom the Book of Judges in the Old Testament takes its name. Such were regular Phoenician functionaries: the *suffetes* of Latin authors.

But addressing the head of such a chief colony as "Father" brings another fact before us. Sometimes the directive center is referred to simply as *bit dîni,* "House of Judgment" (the Arab "Medinah"). Inscriptions of a later time mention the *bit dîni (ilu) Adad,* who was the chief god of Aleppo.[34] This particular *bit dîni* may have been a colony of Aleppo: possibly Aleppo itself. But the administrative "father" of such a mercantile colony would then be the *Ab-bît-dîni:* a judicial title that still persists in Judaism nearly 3000 years after the times of these old Assyrian colonies in Cappadocia. Further, the Jewish *Ab-beth-dîn* was an official secondary to the Nasî, who is the chief functionary in Ezekiel: just as any ancient Assyrian *Ab-bît-dîni* was a local official secondary to the *patesi* or *ishshakku* or king of the mother-city of Ashur.

That this "mother-and-son" relationship of colonies has left a survival in our popular word "metropolis" will surprise the average reader. Greeks planted colonies in this same Hittite country two thousand years after the above Assyrian and Akkadian posts. Each strong colony, like Sinope, or Cerasus, or Trebizond, that put small colonies along the coast, or inland, was known as a "mother-city"—*metro-polis*—and the smaller posts so planted were controlled by, and tributary to, the protecting "mother-city." Xenophon, marching westward from Trebizond, records some difficulties with Greek trading-posts whose "mother-city" was Sinope; and of the *Mossun-oikoi,* or Tower-houses people, he writes that they had a "mother-city" with adjacent villages. But this puts before us again the "daughters" (AV "suburbs") of ancient Palestinian towns. In 2 Samuel 20:14-22, Abel of the House of Maacah in the tribe of Naphtali is spoken of as an ancient center of counsel for a region around it, and consequently known as a "mother-city" in Israel. It was probably a colony of the Aramaean kingdom of Maacah of 2 Samuel 10:6.[35] There are familiar coins

[34] P. Dhorme, *Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society,* VIII, 2, 123 f.
[35] See article "Maacah," in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.*

of Laodicea, on the northern Phoenician coast, that bear the legend *Laodika em bi-Kena'an,* "Laodicea, a mother in Canaan." It should be noticed that this is very far north of the Canaan of the popular Bible-reader. The people we call Phoenicians have no such name for themselves. They are simply "sons" of certain cities: Gebalites, Tyrians, Sidonians, Arvadites, etc. An old Phoenician inscription Gesenius reads, "To the mother of the Sidonians of Kitium, Melite, Berytus, and a sister of Tyre." The cities of Kitium in Cyprus, and Melita and Berytus are colonies of the great "Fishing-town" (?) Sidon. Another inscription reads, "To Tyre, a mother of Sidonians." Later inscriptions show sharp rivalry at times between the leading Phoenician cities: each claiming to be "mother-city" politically, whether chronologically or not. But the sum of the evidence indicates that Tyre was really the older colony.[36]

Probably this ancient Semitic phraseology was adopted by the Greeks from their contacts in Asia Minor; for the term *metropolis* does not occur in Greek literature till the century of Xenophon and Herodotus. Their use of the word in speaking of towns in Asia Minor is not thrusting a Greek idea into the Oriental speech, but is a literal report of ancient Oriental phrase. Ezekiel's picture of Jerusalem as a mother-city (19:2), and as a daughter of Amorite and Hittite father-cities and mother-cities (16:3; 44 f.), and Hosea's rebuke of Samaria as a mother-city (2:2; 4:5) use the same ancient terminology. Ezekiel 23:2 reminds Jerusalem and Samaria that they are both daughter-cities of an older mother-colony: Sodom (16:46) being a younger colonial daughter. In the topography of Palestine in Joshua, etc., the daughter-cities (suburbs) are specified more than sixty times.

But why not call such suburban posts of a mother city its sons instead of its daughters? Because the term "son," as already shown, implied political subjection to an alien power. The distinction still persists throughout North Africa, where the tradition or fact of ancient supremacy is jealously preserved. The ethnologist Ratzel observes that in all this area the *Benî* or "son"-tribes ("built" tribes) are regularly the subject or dependent tribes; while *Ulad* or "born"-tribes are aboriginal or the conquerors or

[36] See Eiselen, *Sidon.* The old notion that *tsid* meant 'fish' in Phoenician as it does in Aramaic is not justified, though tunny-fishing was a leading Phoenician industry. There was certainly a god TSD, but we do not know how to pronounce the name, nor do we know his functions. Possibly it was the name of a favorite fish. The tunny appears on some ancient coins as the source of a city's commercial prosperity.

masters, often boasting an immemorial ascendancy as "free-born."[37] Names like Benî-Moussa, Ulad Nun, illustrate the point. It is the distinction made in the Old Testament between Sarah-tribes and Hagar-tribes, and still cherished by orthodox and pedigree-boasting Jews. The Wolad Sarah still vaunt their superiority to the Benî-Ishmael. But we see at once that Benî-Moussa or Benî-Israel does not mean the legitimate descendants of Moses or Israel. The same distinction survives among some Arab tribes in Somaliland. *Habr* means "grandmother," and the tribal names Habr Awal, Habr Gerhajis, Habr Teljala, etc., tell of a time when the name of a female ancestor was the tribal boast and the assertion of independence and superiority. The distinction clarifies for us the pretensions of all daughter-cities, particularly the "Daughter of Zion," "Daughter of Babylon," or "Daughter of Tyre." And were the "sons of Jacob" any other than subject districts annexed or conquered by an invading Jacob or Israel clan? The ancient records present the fact that place-names like Asher, Gad, Zebulun, were known in Palestine centuries before any Israelites were there. *Zebulâna, Zebulûn,* appears as a rebellious political "son" of Egypt as early as 2100 B.C.[38] The question has been long familiar to students of the ancient orient. But that an ancient "son of Israel" may be parallel to the "royal sons of Cush" (Nubian subjects of Egypt) is not familiar to the general reader. But the distinction which Ratzel points out between daughter tribes or "born" tribes and the son or "built on" (annexed) tribes originated in the days of tracing legitimacy and right of succession through the female line.

But all this son and daughter phraseology points to a similar early relationship: trading-posts planted in Palestine by various enterprising neighbors, near or far, many of which trading-posts

[37] Ratzel, *History of Mankind,* III, 244. We are here concerned only with the fact that distinctions based upon a legendary maternal ancestry still persist. The actual factors producing such aristocrat and inferior tribes receive some notice in the chapters upon "Shrine Levites" and "The City of Refuge" and "Captivity, Adoption and Slavery." On the general subject, see Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.* But the above illustrations are drawn from North Africa, where Berber rather than Arab institutions are dominant. The reader is cautioned at the outset that the infusion of some Semitic elements into a dominantly non-Semitic population will be continually before him in these pages. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage,* covers a far wider field than Smith. Lods, *Le Culte des Ancêtres dans l'Antiquité Hébraique* presents some of the Old Testament evidence.

[38] Sethe, *Die Aechtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker, und Dinge auf altägyptische Tongefäss-scherben des Mittleren Reiches;* discussed by Albright in *Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society,* 1928, pp. 223 ff.

had daughter-outposts. The process has gone on in Palestine from the remotest ages. But with such terminology, tradition of an ancestral town may in time be construed as descent from a person. Benjamin Nehavendî, "of Nehavend," when records are lost, and the city gone, could be explained as descended from a person or clan named Nehavend. The writer has Houston or Huston kin; but the Scotch-Irish folk who called themselves of "Hugh's town" included many families that had no original genealogical connection. Again it has to be emphasized that traditions of descent from some common eponym do not prove any genealogical connection at all; but they urge us to seek for the historic reason for such eponym.

But this takes us further in the revisions of our notions of the ancient world. The inscriptions of the above-mentioned Naram-Sin, and the "Geographical Statement" of the extent of the empire of his father, Sargon of Akkad,[39] show influence extending to Cyprus and Crete and the coasts of Greece (?), to Kaftara and Anaku, lands beyond the Upper Sea,—the Caphtor and Anakim of the Old Testament. We cannot maintain that there was an uninterrupted Assyrian trade-activity through all this domain through 2000 years. But the fact remains that early Greek geographers apply the name "Assyria" to the Black Sea coast from the mouth of the Halys to Sinope.[40] This was a natural commercial outlet for what they then called Cappadocia. No Assyrian inscription yet found asserts political control of this coast. But the fact of commercial control, when Greek geographers called it "Assyria" goes without saying.

But these ancient Assyrian trading-posts in Hittite or Cappadocian lands compel us to think that the Southern Akkadians had like posts wherever they thought it important to have them; perhaps some in Palestine. Conversely, we recognize that Caphtor-Crete and the "Land of Anak" had their Philistine and Anakim trading-posts wherever they were profitable, three thousand years before the Christian Era.[41] Modern western diplomatists dealing with China and Japan introduced "favored-nation clauses"; each western people demanding an equivalent for any privileges conceded another. The like competition by ancient orientals produced

[39] W. F. Albright, *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* September, 1925.

[40] Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter,* p. 52.

[41] Philistines in Abraham's time, Genesis 20-21; Anakim at Hebron, Numbers 13:22, 28; Joshua 14:12; 15:13 f.; driven back into Philistia, 11:21 f.

at each important commercial center a group of petty foreign quarters, each internally autonomous and maintaining its favorite cultus-shrine, if financially able to do so.

Two thousand years after these Assyrian and Akkadian trading-posts in Asia Minor and the Mediterranean we find Israelites establishing market-colonies (AV "streets") wherever they could, and Ben-Hadad speaking of the like posts which the Aramaeans had in Samaria (1 Kings 20:34). We have Saul credited with renewing a kingdom whose prestige had been shattered (1 Samuel 11:14), and extending it east over Ammon and Moab, and north over Zobah (1 Samuel 14:47); and with success in protecting Israelite trade (2 Samuel 1:24). We see that ancient Hebrews and the later Israelites had "son-colonies" whose history the Old Testament writers were not interested in compiling. Considering the close alliance with Phoenicia and Sheba credited to Solomon, his commerce with kings of Arabia, and his trade with Mutsri and his "navy of Tarshish" (Minoans), and with the kings of Hittites and Aramaeans, and his intimate relations with Moab, Ammon, Edom, and Sidon (1 Kings 9:26 f.; 10:1-13, 15, 22, 28 f.; 11:1) we are compelled to recognize the establishment of many Israelite trading-posts, and to admit that traditions of Israelite colonizing activity reaching back to Solomon's time have *a priori* grounds for asking polite consideration. Four hundred years later Ezekiel 27 shows knowledge of many regions touched by Phoenician-Israelite trade, with Israelite merchants in the various Tyrian ports. The persistence with which each enterprising commercial colony refused amalgamation even with those most nearly akin is illustrated by the town of Tripolis on the Phoenician coast. The name tells of its origin in Greek times, from three cities. Being one hundred and ten miles north of Tyre, and forty miles south of Arvad, it was a federal colony of Tyre, Sidon, and Arvad. But each of the three cities jealously maintained its separate quarter of the town. There was no assimilating community ideal.[42] The immediate point for our present inquiry is that the above-cited Israelite commercial ventures certainly produced like "daughter"-quarters in foreign cities, that strove to remain segregate from and independent of the local power, not becoming "sons" of their political hosts. With equal certainty there would also develop local foreign communities of "sons of Israel." Later local traditions of being "sons of Israel" would be no evidence of lost tribes, nor even of Israelite ancestry. Such traditions could

[42] Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, II, 606.

not prove more than genealogical connection with former employees, slaves, or proselytes of ancient trading-posts.

For each foreign market-concession, with its favorite cultus, inevitably had certain propagandist possibilities. Commercial success would attract many to it: the smaller traders, or those from a people maintaining no local autonomous trading-post, would attach themselves to the local colony offering them the greatest advantages. It still is commercially advantageous in the orient for the stranger to make a *minkhah,* which is literally "an introduction" gift, to the favored shrine of the district in which he wishes to do business. We see Jacob making such *minkhah* in Genesis 32:13 f., 18, 20 f., 33:10, to the lord of Edom; and in 43:11, 15, 26 Israelites offer a *minkhah* to the man who represented the priesthood of On, 41:45. So various trade-peoples bring Solomon an annual *minkhah* for the privilege of local trade, in 1 Kings 10:22-25. The Yahu shrine expected such *minkhah* (1 Samuel 2:17). The loss of the *minkhah* revenue might be accounted a serious matter (Joel 1:9, 13), since all favor-seeking peoples are expected to bring it (Isaiah 66:20). The institution shows us that ancient commerce had a propagandist influence. The stories from ancient Palestine, that Israelites worshipped the baalim of neighbor peoples, as in Judges 10:6, mean that these neighbors had prosperous trading-posts in the land, each with its shrine. In ancient Babylonia we have inscriptions from kings who report their fixing of the boundaries for each colony and its shrine; and if any one wished to free a slave, he had to specify what "god-quarter" of the city was to be the freed man's home.[43]

Another important fact is here. Such privilege-exacting, internally autonomous colony is a Ghetto *in posse.* Should the colony be permanently restricted to a small area, becoming greatly overcrowded in time, while emphasizing its aloofness from the people of the land, the actual Ghetto will result. As a social system, or as a social unit, it is doomed to final failure. On the other hand, if the trade-colony be conceded much land from the first, it may become a powerful propagandist center, drawing multitudes by its apparent temporal advantages. The Phoenician migration, synchronous with the earlier Cappadocian-Akkadian colonies that we have noticed, and with Sargon's report that his influence extended into the Mediterranean, illustrates the point. The Tyrian tradition is that their island site was a relatively uninhabited sanctuary-site for a long time; that it became an influential city

[43] Ilu duraru, *Code Hammurabi,* 117, 171, 280.

very slowly.[44] The claim is supported by the fact that Tyre is not noticed in the Egyptian records until the time of the later Ramessid kings. It was not hampered by being the restricted "Phoenician Ghetto" of some older town; and the migration of the Philistines and their allies down the coast, ravaging and destroying, probably left the island colony the commercial leader of the coast-traders.

It is of first importance to remember that such commercial colonies and correspondence do not prove political dominance, or displacing of the local language. The Hittite letters quoted are in cuneiform characters, which the writers found more convenient than the Hittite picture-writing. But they are in the Hittite language. There is no present evidence that in those early times Assyria ever dominated the Hittite region politically. Similarly, we shall see India adopting Phoenician-Hebrew script, with no evidence of any Semitic political control at the time. That Greece accepted the so-called Phoenician alphabet does not prove Phoenician political dominance of Greece. Nor does the use of cuneiform script and Akkadian language in the El-Amarna Letters prove that ancient Babylonia ever had any political control in Palestine. The popular speech was not affected by this diplomatic correspondence. The Hebrew of the Old Testament remains a witness to the fact.

Thus an initial examination of traditions of being "sons of Israel," accompanied by an inquiry into the significance of such colloquial phraseology, and a consideration of its historic social origins, shows that every such ancient tradition may be a reminiscence of historic events of much importance. But not one of these many traditions can be assumed in advance of a special historical investigation, to prove any genealogical connection with Israel.

[44] See Eiselen, *Sidon*.

CHAPTER IV

Hebrews Are Not Israelites

It is certain that any tradition of descent from ancient Israel or from the later Jews may have originated in some historic fact. This urges inquiry for the origin or meaning of different forms of such tradition. It has been noticed that some Assyrian (Nestorian) Christians claim to be Benî-Israel, but not Jews. Afghan Moslems have been cited as claiming the same. And we have noticed one or two cases where people accounted Jews by the casual Christian observer insist that they are not; and, keeping aloof from others known as Jews, insist that they are Benî-Israel. It should be recognized that all such peoples are the best judges of whether they are Jews or not. Their protest shows that casual Gentile observers are careless of their terminology and unfamiliar with certain contentions in Jewish history. How can such persons accurately discuss the existence or the source of Judaism in any given group of people? Seeing the lively distinction that some Arabic-speakers still maintain between Benî-folk and Ulad-folk, the merely "annexed" and the "native-born" folk, any Benî-Israel may actually be denying the Israelite ancestry that a Gentile theorist attributes to them. In Turkestan the so-called Jews are often neither Yehudîm, nor Benî-Israel; they call themselves simply Moussai, "followers of Moses."[1] Their Moslem neighbors prevent this so far as they can. But it seems that such Moussai do not make their religion a matter of genealogy. And varying traditions of ancient Israelite ancestry are found amongst peoples as distinct ethnologically as Esquimaux and Englishmen, negroes and Frenchmen, Chinese and Germans. What is the explanation?

The popular reader or ordinary Bible student is accustomed to identifying Hebrews with Israelites and with Jews; accustomed to thinking of all Jews as descendants of Jacob-Israel; accustomed to thinking that a great schism began with "Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin," and resulted in the total paganization of Israel and "the lost ten tribes." It is necessary then to begin by emphasizing the distinction between the terms Hebrew, Israelite, and Jew. Should they prove to be contrasting instead of synonymous terms, ancient antipathies may still survive in some modern Judaisms. But if the terms Hebrew and Israelite are contrasted in the days before the Israelite kingdom,

[1] O'Donovan, *The Merv Oasis,* II, 129.

or if Judah and Israel are sharply contrasted in such earlier times, the popular conception of a schism that did not originate till the days of Rehoboam must be abandoned.

There is no mention of a Hebrew king, or kingdom of the Hebrews, in the Old Testament. Such terms come from a far later age. We may conclude that they are the best terms to use, after viewing all the facts. That no one is addressed as a "Hebrew" in all the Old Testament and Apocryphal literature is also an outstanding fact. There was no consciousness of an ancestry that made the term *Hebrew* seem descriptive, or desirable. Persons in all these ancient records may be "sons of Israel" or of Judah, or of Jacob or Joseph, or of Heth (the Hittite), Moab or Ammon, but not "sons of Heber." Historically there is no consciousness of such an ancestor, upon the part of any people mentioned. There is no eponym-hero named Heber. The conclusion that the term *Hebrew* most accurately describes the aggregation of peoples in Palestine belongs to a very late post-exilic time. There is no mention of a Hebrew language in any of this ancient literature, till the prologue of the Wisdom of Ben-Sirach (Ecclesiasticus). Is a theoretical ancestor named Heber an invention of that late time?

The fact stated gains greatly in significance when we observe that in nearly four thousand Phoenician inscriptions the term "Hebrew" does not occur. Yet Tyre and Sidon and Carthage and Israel were most intimately allied, and many thousands of Israelites were dispersed through Phoenician North Africa in the centuries after Solomon. Nearly ten thousand names are known: not one of these is announced as a "Hebrew." But the term "Canaanite," or "coast-lander," continues to be a favorite self-description far down into our era. No devotee announces his nationality. Every one declares some generations of his ancestry. What does this mean? Since Phoenician and Israelite shrines stood side by side in Jerusalem till the exile, cultus-communities must have been of the same social type. Do the pedigrees reach back to the first of the devotee's ancestors who was acknowledged as a full member or proselyte of the cult? Religious fraternities are mentioned in the inscriptions. One presenting a votive offering may tell his profession or vocation: in a few cases, his city: never his race. The essential thing in Phoenicia and Israel was to show one's descent from a member of the cultus-community. But when we add the fact that the ancient historians also tell of no "Hebrew" people in Carthage, we must conclude that "Hebrew" as an ethno-

graphic term was unknown to the Phoenicians. But we shall see reason to believe that they used it as a topographic term.

In 1 Samuel 29:3 the Philistines are represented as calling "Hebrews" the motley collection of fugitives and brigands that have become the company of David. It is impossible under the circumstances to consider the term gentilic. In view of the policy inaugurated by Solomon (1 Kings 9:20 ff.) of reducing all non-Israelites to bondage, it seems impossible to view the enslaved "Hebrews" of Jeremiah 34:9-14 as any other than these mingled ethnic elements, whose servitude should not be perpetual in Deuteronomy 15:12 ff.

A first contrast is presented by the assertion that Yahu was a god not known to the Israelite forefathers. In Exodus 3:13 ff. and 6:3 it is definitely stated that the Israelites do not know Yahu: that the patriarchs did not, either in Ur or Harran or Palestine. The statement is supported by the fact long ago pointed out by Professor Gray, that personal names compounded with Yahu seem non-existent in the earlier days of the Israelite in Palestine. Not one of the hero-judges bears such a name. There are none in the Numbers compilation. Only the grandson of Moses, who founded the sanctuary at Dan, is so named—Jonathan (Judges 18:30). Yahu seems not popular outside of Moses' family and associates. But the Aramaic name Shaddai was known to Aramaean forebears. Though in these mingled Exodus stories Moses is represented as saying that Yahu is a god known to some of the people called Hebrews, the identity of these people does not appear from the passages in which "Yahu a God of the Hebrews" repeatedly demands that Israel be allowed to go a three days' journey into the wilderness for sacrifice: Exodus 3:18; 5:3; 7:16; 9:1, 13; 10:3. The literary critic may urge that the term *Hebrews* here points to late post-exilic compilation. That would simply admit that Yahu was not a god of the Israelites of the time, and that he was the god of some element of the mingled peoples absorbed by the later Israelite kingdoms.

Again, in Exodus 3:8 f., Israel is in contrast with Canaanites and Hittites, Amorites and Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites. But the term *Hebrews* is nowhere contrasted with these Palestinians, among whom Yahu has a "mountain of inheritance"—a hereditary sanctuary, in Exodus 15:17. The Yahu-worshipping Hebrews are then some element in the above-named peoples.

In 1 Samuel 4:6, 9, the Philistines sum up their opponents who have long been subject to them as "Hebrews"—counting Israel

merely one element of the warring population. They so speak again in 14:11.

In 1 Samuel 13:3, Saul, after gathering a picked force of Israelites only, and winning an initial success, orders trumpet-signals to be sounded through the land, that "all the Hebrews may hear." This does not mean Israelites, for in verses 6 f. we read, "When the men of Israel saw that they were in danger (for they were at their wits' end), the people hid themselves in caves, thickets, crag-clefts, caverns, and pits. But the Hebrews crossed the Jordan to the land of Gad and Gilead." In 1 Samuel 14:21, "And those Hebrews that had thus far been with the Philistines, who had gone up with them into the camp, even these turned about to be with the Israelites who were with Saul and Jonathan. Likewise all the Israelites who had been hiding in the hill country of Ephraim, when they heard that the Philistines had fled, also pursued after them in the battle." Thus Israel, of the hill country of Ephraim, is entirely distinct from the Hebrews. We are at once reminded of the lapsed kingdom which Saul was put forward to "renew" in 1 Samuel 11:14, and we wonder if the ranting enthusiasts from the elohîm-knoll (probably the modern Râm Allah, twelve miles north of Jerusalem) with its Philistine garrison represented an old Hebrew kingdom (1 Samuel 10:5, 10 ff.). Since the territory involved in this story including the Hebrews is the hill-country on the north side of the uncaptured Jebusite stronghold of Jerusalem, it suggests that the Hebrews in the narrative may be the Hurrian Khabirû, shown in the El-Amarna Letters to have seized the territory around Jerusalem two hundred years before. The non-Israelite character of these Hebrews is again shown by the territory defined as "all the coasts of Israel" in the time of Samuel's leadership (1 Samuel 7:13-17): southwestern Mount Ephraim, from the region southwest of Shechem to the Philistine frontier.

While the Israelites are thus distinct from the Hebrews, there is no profound religious distinction. The term *gōî* is generally used of non-Yahwist peoples later. But in earlier stories Israel itself is but one *gōî* of the several Palestinian *goyîm*. Passages like Judges 2:20; Exodus 19:6; Genesis 17:4, 16; Joshua 3:17; 4:1; 10:13; Deuteronomy 4:6, are sufficiently illustrative. The term *gōî* is often translated "gentile" in the AV: a contrast certainly not intended in many passages. "Galilee of the Goyîm" in Isaiah 9:1 means that several distinct little colonies were in that Israelite district. Israel as a *gōî* is contrasted with earlier *goyîm* who are summed up as "Hebrews."

Again we may recognize that Israelites are not the same as Hebrews, in the records of the time when an Israelite nation does not yet exist; there is only the growing family of Jacob. Joseph is called a "Hebrew" by Potiphar's wife (Genesis 39:14), and he says he was "stolen out of the land of the Hebrews" (Genesis 40:15). He is called a "Hebrew" by his fellow prisoners in Genesis 41:12, while in 43:32 we hear of the fixed prejudice of the Egyptians against eating with Hebrews. So in Exodus 1:15 f., 19, 2:6, 11 f., we still find Egyptian contempt for the people they call Hebrews. It seems to mean any of their subjects or captives from Palestine.

Now this emphatic testimony from pre-Israelite days to the days of Samuel is corroborated by the use of the geographical or topographical term from the same root that gives us the word *Hebrew*. This noun is *'ibrî,* from the verb *'abar,* "to cross over, to be beyond." *'Ibrî* then would mean "other-sider." It would mean any people on the other side of the Jordan, regardless of race or stock. A corresponding term for the region would be *'Abarah:* and this is in actual use in the books of Samuel. The Jews who translated Genesis 14:13 into Greek gave us "Abram the *perates*" or "other-sider." They knew that *'ibrî,* "Hebrew" applied to him was not a gentilic term: that it simply distinguished him from his Aramaean kin east of the Jordan. The translators were also familiar with *'Abarah,* "Other-side-land," which they translated into the corresponding Greek word "Peraea" in the New Testament. But they curiously forgot that the west-side of the Jordan was ever called the "Other-side-land," and so, in a number of passages, confused *'Abarah* with 'Arabah, the desert-gorge south of the Dead Sea.

Now in the Samuel stories *'Abarah* is specifically applied to the west-of-Jordan regions when David flees from Absalom. "See, I will camp in the open 'Abarah country till you send me word," (2 Samuel 15:28) not venturing into any town. "Send and warn David quickly! Tell him not to lodge in the open country of the 'Abarôth to-night, but to cross over (Jordan) at once" (2 Samuel 17:16); which shows the 'Abarôth (plural) as any regions west of the Jordan. Upon his return, in 2 Samuel 19:18, there is a very fine play upon the word *abar: we'aberah ha'abarah la'abîr,* which can be translated: "And (all) the 'Abarah-country was crossing to bring across" the household of the King. The preceding context shows that all official Judah was hurrying down for the purpose; and this in turn suggests that the 'Abarah-country was more than the west valley of the Jordan.

But the confusing of 'Abarah with the 'Arabah by copyists is proved by the Septuagint translators of these very passages. They have given us *'Arabôth* in the Greek, untranslated and unexplained. A further case of turning the 'Abarah into the 'Arabah-gorge is plain in Deuteronomy 11:30, where Ebal and Gerizim, with the old sanctuary of Genesis 12:6; 35:4, are located "on the other side of Jordan, toward the sunset, in the land of the Canaanites that dwell in the 'Abarah [correcting 'Arabah] beside the gilgal [stone-circle] by the oracle-terebinths." In Joshua 8:14 the men of Ai come down the hills to meet the Israelites at the edge of the same 'Abarah mentioned above in David's return. The same river-bottom is named in 2 Kings 25:4, Jeremiah 39:4; 52:7, and Ezekiel 47:8. In Deuteronomy 1:7, the mountain of the *Amorî* is well known from the El-Amarna tablets as beginning at Beirut and extending northward beyond Arvad, the Kena'na being the sea coast. The Euphrates is here the eastern boundary. All this region being the 'Arabah is a copyist's blunder for 'Abarah, the "Other-side" country: for the preceding context tells Israel to leave Horeb and set forth for the other-side-lands.

As applied to the east of the Jordan, we have 'Arabah including everything between the Arnon and Hermon in Deuteronomy 4:49. As the Jews called this Peraea in Greek times, the Hebrew word should certainly be 'Abarah. In Deuteronomy 3:17; 4:49, Gilead includes the 'Abarah of the Jordan from the Sea of Chinnereth down to the Sea of the 'Arabah, or Dead Sea. In Deuteronomy 1:1 the Israelites in the later Peraea are in the 'Arabah, where we expect the 'Abarah.

But this topographical use of *'abar* is including many peoples, of different epochs. The people of any *'abarah* could be *'ibrî:* which emphasizes the fact already noted that *Hebrews* is not a gentilic term but a topographical one, including any people resident in a given district. 'Abarah as a land of *'Ibrî* thus repeats the statements above-cited from the story of Joseph that he was from the "land of the Hebrews." We do not find any Hebrews in the El-Amarna Letters, nor any use of the verb *'abar,* nor any mention of the Jordan, nor of the Dead Sea or Moab beyond, through which the Israelites came.[2] The rich trading cities of the Bashan

[2] The Habîrû are a preëminent terror in letters from Gebal in the far north, and in other records are associated with the Hittites. There is nothing so far to connect them with the Aramaeans, or with the regions east of Jordan. Nor is there any reference to their being a former nuisance in Egypt. The nomad Sutu, or Beduin, the Sho'a of the Old Testament (?) appear in two letters as raiding Philistia.

plateau are prominent in the political turmoil. But neither Bashan nor Palestine is described as an "other side" region. The distresses debated are those produced by peoples coming down from the north. But eight hundred years later, Assyrian conquerors coming from the east find the Jordan a convenient topographical feature for general descriptive purposes. Esarhaddon, in a treaty with Ba'alu, king of Tyre, invokes the gods of Assyria and Akkad, and also gods of the *Êbir Nâri,* "beyond the river" (Jordan),[3] assuming that Tyre fears all those gods. Then his son Assurbanipal tells how his Rab-shakeh and governors and all the kings of the *Êbir Nâri* were rallied to drive Tirhakah out of Egypt.[4] In another list Esarhaddon summons twelve kings of the sea coast, though Manasseh of Judah, Kaushgabri of Edom, Musurri of Moab, Budu-ilu of Bit-Ammon, and Silli-Bel of Gaza, are not really on the seacoast.[5] But it is the same general district that he called *Êbir Nâri,* and illustrates the comprehensive character of the term "Hebrew." We have the same comprehensive use of the term "Beyond the River" in later Persian and Aramaic correspondence in Ezra 4:10 f., where Assurbanipal's colonies there are mentioned, and in Ezra 4:17, 20; 6:6; 7:25.[6]

That *'Eber* in the cases cited is a term expressing a topographical relation, and not a genealogical one is clear. But we must go a little further. In 1 Kings 4:21-24 we are told that Solomon "ruled over all the kingdoms from the river to the land of the Philistines and the frontier of Egypt." Whether the river was the Jordan or the Euphrates is immaterial for the present point. The writer repeats: "dominion over all on this side the river from Tiphsah (on the Euphrates) to Azzah; all the kings on this side the river." But the Hebrew does not say "on this side": it uses this same word *'abar,'* "on the other side," showing that the compiler was east of the Euphrates when he wrote of Solomon's power "on the other side" of it. The term is used so often thus that we can recognize the topographical standpoint of any writer. Either side of a river may be "the other side"; either side of a mountain or of a sea may be "the other side." But the persons not in the immediate

[3] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records,* II, par. 587.
[4] *Ibid.,* par. 901.
[5] *Ibid.,* par. 690.
[6] See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* II, *s. v.* "Hebrew"; Lehman-Haupt, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* 1896, pp. 326 ff.; Böhl, *Kananäer und Hebräer,* 1911, pp. 67 ff.; Sellin, *Geschichte Israelitisches-Jüdäisches Volkes,* 1924, pp. 16 ff.; Langdon, *Expository Times,* 1920, VII; Jirku, "Die Wanderungen der Hebräer," in *Der Alte Orient,* XXIV, II.

vicinity of the dividing physiographic feature may be misled by the term *'ibrî,'* "other-siders," and may construe it as a genealogical term. In the New Testament age the Greeks always meant the region east of the Jordan by Peraea, their translation of *'abar,* "other side." But the west-of-Jordan folk we saw were the "other-siders" or Hebrews in Saul's time. Then in Joshua 24:2 f., 14, the "other side" of the Euphrates is east of it, while in the above statement of Solomon's power the west of the Euphrates is the "other side." Any people whatever in all these regions could be *'ibrîm,* "Hebrews," according to the location of the speaker.

But if a mountain range or an arm of the sea be the geographical boundary, we have still other "Ebers." The Zagros range east of Assyria-Babylonia is such a natural basis for descriptive terminology. In ancient times, Elamites, or "highlanders," was the name for all the different nations that came and went in the course of millenniums, in the southern part of the Zagros mountains. A district northeast of Babylonia was at one time known as Amurru, "westerners," i.e., not west of Babylon, but on the west slopes of the Zagros mountains. This Amurru has been uncomprehendingly transferred into English as "Amorite" and assumed to be an ethnographic term. As a matter of fact, various distinct peoples may have occupied that Amurru region within the period of cuneiform records. Conversely, a gentilic term may be used in specifying directions. Thus in the classic writers a Scythian people, Askatai, hold the region northeast of Balkh almost to Samarcand. The mountain slopes east of them was Askatangkas; the people there were Askatangkai. Dr. Henry S. Gehman writes me that the Askatai might be the same as the Ashguzai of the Assyrian inscriptions seven centuries before. But the termination *ank* means "facing, in the direction of." The Askatangkas is the side of the mountains "toward the Askatai." The Askatangkai are "the people (of the mountainside) toward the Askatai." Being locative, not gentilic, the term tells nothing of the people except that they were not Askatai.

Moreover, such topographical terminology in describing peoples is as much in use in the modern Orient, among new peoples. Thus in Persia the terms Pish-kuh and Pusht-i-kuh, "front of the mountain," and "back of the mountain" are in regular use for the regions east and west of the Zagros range, and also for those east or west of other notable ridges in Persia. Such termination is universal; witness such names as Trans-Oxiana, which is in Arabic *Mawara nahar,* "beyond the river"; Trans-Caucasia, Trans-Alpine, Trans-

Vaal, Transylvania, Trans-Baikalia, Trans-Caspian, Cis-Caucasia, Latin Trans-Padana (beyond the Po) and Cis-Padana; Ultramarine, Cis-Alpine, Over-Yssel, Over-Flakkee, Over-See, Overbrook. In the western United States a ridge or range is a "divide," and districts "the other side of the divide" are spoken of daily. Now in Genesis 10:21 f., after all the political districts controlled by Ham (Khemi, Egypt) have been named, we are told that all the "other-siders," 'Eber-folk, in Palestine, are Semites. The compiler continues that peoples east of the Tigris and Lower Euphrates are also Semites. One of these, Arpak-shad, or "Arrapkha of the mountain," has "other-sider" offshoots. The 'Eber-folk here would seem beyond some mountain. Ptolemy has an Arrapachitis on the Armenian frontier. The Arrapkha of the cuneiform, the home of a Hurrian people, is southeast of the Lower Zab, some two hundred miles or more southeast of Ptolemy's district. Bochart's conjecture that "Arrapkha of the mountain" distinguished Ptolemy's is plausible. It correlates with the fact that the Armenian district Albag, or Albagh, seems to be the Arrapachitis of Ptolemy, and phonetically represents the Arpak in Arpakshad. The unexplained name Shalakh etymologically suggests a "sent-forth" or migrating people, whose descendants were the 'Eber-folk, "the other-side" of the Armenian mountains.[7]

But on the "other side" of the Armenian mountains there is an Eber-people actually confounded with, or identified with, the mythical ancestor of the Hebrews. This confusion occurs not only in Genesis 10, but also in the Talmudic passages that call these mountaineers *'Ibrî*, and their language *'Ibrîth*. The modern western world calls them Georgians. Armenian historians call them Virk. But the Georgians call themselves Karthli, the land Karthvel. In rabbinical writings occurs the name Garzân, derived from the Georgian term Gorzi, "highlanders," which today means especially those of the eastern Caucasus—the region called Daghestan. The rabbins also have Gurzak, which seems to be the same as Gur-tzig, "the stronghold of the Guria," at the southeast curve of the Black Sea. The Greeks called their western settle-

[7] Cheyne suggests that one *k* has been dropped from Arpak-Kasd, meaning Assyria and Chaldea: *Zeitschrift für die Alt-Testamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1897, p. 196. But it is very doubtful if Arrapha was ever used for all Assyria. And a district "beyond Assyria and Chaldea" would be very indefinite. Equally unfortunate is the suggestion that Arpakshad is *Arbagh* + *Kishadu*, "four-coasts country" for Chaldea (Delitzsch) or *arpat Kishadu*, "borders of Chaldea" (Hommel), and that the Eber-folk are those along the coasts of the Persian Gulf. There is not a line in the cuneiform to show that these coast-peoples were ever called "other-siders."

ments, reaching past Trebizond, Kolkhids (Colchis), which seems simply a Hellenizing of the Georgian Akhal-tzig (or chig), "New Fort" or "New Settlements." Ethnologists consider this non-Indo-European, non-Asiatic people to be the aboriginal inhabitants of the mountains south of the Aras river, and that they have been driven northward by invaders like the Armenians and Iranic Scythians. So terms like the above-cited Hebrew Shalakh, "sent-forth" or expelled, and their own "New Stronghold" region are to be expected.

The earlier Greek historians called them *Iberes,* or Iberians: and the Latin writers accepted the term. The Black Sea was sometimes called Sea of the Iberians. The term *Iberes* applied more especially to the region about the Greek colony of Phasis, the valley of the modern Rion river. But *Iberes* was certainly simply the adaptation of the Semitic *'Ibrî,* "other sider," or of the Georgian *Imerî,* "other sider." For this very region is still called Imerîa (wrongly Imeretia); and the Georgians mean the region on the "other-side" of the Suram mountains, that is, to the west and north of them, Kutais being the modern chief city. There was a strong Jewish element there from earliest exilic times, with some translations of Hebrew literature. Perhaps this helped the compilers of Genesis 10 to identify them with "Hebrews." Josephus[8] thought the Iberes were a branch of Tubal: the Tibarenians of the southern Black Sea coast. It does not matter here whether the Jewish compilers translated the Georgian term *Imerî,* "other sider," or whether the Semitic peoples on the south had independently styled these people beyond the mountains "other siders"—*'Ibrî.* The essential fact is that in the Talmud are references to scriptures written in *'Ibrîth,* which may be the Hebrew language, or it may be the "Iberian," for both words are written the same way, deriving each from the word *'abar.* The same orthographical identity confronts us in the Syriac; Iberians also being written *'Iburî.*[9] So the Eber-folk that appear as an offshoot of Arrapkha, as "Arpak of the mountain," are decisively identified. But the Iberians or Georgians are of a Caucasus stock, utterly unlike the Semitic. The Iberians and Hebrews are not descendants of a common ancestor named 'Eber.

A European parallel to these "other-siders" beyond some mountains is afforded by the legend of the blessed Hyperboreans. It

[8] *Antiquities* I, VI, 1.

[9] Krauss, "Zur Zahl der Biblischen Völker-Schaften," in *Zeitschrift für die Alt-Testamentlische Wissenschaft,* 1906, pp. 33-48.

brings us at once to these same Caucasus peoples, and to the Semitic term *'abar* applied to them. Schroeder pointed out long ago that the word *bora*, Slavic *gora*, in the term "hyper-borean" had no connection with Boreas, the north wind; *bora* or *gora* simply means "mountain": hyperboreans are those beyond the mountain. In Greek lore one such *bora* was north of Macedonia; in another, near the Adriatic: the local hyperboreans were probably west of the Illyrian or Albanian mountains. Schroeder and Daebritz observe that the description of such peoples as "beyond the mountains" comes from pre-Hellenic phraseology. The mountain was north of Spain also: and for our immediate interest, the Caucasus too was such a delimiting mountain. A conflation of these local folk-descriptions has made the final myth of the happy Hyperboreans, ultimately transformed into a heavenly people. The Greek mind, like the later Semitic, made the mistake of supposing the "other-side" term to be gentilic instead of topographical.

Now the discoveries at Byblos show that the Mediterranean coast was securing metals from the Koban-Caucasus regions before 2000 B.C. The Argonaut legends prove commerce between the Caucasus and the Aegaean at that early date: Sargon of Akkad had commerce with Crete and the coasts of Greece as early as 2750 B.C. The discoveries at Susa show that the forms current with the metal workers of northern Armenia and the Caucasus were introduced from Susa about 3100 B.C., by southern adventurers looking for new mines. The point is, that the region on the "other side" of the Armenian mountains naturally had a prominent place in the traditions of distant lands through several thousand years. To the Akkadians, and to the Assyrians of Sargon's time, reference to them as *Êbirê* or "other-siders" would have been natural; and the later Greeks who found the Assyrian traders dominant from the Halys to Sinope naturally picked up some of their names for peoples beyond.

Thus Greek tradition of early communication between the Caucasus and the Aegaean is amply justified, and the Semitic term *'abar* in such legend is reasonably to be expected. At present no earlier Greek tradition is known than one of the sixth century B.C., when Scythian migrations had several times swept Asia Minor, the Persian had appeared, and Yahwism had reached the Southern Caucasus regions. The legend tells of a wise and mysterious sage from the Caucasus, known as Abaris, and makes him one of the Scythians then familiar in the region. Herodotus, about 440 B.C. did not over-esteem the Scythians in that region, and dismisses the

Abaris legend superciliously. Ovid, exiled to Pontus 400 years later, and consequently rather near to the Iberians, knows of the sage Abaris.[10] Himerius in the fourth century of our era understood that Abaris meant an ancient race, not an individual, and wrote, "Abaris they call the wise Hyperborean race, that became Greek in speech, remaining Scythian in dress and equipment." Himerius did not know that the Semitic *abarî* and the Greek *Hyper-bora,* applied to the legendary Helleno-Scythic sage of a thousand years before, alike expressed the fact that he came from "beyond the mountains." Reasons will appear also for suspecting a reminiscence of the northward push of Judaism in the early Persian period.[11] C. T. Seltman prefers to translate Hyper-borean "Back of the Beyond," apparently thinking of the Semitic *'abar.* He points out that in some Greek lore it meant "those beyond the Scythians." Myths grew up about the offerings sent to Greek shrines by the Scythians and Hyperboreans. At Delos two ancient tombs were long shown as those of Hyperborean maidens who had come to that famous oracle. Recent excavations have shown that two ancient cultus-tombs were there. The contents revealed old Mycenaean and Middle Minoan II and III and late Minoan II votive objects, proving persistence of a cultus there, beginning before 2000 B.C and retaining the knowledge of ancient communication with the Caucasus. The Greeks had lost knowledge of the changes in population through two thousand years, and supposed that the ancient "beyond the mountain" folk were the Scythians there in their own time.[12]

[10] Metamorphoses, v, 86.

[11] See the discussion by Professor Grace H. Macurdy in *Classical Review,* 1916, pp. 180 ff.; by Professor Casson, *ibid.,* 1920, pp. 1 ff.; and by Professor Macurdy, in 1920, pp. 137 f. They have not seen the Semitic origin of the *'abar*-term for Caucasus folk.

[12] C. T. Seltman, "The Offerings of the Hyperboreans," in *The Classical Quarterly,* July-October, 1928, 155 f. With this and the other articles considered compare Otto Schroeder, "Die Hyperboréer" in *Archiv für Religions-Wissenschaft,* 1905, pp. 67-84. Recognizing Hyperboreans referred to as early as Hesiod, he counts them no part of early tradition, yet concludes that the connection with the Pythian and Delian sanctuaries must be older than those Greek Oracles. Recognizing that Herakleides of Pontus speaks of Apollo "hiding his dart in the Hyperborean Mountain," he concludes that the name must mean "above the mountains"—Sky-people: the souls of the blest. But he does not explain why such "skyspirits" from the far eastern heavens brought offerings to earthly Aegaean shrines. Compare also Charles Picard, "La Créte et Les Légendes Hyperboréennes" in *Revue Archéologique,* June 1927, pp. 349-357. He recognizes mingled elements from the Far East, but has not noticed the meaning of the name, and the association of Abaris with the Caucasus. See also Bibliography, *s. v.* Macurdy.

Now returning to Genesis 10:24 f., where "Arpakh of the mountain" is connected with Eber, we observe that the compilers immediately jump 2500 miles to tell of some more Eber-folk in the southwest of Arabia. And the first fact to be considered is that there are no such folk in pre-Moslem tradition, nor in the thousands of South-Arabian inscriptions. There is no ancient Arabian consciousness of descent from an ancestor named Ishmael, nor from one named Eber, as scholars like Margoliouth have recognized. The tomb of Ishmael at Mecca, and all associate traditions, are but late Moslem inventions for the purpose of legitimizing their pretensions to finality in religion by means of an ancestral connection with the Genesis heroes. That the Israelites had no consciousness of such ancestral personalities was emphasized in the beginning of this chapter. But when the compilers of Genesis jumped from the mingled Caucasus peoples to southwestern Arabia, they included as Eber-folk people as unlike those of the Caucasus as the Chinese are. They raise the suspicion that they have again misconstrued as ethnographical the everyday Semitic *'abar,* and that a people who are on the "other side" of some geographical or topographical feature is in question. Who are they?

In South Arabia the Gulf of Aden makes a similar division of the peoples with the same "Eber" phraseology. Burton tells us that the Arab tribes south of the Gulf, in Somaliland, call their land *Barr el Ajam,* "land of non-Arab peoples," knowing themselves to be colonists in an alien land. They claim to have emigrated from Hadramaut, under the leadership of a chieftain named Isaac, whose tomb is shown on an island near the Somali coast. The three tribes bear the names of his three sons, with the matriarchal prefix *Habr,* "grandmother," already noticed. They are actually then a *yektan,* or "lesser" portion of the main body of Arabs north of the Gulf. Arabs in ancient times regularly referred to this north Somali coast as "the other side," or "the far-side" coast, and other voyagers accepted the designation. It is used in the *Periplus:* the Greek ship-captains' guide of about 70 A.D.[13] Coming out of the straits of Bâb-El-Mandeb, past the gulf of "the Avalites" in the west coast, and "sailing eastward along the same coast, one comes to other Berber *(bar-bar)* market-towns known

[13] Schoff, *Periplus,* p. 15, decided, eighteen years ago, for 60 A.D. Later investigations led him to 80-83 A.D. in the reign of Vespasian, almost beyond a doubt, arguing from the dates of certain Indian rulers mentioned in the Periplous and in the Puranas. But their dates are not certain. Reference to the Nabatean king Malichos, points to 70 A.D.

as the "Far-side" ports, lying at intervals, one after the other. "The first is called Avalites: to this place the voyage from Arabia to the Far-side coast is the shortest."—"There are exported from these places myrrh, a little frankincense (that known as Far-side)."—"From Mosyllum there is shipped frankincense (the Far-side), ivory and myrrh in small quantities."—"The voyage to all those Far-side market-towns is made from Egypt about the month of July."[14] Here is emphatic statement of a region known in South Arabia as "the Far-side." The Greek author uses the term *peratika,* which is the translation of the Semitic *'Eber.* Now in Genesis 10:25 we have a Peleg or *palgu,* the dividing gulf, and some Eber-folk who are recognized as a *yektan* or "lesser" group.[15] The compiler of Genesis did not live in that region, and so mistook the mention of Eber-folk there for a genealogical expression, and put the larger Arabian group and "the lesser" group in one list. The Arabian Sheba and Hadramaut are familiar to every reader. But the "Avalites" or Awalites of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy are still on the Somali side. They no longer control the deep gulf, as they did 1900 years ago, but as the Habr Awâl are on the north Somali shore near the Berbera port. This Berbera, the "barbarians'" port, appears in the *Periplus* as Malāô. It may have been the port of the Abi-Māël of Genesis 10:28. The name Maël or Mau'il has recently been found in a Minaean inscription; compare Le-Muël of Proverbs 31: "belonging to Mau'il," or "refuge(?)" French archaeologists read Ma'wā-'il, "residence of Il."[16] Whatever the meaning, the name was once widely used. In the Arabic we have Maw'ālat; in Greek transliterations in Syria, Mauēlās, Mauēlā, in Palmyrene, Mawālā or Môâla.[17] The Malāô of the *Periplus* seems a metathesis of this name.

Then the Obal or Ebal of Genesis 10:28 may be represented by the village Abalit on the north shore of the Tajurra Gulf, and by the fact that the savage Adāl or Adaïel league there is composed of two clans, the Adâli and the Ablî: the sultan being chosen from one, and the vizier from the other, alternately.[18] Diklah may be represented by the Jebel Dikkil, south of the Gulf of Tajurra. In Ethiopic and Somali dissimilation in case of a doubled letter is

[14] Schoff, *Periplus,* 24 f., 26, 27, 75.

[15] AV "Joktan." Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites Prior to the Rise of Islam,* p. 53, recognizes that Yoktan is a mispointing of Yektan.

[16] Margoliouth, *op. cit.,* p. 30.

[17] Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris,* III, 133.

[18] Harris, *Adventures in Africa,* pp. 23, 26 ff.

familiar: Sabbat becomes Sanbat; Abba changes to Amba. So the gentilic Dankâl, plural Danâkîl, may be connected with Diklah or Dikkil.

But the most important fact is the entire rejection by all Moslem traditions of Eber as a personal name in their borrowed Genesis-lore. The Jews of southern Arabia and the Judaized Arabs who learned from them knew what Eber meant in local speech. So in the Moslem Genesis-lore the name is everywhere displaced by a great prophet Hûd. Over and over in Moslem genealogies leading back to Adam Hûd displaces Eber. It seems that the Hûd people were the preëminent "other siders" to the southern Arab of Mohammed's time. British Somaliland still has the Haûd, no longer on the coast; the Habr Awâl, driven from the Gulf of Tajurra, have crowded in there. The Haûd occupy a region about a hundred miles from the coast and about three hundred miles east and west, in British Somaliland and southeastern Abyssinia. They must be the "other-side" folk accounted descendants of the "Hûd" of Islam. For Haûd is Hûd in some South Arabian speech; Hadramaut is Hadram in the native dialect, Darmût in Mehri, Hadramût and Hadramôt in other dialects: *au, û, ô,* interchanging continually.[19] As for Peleg, "division," being a "lesser son," *yektan,* of (Hûd)-'Eber (Genesis 10:25), modern southwest Arabians call the Gulf of Aden *Bahr el hadab*—"the convex sea," not understanding the older Sabean *Bahr el hatab*.[20] This name, "Sea of split wood, kindling wood," may have been generalized as "cleavage, division" (Hebrew *peleg*). Ancient Punt furnished choice incense-woods. Sahure of the third Dynasty of Egypt reports receiving thence 80,000 of myrrh, 6000 of electrum, and 2,600 staves of choice woods. Cedar, juniper, cinnamon-wood, ebony, mery-wood, mera-wood, khesut-wood, sycamore-wood, and myrrh logs are repeatedly reported by the Pharaohs as imports from Punt, besides half a dozen varieties of incense: myrrh gum, ihmut, sonter, and "sweet-woods."[21] Punt seems to have been famous as a region of small pole-woods, in contrast with massive building-timbers. Mery-wood appears in boat-building: evidently for small planks. The Sabaean term *hatab* may have had reference to this fact, or more specifically to the various fragrant woods used as "kindling woods" or incense. Per-

[19] Landberg, *Revue Semitique,* 1903, p. 80. *Habr* (p. 28 above) became *'Eber!*

[20] Landberg, *Études sur les Dialectes de l'Arabie Meridionale,* I, 35.

[21] Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt,* I, 161; II, 265 ff., etc. Breasted does not use the variable term "frankincense."

haps a reminiscence that the Far-Side coast of the Haûd people was a source of choice woods was fused with the fact of the dividing sea. The legend of Hûd locates him at many sea-coast points: among the Thamudites of the upper Red Sea coast; in southwestern Yemen; farther east in Hadramaut, at more than one point; and somewhere near the head of the Persian Gulf. The location of his *Ahkaf,* or sand-dune people, also varies: they are anywhere from Eastern Hadramaut to Aden. Hûd's tomb shrine in Hadramaut, Nebi Allah Hûd, is preëminent in South Arabia.[22] The later Islamic Arab has lost sight of the reason of Hûd's seacoast position and the ancient meaning of the "sea of the division."

This use of *Eber* to indicate the other side of any important physiographic feature is found also in the cuneiform. An Edomite district, 'Ibr Naharân, "beyond the rivers," is identical in form with the Hebrew *'Eber-hannahar* of 1 Kings 1:15. The exact location of either is of no concern here. Sargon translates 'Ibr-Naharân into the Assyrian *kibri-nâri,* "river-bank region"—which does not specify which bank of the river is meant. Compare Isaiah 7:20, locating the king of Assyria *'Ebrê hannahar,* east of the Euphrates, with the regular Assyrian description of lands west of the Euphrates as *êbir nâri,* "beyond the river." Hommel suggests that the Assyrian *êbirtan* is an equivalent of *êbir nâri.* But we get no one fixed region to which all Eber-folk must be traced.

It seems then that we are to recognize that Eber-folk on the other side of the Gulf of Aden, and Eber-folk beyond the Zagros mountains, and Eber-folk on either side of any river like an Edomite wady or the Euphrates or Jordan have no necessary genealogical connection with each other. The compilers of Genesis, not minutely informed as to the origin of local topographical terms in widely separated regions, have blundered in guessing that Eber was an ancient common ancestor. We may therefore dismiss all efforts to explain the Hebrews or any other people as the descendants of a person named Eber. The Greeks called the people of southern Spain *Iberes,* and their river *Iber* or *Iberos,* the modern Ebro. Did they take the term 'Ibrî, "other sider," a second time from the Phoenicians? Whether these people on the "other side" of the Mediterranean were so named by Palestinians or by those of the Algiers-Morocco coast is immaterial. Had exilic Hebrew scholars got hold of the fact, they would have given us still another "son of Eber."

[22] Landberg, *op. cit.,* I, 154 ff., 159, 483.

With abundant evidence that the term "Hebrew" in the days of Samuel and Saul was used in contrast with Israelite, and expressed only a topographical relation, meaning any people between the whole length of the Jordan and the sea, we may understand that the Israelites would thus summarize Hittites, Amorites, Hivites, Gergesites, Perizzites, Canaanites, Tyrians, Philistines, etc. We may observe that Abram and Lot are pictured as Aramaeans. But when they part company, Lot being east and Abram west of the Jordan at Hebron, the messenger of Lot's disaster hastens to "Abram the Hebrew" (Genesis 14:13). In Leviticus 25:39 we find a prohibition against making a fellow-Israelite a slave. He can only mortgage himself and his property for a time. But in Exodus 21:2, Deuteronomy 15:12, and Jeremiah 34:9, 14, we find that a Hebrew can be enslaved for seven years, and that the bondage might be made perpetual. This recalls the final subjugation that we have already noticed; the oppression by an Israelite military class in 1 Kings 9:20 ff., which status of slavery the compiler says "continues even unto this day."

Next, we have to remember what Semitic philologists have been telling us for thirty years that the language of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, found forty years ago, shows some early forms of the Old Testament Hebrew. Some one of the pre-Israelite peoples of Palestine was strong enough to absorb and assimilate all newcomers for nearly two thousand years. Albright has said that the "Canaanites" of Palestine were a Hebrew-speaking people probably as early as 2500 B.C. This Hebrew language stands apart with the Phoenician; the two agree in features not found in any other Semitic languages. And the Hebrew language held its place as the popular speech, till the Babylonian exile and Dispersion displaced it.

This examination of the term "Hebrew" requires a moment's special attention to that element in the Hebrew ethnical conglomerate that in very late times prided itself upon Aramaean ancestry. In earlier stories of the formation of the people and the kingdom of Israel, there is no national consciousness of descent from Abraham. He is not a figure cited by any of the prophets for any hortatory purpose whatever.[23] Nor is the name Abram mentioned. But the modern dilettante reader of Israelite history has as an expository inheritance the prepossession that all Israelites are descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The whole body of Old

[23] Isaiah 29:22, Micah 7:20, Jeremiah 33:26 are regarded by scholars as late editorial additions.

Testament evidence is against this. And the value of the pre-possession is nullified by the statement in Genesis 25 that all western Arabia is "Abraham"; Ishmaelites or Beduin of every tribe, Midian, Dedan, Sabaeans, all are "Abraham" people. The one historic fact reflected in all this is that some of these peoples were always drifting into Palestine and fusing with its mingled population.

Now the later element in Judaism that boasted of its Aramaean ancestry traces that to Aramaean tribes on the lower Euphrates in the vicinity of Ur, but not one tribe is named of the scores that the Assyrian inscriptions show to have dwelt there. Records abounded. The cuneiform inscriptions show that Aramaean tribes were on the lower Euphrates as early as 3000 B.C.[24] They persisted through all political changes till Talmudic times. Why is there no boast of Abram's ancestral tribe there, comparable with the boast of a certain tribe or district of Palestine?

The immediate point of provenance of the Aramaeans in Palestine is Harran (Genesis 12:27 f.). But in another account Aram is made a nephew instead of an ancestor of Abram (Genesis 22:20 f.). In the story of Abraham requiring Eliezer to secure a wife for Isaac from his kin (Genesis 24:3, 7, 15, 24, 27, 37 f.; 48; cf. 27:43), their Aramaean nativity is asserted (25:20; 31:3, 18-24; 28:1, 5, 7 f.). In 31:47 the boundary cairn has an Aramaean name from Laban, a Hebrew name from Jacob. In Deuteronomy 26:5, supposedly a thousand years later, there is the prescription that any one admitted to certain festivals shall declare that he is of Aramaean ancestry: yet the code is pure Hebrew. Moab and Ammon are also claimed as Aramaean kin of Abram (Genesis 11:27, 31; 19:30-38) and Moabite inscriptions show Aramaic affinities. But the outstanding fact is that none of the Aramaean peoples represented as settling in preëxilic Palestine fastened an Aramaean language upon the land. If the traditional Aramaean Abram really migrated about 1800 B.C., then is it to be noticed that the clan merged with the various Hebrew peoples very quickly. For the Tell el-Amarna Letters, beginning near 1500 B.C. do not know any such people as Aram, in Palestine or out of it, among the 482 geographical, ethnical, and personal names used; nor are there any Aramaic forms in their language. Accepting Abram from Ur as history, then these Aramaeans were "lost tribes" from the beginning, swallowed by the Hebrew-speaking peoples that were there perhaps a thousand years earlier. As for

[24] See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible, s.v.* Aram.

the term "Jew," it does not occur in the early history. It is a late southern sectarian term, and contrasts sharply with the post-exilic term "Samaritan."[25]

With the Israelites appearing as late immigrants in Palestine, at first accepting old Hebrew institutions, then in time demanding a petty Israelite king that they might embark upon a career of conquest, then gradually enslaving the earlier peoples by whose aid they had attained a certain military strength, we have ample reasons for believing that Assyrian deportation of such conflicting elements would not terminate the antipathies aroused and that those peoples in Asia and Africa that curse Joshua or curse Elijah, or claim to be of ancient Canaanite or Philistine ancestry, may

[25] But the critical reader will object that all descendants of Abraham in Genesis 25 are western Arabs: a flat contradiction of the assertion that all Abraham folk are Aramaeans. If one statement is false, are not both false? Or have we rival Arab and Aramaean claims to be the most important element in the peopling of Palestine? This is certainly the case. In the anticipations of the prophets, the centering of the western Arabs at Jerusalem is the outstanding hope. Aramaeans do not figure in their dreams at all, as will be seen in the next chapter. The declaration in Genesis 25 that these western Arabs are descendants by a different wife is an Aramaean assertion of their inferiority. As for the identification of Abram with Abraham, some scholars have suspected a gradual phonetic change: Ab-ram, Ab-rahm, Ab-raham. But Israel Eitan, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* March, 1929, pp. 32 f., points out that the explanation "father of a multitude" in Genesis 17:5 really has in view Abu-Ruham, a personal name found in the Arabic, with the meaning required. But this does not imply ancestry: it is a familiar Semitic idiom for owning or possessing or including a multitude. Abu-Ruham applied to the Arab stock would mean that they are very numerous: no paternity is in the original idiom. But Semitic historians are always confused by their own idioms in process of time. An actual identity of the ancestry of the Aramaean and Arab groups may have been inferred from idioms that originally declared that each group was multitudinous: cf. Judges 7:12, Genesis 22:17; 32:12.

As for the consequence above shown that the portrayed Aramaeans could lose language, religion, and ancestral historic traditions, and merge completely with the older Hebrew-speaking peoples, yet assert more than a thousand years later their Aramaean character, it is incredible for many devout scholars who suspect that Aramaean parvenus of the last days of the Israelite kingdom have claimed for their ancestors the credit of Palestinian origins, when they were not entitled to such credit.

It should be said that we really have no information concerning the origin and provenance of the Aramaeans. Schiffer in *Die Aramäer* (Leipzig, 1911: XII + 207 pp.) proposes a "historical-geographical investigation." He presents all the material then available in the cuneiform inscriptions. Baudissin, reviewing favorably in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (February 3, 1912), observes that we really know nothing of an Aramaic religion or culture. We only know that Aramaic is spoken by numerous tribes in Assyria and Babylonia; as far back as 3000 B.C. in some cases. But we do not know that these peoples were originally Aramaean, nor if their culture differed especially from that of other people in the same region. We only know that the Aramaic language, spreading gradually from that region, eventually became the *lingua franca* for many peoples of the later Orient.

have as definite historic lineage or antecedents as those who curse Ezra or Jerusalem. But these antipathies, which in the preceding chapter we saw in many lands, require us to ask how much evidence of their origin or perpetuation remains in the Old Testament.

We find the prophets denouncing the war-intoxicated royalists who dream that the supreme manifestation of Yahu will be the Day of Yahu, when they may destroy whom they will in battle (Amos 5:18). No matter what the distress, not one of the great literary prophets ever urges even a defensive war. That alone is a drastic criticism of the Solomonic régime of oppression. And the concomitant oppression of all the poor of the land is familiar to all their readers. They cannot reconcile this with their own conceptions of the character of Yahu. Do they discriminate in favor of any people? Assyrian kings who deport and relocate peoples do not tell us how many are Hivites, how many Perizzites, and so on. All are "Israel" for them. Was the prophet's "Israel" equally comprehensive?

We have no Old Testament record of revolt attributed to any specific group of any of these aggregated ethnic elements: the fact of social oppressions, revolutions, insurrections, class against class, dominations originating with the "captain of the host," and factions at times of threatened foreign aggression, and open invitations to some foreign power[26] is continually before us. Clearly the ethnic elements were never completely merged. The proposal to massacre the enslaved earlier peoples (Deuteronomy 7:1-4) or "heretic" peoples (Deuteronomy 13:12-18) would certainly provoke bloody retaliations. Or the proposal itself may have been a retaliatory measure; there may have been uprisings of the enslaved peoples, such as are recorded on many other pages of history. One outstanding feature of the revolution is the demand that a Moabite or Ammonite shall not be allowed to enter into the Yahu council: "even to the tenth generation they shall not enter into the congregation of Yahu!" (Deuteronomy 23:3). Yet at this very time Moabite and Ammonite shrines were standing on the "Mount of Anointing"; and they had been there since Solomon's time (2 Kings 23:13). Had Ammonite proselytes clamored for equal rights? Perhaps Ammonite agents or local politicians had been a chief factor in the traditional bloody days of Manasseh. And passions roused then would certainly produce equally bloody days of the Deuteronomist politicians, though we have in the Old Testament no details of either. It would be inter-

[26] *E.g.*, 1 Kings 16:7, Jeremiah 38:19.

esting could we recover oracles from the Manasseh régime showing what "heretics" Yahu doomed to destruction in those days.

Continuing consideration of the growing oppression of the older Hebrew population, one may say that the ruthless destruction of ancient shrines and sacred necropoles in 2 Kings 23:5, 15-20 was certainly not without resistance by the local populace. The acknowledged massacre of throngs of priests is a detail of a larger massacre. Jehu's policy (2 Kings 10) had its harvest (Hosea 1:4 f.) and the Deuteronomist politicians could reasonably expect no other reaction from ordinary humanity. The "innocents" murdered at every oak (Jeremiah 2:34), the murder upon murder of Hosea 4:1 f., the troops of priests murdering on the road to Shechem (Hosea 6:8 f.) suggests the frenzies of religious fanaticism rather than religious indifference. Deuteronomy 13 has warranted all like religious massacres of the past 2500 years. But our immediate concern is with the fact that in Josiah's time these older ethnic elements were fully retaining their ethnic consciousness. We recognize that the policy inaugurated by Solomon (1 Kings 9:20 ff.) would keep it alive. David had the Hittite captain Uriah, used Philistine guards, had the Hivite-Gibeonite sanctuary support and also the Hebronite. Hebron had a Hittite colony in Abram's time (Genesis 23, 26:34 f., 27:46). The Edomite clan of Caleb had later occupied it and all the adjacent southwest; yet in Caleb-land David took refuge, and for Caleb and the Cretans and Kenites and Jerahmeelites he fought (1 Samuel 30:13 f., 29-31; elders of Judah, v. 26). The "elders of Judah" in the story have no notion of excluding these Edomites from comradeship. Perhaps these "elders" themselves were all Edomite. Thus in all David's career we catch no hint of discrimination against the older population. His enumeration of Israel and Judah begins with the Moabite frontier town of Aroer, proceeds northward through his Ammonite conquests and the Aramaean territory subdued northeast of the Sea of Galilee, through the Hittite country to Kadesh on the Orontes (Tahtim-Hodshi, AV), down to Dan (which was once Sidonian territory), includes the districts around Sidon and the strongholds Tyre had made against mountaineer incursions, all the Hivite mountaineers and the coast-lowlands people (Canaanites), and concludes with the Calebite territory south of his own former frontier activities, as far as Beer-Sheba (2 Samuel 24:5 ff.). Israel and Judah for him were political-geographical expressions, not ethnic and cultus terms. They included the Jebusites about Jerusalem and their sanctuary

stronghold. David's policy was that of earlier Israelite immigrants (Judges 3:3-6).

But Solomon's reversal of this policy, excluding the "people of the land" from the army, and enslaving them, made him unable to rally the whole country for a foreign war as David could. His Israelite militarists were busy enforcing the enormous corvée service that Solomon's schemes required. It would be interesting to get an opinion on Solomon's wisdom from the oppressed masses. He kept peace with his neighbors and lost some territory that had been tributary to David, because his domestic policy would not allow anything else. But this military oppression of the older peoples was like that of never allowing a negro to forget that he is "only a nigger." No surer method of keeping alive the ethnic consciousness of the oppressed could be devised. The arrogant political "Israel" that refused to accord them social and political parity in the "Kingdom" at last demanded that each one admitted to a national feast swear that he was Aramaean (Deuteronomy 26:5). Such refusal to merge in the larger social ideal which the prophets would form about the name Yahu would mean that the excluded groups themselves would seek to be the dominant or directing element in the political aggregation known as "Israel." They might even claim to be the original and genuine "Israel," even as the Indians could legitimately declare that they are the original "Americans." There is plain evidence of struggle for such preëminence. Exiles from such a political aggregation may be expected to insist that they are the "genuine" Israel, while preserving also old ethnic names.

It is notable that the prejudices of the class politically dominant in Josiah's time are not against all non-Aramaeans, but only against certain groups. There is no Deuteronomic urge to massacre Phoenicians, Aramaeans, Edomites, Philistines, etc. Phoenicians had built and equipped the temple (1 Kings 5, 7). Phoenician temples stood on the Mount of Olives in Josiah's time (2 Kings 23:13). Phoenician relations with the northern kingdom especially had been intimate (1 Kings 16:31); and we can count it certain that any deportation from Northern Israel inevitably included a large number of Phoenician strain. Dan was old Sidonian territory (Judges 18:7, 24). But this fact is against the theory of a pure segregated ethnic "Israel" being deported by Sargon. Similiarly, Philistines had been the royal guard, the nucleus of Southern military power, from David's time on, and had actually directed temple rituals in some measure, and

decided the succession of kings several times. Jehoiada had to depend upon the Cretan (Carian?) temple guards, and on the support of "the people of the land," whose "high-places" Josiah later destroyed.[27] We noticed the Calebite southwest. We may recognize that wholesale deportations like Sennacherib's meant a large Philistine and Edomite element—a detail the Assyrian chroniclers would not record. They make no distinctions between the various racial and cultus-elements in ancient Israel. When they call Israel the "Land of the House of Omri," and write of "Jehu son of Omri," we must recognize that an Assyrian record of deportation does not mean that only Israelites by *descent* were deported. The various Hittite and Hurrian agitators in the political Israel are simply so many Israelites for the Assyrian recorders of revolts, and no record of deportation can be fairly construed to speak of a genealogical Israel. Troublesome agitators of any of the mingled stocks in Palestine were deported, a "mixed multitude"; but all were "Israel" for Assyrian political records, and all were "Israel" also for the compilers of 2 Kings 17. They have not troubled to record any distinctions of inter-racial or inter-stock wars in the last political struggles of the Northern Kingdom. But such facts are not known to the average "lost tribes" hunter.

The great protesting prophets, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, draw no contrasts and utter no protests against the various ethnic elements in the social-political aggregation of their time, though fully conscious of them (cf. Ezekiel 16:3, 45). They accept the existing aggregation and call it all "Israel." A pure and segregated "Aramaean" Israel is no fact nor ideal for them. Nor in their predictions of exile and return do they distinguish between various ethnic elements in the political "Israel," nor do we find any one of them recording his own ethnic origin. Their unanimous denunciation of the oppressiveness of the political aristocracy suggests that some of these great voices may have sprung from pre-Israelite ethnic elements. From their point of view such a matter was not important. Yahu brought Philistines from Caphtor and Aramaeans from Ur, and Kushi (probably the Kashi of the El-Amarna Letters) to be associates with "Israel" from Egypt (Amos 9:7); but Israel did not want to admit it.[28]

[27] 2 Kings 11:4, 19: (the Karî guards); in 17-20, the "people of the land."

[28] In the AV of Amos 9:7 is Kir instead of Ur. The ancient city has long been known to the nomad tribes as Mukayyar, "the asphalted" city. The Hebrew text has *mkyr*, a copyist's haplographic error for *mmkyr* = "from Ur." Thus the passage is in harmony with Genesis 11:31, which

Such transcending of ethnic limitations and of such district-provincialisms as are expressed by "Simeon, Reuben, Asher, Naphtali" and the like would not be duplicated by those contentious for the perpetuation of their own ethnic or provincial differences in liturgy, rituals, formulae, customs, taboos, and decisions. "Israel" for such would mean their own ethnic pretensions, or the opponents of them, and persistence in petty cultus-distinctions would mean the survival of some of the ancestral or ethnic nomenclature once associated therewith, including some reminiscences of ancestral districts. On *a priori* grounds, then, we cannot summarily discard such modern traditions.

This fact of district reminiscences rather than genealogical traditions has not been fairly considered. The Israelite claim of an Aramaean element in their ancestry can not be ignored. Yet, as already stated, the outstanding fact of language is that Aramaean is not the language of the Old Testament. Any early immigrant Aramaeans lost their Aramaean speech and accepted the "Hebrew" shown by Tell el-Amarna Letters to be spoken in Palestine long before the arrival of "Israel." While the letters are written mainly in Akkadian, "from time to time Canaanite words are used, either independently, or for the purpose of glossing or explaining an Akkadian expression in the more familiar dialect of the scribe who was writing the despatch; and these Canaanitish words are hardly distinguishable from Hebrew. These letters thus show that the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Canaan were closely akin to the Hebrews, and that they spoke substantially the same language.[29] The same fact follows from many of the names of places preserved to us from a period later than that of the Tell el-Amarna Letters, but earlier than the Hebrew emigration into Canaan, in the inscriptions of Egyptian kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. The names have in many cases evidently Hebrew etymologies. The Hebrews and Canaanites were in language and civilization closely allied."[30] In this citation of thirty years ago, the author is following the tradition of using

says that the Aramaean ancestors of Israel came from Ur of the Sea-Shore people (Gen. 11:31). Haupt points out that Kir being an Arab word for "pitch," we are to understand that this "pitch-town" in Amos 1:5, Isaiah 22:6, and 2 Kings 16:9 is Ur (*Journal of Biblical Literature,* XXXVI, p. 99).

[29] Isaiah 19:18 calls Hebrew "the language of Canaan."

[30] Hogarth, *Authority and Archaeology*, 1899, p. 76. Ten years later Böhl in *Die Sprache der Amarna-Briefe* (Leipzig, 1909) listed 120 Hebrew words: while Ebeling in *Das Verbum der El-Amarna-Briefe* (Leipzig, 1909) presented the much more important fact that there is a large Hebraization of grammatical forms of non-Hebrew verbs.

"Canaan" and "Hebrew" as ethnical terms; while to-day, as already emphasized, they are recognized as merely geographical expressions, making no ethnic distinctions. The fact of Hebrew language in these tablets was pointed out by Zimmern.[31] Albright, in the *American Journal of Semitic Language and Literature* (January, 1925, p. 77) says, "The Hebrew-speaking Canaanites certainly came before the Aramaeans, since they are found settled in Palestine by the middle of the third millennium B.C."

But this fact that Hebrew-speakers were dominant in Palestine a thousand years before the Israelite arrival pushes before us again facts noticed in the preceding chapter. Were these Hebrew-speakers any other than the Phoenician immigrants who came in about that time? Their arrival was coincident with Akkadian Sargon's influence in the eastern Mediterranean, and with the establishment of Akkadian mercantile colonies in Asia Minor, as shown by the Cappadocian tablets. There is a simultaneous western movement of mercantile Semites. But all scholars know that Hebrew and Phoenician are essentially the same language: the dialectic differences are very slight. Excavations at Carthage have given us more than 4000 inscriptions, containing about ten thousand names: a whole city directory, as Philippe Berger observes. Isaiah 19:18 insists on the language of Canaan; and early Christian fathers tell us that Canaanitish continued to be the folk-language in northern Africa during the Roman period, and that much Christian literature was produced in it. So it is now said of Carthage, "We have found again the ancient language and writing of Canaan; the rich idiomatic speech of a city which once counted 700,000 inhabitants. And we Hebrew-writers, we who write and feel in our Biblical tongue, have recognized at once that this so-called Phoenician language is nothing more or less than Hebrew—a pure Hebrew dialect, nearly the same as was spoken in the country of Israel [!] in the days before the Aramaic, and before the Massora came to fix its orthographic rules artificially. . . . Thus language and script show us that this Phoenician is for us Hebraists nothing but Hebrew. The population of Carthage was Palestinian in origin and Hebraic in civilization [but not Israelite!]; and if, instead of succumbing, the city of Hannibal had triumphed over Rome, it is probable—nay, almost certain—that Hebrew, not Latin, would have become the dominant language of the Mediterranean countries. It is certain then that it was in a Hebrew dialect

[31] *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* 1890, pp. 146 ff.: often since.

that Hannibal commanded the troops which he led across the Alps."[32]

This unreserved admission by Dr. Slouschz leaves the impression on the casual reader that "Israelite" influence made Carthage. But remembering that the compilers of Genesis insist that the early Israelites were Aramaeans, and not Hebrews, the above statement makes the Hebrew-Phoenician the teacher and civilizer of the later immigrant Israelite. The traditional scholarly assumption that Hebrew culture in Palestine was always isolated and distinct from the Phoenician culture along the coast is seen to be an impossible one. We must recognize that the early Israelite immigrant was bound to drift wherever the circumambient and absorbing Hebraeo-Phoenician culture might carry him.

How widespread and dominant this Hebraeo-Phoenician culture was is illustrated by the Aramaean kingdom of Sam'al, 350 miles north of Jerusalem. The inscription of its king Kilammav is published by Lidzbarski as a "Phoenician" inscription from Zinjirli.[33] Praetorius calls it Canaanitish. Pognon recognizes that much of its vocabulary is pure Hebrew. It was written about the time that Jeroboam II came to the throne. Save for the Aramaic word *bar* for "son," "there are hardly any traces of Aramaic in the inscription," writes Kraeling.[34] Yet Aramaeans had been drifting in there for a thousand years, and seem to have exercised some political leadership there during 400 years, accepting the Hebraeo-Phoenician culture planted there nearly 2000 years before.

Then there are the long-familiar inscriptions of Panammu (apparently a Hittite name) and Bar-Rekub from the same neighborhood. Containing a few Aramaean words, they are commonly grouped under Aramaean inscriptions. But the nouns do not have the simple state and emphatic grammatical forms peculiar to all the Aramaic dialects. The negatives and conjunctions are the familiar Palestinian forms not found in the Aramaic. The grammatical framework is the familiar Palestinian, into which the Aramaean migration in the north has infused some Aramaean words. Similarly, the inscription of Zakir (?) of Hamath and La'ash a century earlier shows the same phenomena: Aramaean and Hebrew words in about equal numbers, but without the distinctive Aramaean grammatical forms. It shows us Hebrew-

[32] Nahum Slouschz, *Travels in North Africa,* pp. 227 f.

[33] *Ephemeris,* III, 223.

[34] *Aram and Israel,* p. 85.

speakers using a few foreign words, without knowing their proper inflection. Halévy, who recognizes the Canaanitish character of the above inscriptions, says that this inscription of Zakir (Zakar? for Zakar-Baal?) is "more than Canaanitish: it is definitely Hebrew."[35] The same facts are recognized by Pognon.[36] But all this only emphasizes the wide spread and the general homogeneity of the old Hebraeo-Phoenician culture into which the Aramaean patriarchs of Israel came. These inscriptions are a thousand years or more later than the supposed patriarchal age, yet all Aramaean invaders in that time are fused with the older Palestinian culture. Some Aramaean words in the course of a thousand years are added to the official dialect of these northern kingdoms. The popular speech probably had fewer Aramaean words. Officials might use Aramaic, as in 2 Kings 18:26, while the people used Hebrew; and the essentially Hebrew character of an inscription suggests its composition by a native scribe.

The Hebrew-Phoenician language stands distinct from all other Semitic languages in some important grammatical features, such as masculine plurals in *im*. The comparative uniformity of the dialect spread over the wide area in question means a relative uniformity in the modifying influences to which local speakers of the old Semitic dialect were exposed. A hundred years ago philologists observed so many apparent identities between Hebrew and Indo-Germanic roots that some busied themselves trying to prove that the Semitic and Indo-Germanic were branches of the same primitive stock. The theory was long ago discredited. But the seeming identity of some roots remains and suggests an Indo-Germanic influence strong enough to add some words to the local Semitic vocabulary and sufficiently ubiquitous to produce a considerable breaking down of old Semitic grammatical forms, even as Norman influence in England broke down old Anglo-Saxon forms. From the deciphering of the Hittite and Hurrian-Mitanni inscriptions we learned that a mighty Indo-Germanic wave poured through ancient Asia Minor and Palestine. In the language called Hittite (Kanesian) the grammatical framework is allied to the Latin, though the vocabulary is largely Mongolian. But no Indo-European gods are yet recognized in the Hittite inscriptions. The Hurrian-Mitannian is a non-Indo-European language, with several chief gods that appear much later in the Sanskrit literature.

[35] Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris,* III, 1 ff.

[36] *Inscriptions Semitiques,* p. 161. He proposes to class them as an entirely new Semitic dialect: a view not generally accepted.

Since an Egyptian official mentions Hittites in southwest Palestine near 2000 B.C., we are warranted in expecting some Indo-European elements in ancient Palestinian speech in the following centuries. The time of entrance of this Indo-European influence into Asia Minor was probably near 1900 B.C. It may have organized the descent of the Anatolian peasantry into Babylonia and Egypt that has hitherto been known as the Hyksos movement. More extended consideration will be given in another chapter; for the present point, we note merely that the alien influence which caused the breaking down of old Semitic grammatical forms in Palestine of the period was not Aramaean; nor was it the influence of any other Semitic-speaking people. Professor Sayce has pointed out a number of Hittite and Mitannian (Hurrian) elements in the Hebrew of the Old Testament.[37] The number is sure to be greatly increased by fuller knowledge of those languages. And M. Charles Autran, examining many words occurring both in Mediterranean speech and in the Semitic of Asia Minor, and hitherto supposed to be borrowed from the Semitic, has shown that the view must be reversed in many cases. Particularly in Palestine we have Mediterranean words borrowed by Semitic-speakers. The number in the Old Testament may prove considerable.

Another fundamental fact must be noticed here. "The Phoenicians" have been spoken of thus far in the modern popular fashion, which assumes that the *Phoinikes* of the Greeks meant a peculiar, sharply delimited people confined to a small coastal strip at the east end of the Mediterranean; but there is no term in the Old Testament that can be translated "Phoenician." There is no people thus indicated as distinct from other folk west of the Jordan. The Greek term *Phoinikes* seems simply "redskins," referring to the ruddy-brown color of the Semitic folk east of the Mediterranean. In the Odyssey (iv, 48) it means all the coast-people down to Egypt. In the Iliad (xiv, 321) the non-Semitic Minoan king of Crete is "a son of Phoinix." Evans observes that the ruddy-brown people of the splendid Cretan frescoes were meant.[38] A Phoinix of Crete allied with the Greeks against Troy seems the same non-Semitic people. In Greek mythology, Phoinix is not the same as Cadmus (*Kedem,* "easterner"), but is a "brother" of Cadmus. There is repeated reference to "redskins" who were not Palestinians. The Septuagint often translates "Canaanite" or "Coast-

[37] *Journal of Theological Studies,* July, 1928.
[38] *The Palace of Minos,* I, 9.

lander" by "Phoenician." The current popular restriction of "Phoenicia" to the coast from Tyre to Sidon is very recent. Taking all the references in Greek and Roman historians, the boundaries vary very greatly and do not correspond to any known political federation. The *Phoinikes,* in short, originally meant all the ruddy-brown peoples near the east end of the Mediterranean. The modern popular habit of contrasting the terms "Hebrew" and "Phoenician" is therefore not justified. It would be more accurate to characterize the language and culture near the eastern end of the Mediterranean as "Hebrew-Phoenician."

But the fact that the Hebrew language was well established in Palestine a thousand years before Israelite arrival needs a little closer scrutiny. What influences differentiated it so sharply from the other Semitic languages? And was its dominance in official monuments in the regions north of the Lebanon, which we have seen in the ninth century B.C., the result of a spread northward from Palestine? The tradition of the Tyrians that their ancestors reached the region of the far later Tyre about 2750 B.C. must be associated with the conclusion of modern anthropologists that the earlier population of Palestine was non-Semitic. Did this earlier Mediterranean, Hamitic, or Caspian people alone modify the language of the Hebrew-Phoenician immigrants, or was there another factor? Breasted has observed that the feminine ending *t* is lost by Palestinian nouns between 1500 B.C. and the time of written sources of the Hebrew Bible. That must be credited to the influence of the invading peoples, between 1500 B.C. and 1200 B.C. But what influences modified Semitic speech of 2700 B.C. into the Hebrew of 1500 B.C.?

Here the El-Amarna Letters give further light. Knudtzon's glossary lists 109 "Canaanite" words or forms in the Akkadian official or diplomatic language. Few occur several times. Their geographic distribution is illuminating. The seventy-three letters from Gebal, 220 miles north of Jerusalem, name eighteen towns in the coast region, from Beirut northward. Gebal is official correspondent for them all. In the letters from Gebal are twenty-nine different "Canaanite" forms, and three more from Beirut. One of these terms, *allu* ("see!") occurs thirty-three times, and only fifteen times in all the rest of the letters. Two Canaanite forms occur in the letters of Abd-Ashirta, who probably lived at Sumura, on that coast. This gives thirty-four forms, that occur a total of seventy-one times: one-third of the whole list of 212 occurrences.

Now take the region immediately east, across the Lebanon, called Amura or Amurru in the Letters. In the twenty-three letters of Aziru and his sons, and Abd-Ashirta as governor, there are no Canaanisms at all. Or if we take the eighteen towns in the region of Kadesh on the Orontes, there are six letters from Katna, and no Canaanisms. Or coming southward, through the Beka, and northern Galilee, there are twenty-one towns, with a total of thirty-two letters from fourteen of them, and no Canaanisms, save that the interjection *allu* occurs four times in northern Galilee. And if we examine the twenty-three letters so damaged that we can say only that they are from "northern Syria," again there are no Canaanisms. There is vivid proof that the supposed "Amorite influence" in shaping early Hebrew speech is a myth. In all the so-called Amorite region there are no Canaanisms, while the Gebal coast immediately west has one-third of the total list. There are no letters from the Damascus regions. In Bashan ten towns show probably fifteen letters with no Canaanisms.

Coming south along the coast, the seventeen letters from Tyre, Sidon, and Akko have twenty-two Canaanisms: more in proportion to the number of letters than the Gebal coast shows. In striking contrast, when we come south of Mt. Carmel the town of Sharon and others through the Philistine region to Lachish, including the Gezer district—a total of sixteen towns—furnish thirty-six letters, with but a single Canaanite word. But this word *shahanu* or *shahahu* occurs twenty-one times in this region. And it occurs eleven times more in the contiguous region, seemingly from Beth-shemesh toward Jerusalem. Then turning eastward from Southern Philistia across southern Judah, we have fourteen towns named, which furnish twelve letters with only two Canaanisms.

Along the highways from the coast, the Megiddo district has five towns, producing seventeen letters, with twelve Canaanisms. From Megiddo to central Galilee, there are no Canaanisms of record. The twelve letters of Abdi-Khêba of Jerusalem, and Ad-dadani, etc., who is somewhere near Gezer or Joppa, mention seven towns, and there are twenty-eight Canaanisms. There would be less than half that were the Abdi-Khêba letters of average length and vocabulary. But this governor is not a native, though succeeding his father as governor. He is a Hurrian, apparently a devotee of the Hurrian "Queen of Heaven," since his name is "Servant of Khêba." And he adheres in his letters to a peculiarity of the Hittite Akkadian letters, using a double determinative with the name of a town, thus: *alu* La-ki-is *ki*, *"city* of Lachish *land"*; or *mat alu* U-ru-sal-im, *"land of city* Jerusalem"; or *mat* U-ru-sal-

lim-*ki*, "*Land of* Jerusalem-*Country*." His anxiety about the commercial highways from Carmel to Bethshean is another feature. He once kept a ship on the sea at a Mount Carmel port (Haifa?). His Canaanisms must be due to his northern origin and associations. Then in the few letters of the Hurrian governors of Shechem there are nine Canaanisms. Comparing these data with the absence of Canaanisms from the plain of Jezreel northward, and their prominence in the letters from the coast north of Carmel, the Jerusalem and Shechem Canaanisms must indicate colonies of the coast-land traders.

Then there are the further facts that the El-Amarna Letters really name no towns at all in west central Palestine—western "Mount Ephraim"—and that no towns in all that region are named in the later stories of the Joshua wars; and that recent explorations have shown that there are no mounds or ruins of the Bronze Age in that region. It seems that it was a densely forested region, with no commercial cities. There was no settled population in this central highland. No Canaanisms could have got into the official Akkadian from that region.

Thus a special influence in the coastal regions would seem a chief factor in changing an old Semitic dialect into the Hebrew speech. To put it differently, Hebrew acquired its distinctive features in coastal cities, and spread inland over trade-routes. That Gebal was a chief trade emporium, probably as early as 4000 B.C. is familiar to every Egyptologist. The conclusion suggested by the El-Amarna Letters is reached also by students of the Minoan or Aegaean culture. Many of them think that the earlier coastal cities of the eastern Mediterranean were all founded by Minoan or Aegaean peoples. The Hittite and Hurrian words recognized by Sayce in the Old Testament came in at a much later time. A number of words common to the Mediterranean and Asia Minor dialects have long been viewed as loan-words from the Aegaean. But it now appears that the Aegaean peoples so strongly influenced ancient Asia Minor and Palestine that Aegaean loan-words appear in their languages.[39] But any statement of the founders or origins of the coastal trade-cities of the eastern Mediterranean must include the Anatolian peoples whose trade Aegaean folk desired. Otherwise the mingling of Semitic and non-Semitic elements in Palestinian speech remains unexplained.

As to the earlier population north of the Lebanon, and along the coast, Egyptian reliefs show us peoples that we would not

[39] Autran, *Phéniciens*, Paris, 1920; and *De quelques vestiges probables méconnus jusqu'ici de lexique Méditerranéan dans le Semitique d'Asia Mineur, et notamment de Canaan*, Paris, 1926.

class with Arabs or Aramaeans. In earlier times there was no Semitic speech there to be modified into Hebrew. The excavations at Meshrifé, the ancient Katna, thirty miles northeast of Kadesh on the Orontes have proved it to have been in earlier times the great sanctuary of a non-Semitic people. Seventy *tells* or ruin-mounds in the region reveal a great ancient population. At Katna they had a gigantic sacred cedar with a platform-sanctuary of beaten clay, and rough stone stelae. A long low stone wall or table with ten bowl-depressions for offerings ran along the outer edge of the platform. The Sumerians who came about 2750 B.C. fostered the shrine and cult. With the third Ur dynasty the cult of NIN. É. GAL. "Mistress of the Great House," became popular at Ur: and the rulers established shrines for her at Ashur and elsewhere, to increase their popularity with her worshippers. One was built at Katna, probably by Bur-Sin, about 2400 B.C., apparently identifying the Great Mistress with the goddess of the sacred cedar. Her cult spread from here among the Hittites, which suggests that the pre-Sumerian population around Katna was the earlier stratum of the later Hittite kingdom. Her renown reached Egypt, and Amen-emhat II (1938-1903 B.C.), to increase his Asiatic trade, sent a votive sphinx of his daughter Ita to the shrine, just as he sent costly presents to the prince of Gebal. The shrine was burned, perhaps by some of the Egyptian invaders of the eighteenth dynasty. In the El-Amarna Letters, Akizzi of Katna begs Amen-hotep III for help against the Hittite king. He does not get it, and Katna and Kadesh appear Hittite possessions thereafter. Rameses II (1292-1225 B.C.) was unable to dislodge them and in David's time, nearly three centuries later, they still held it (Tahtim Hodshi of AV in 2 Samuel 24:6). Somewhere in this period there was built or restored a sloping platform for the taurobolium ritual, the shower-bath of bull's blood: a non-Semitic institution. Cumont considers it immemorial in Anatolia. Some of the dried-blood, not yet decomposed, was found by the French excavators of Katna. The whole sketch suggests that Anatolian peoples occupied the region from Kadesh northward from very early times. Political masters changed, but none speaking the Hebrew language appear in the region. The Hebrew-Aramaean speech in the land far north of Katna in the ninth century B.C. must have been a late extension of Hebrew-Phoenician culture.[40]

[40] For excavations at Katna, see Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, in *L'Illustration,* March 3, 1928, and June 8, 1929; note by René Dussaud in *Revue*

But the popular modern mistaken use of the old Greek term "Phoenician" brings up the equally mistaken use of the term "Canaanite." It is not an Israelite invention. The name Kenahna appears in Egyptian and Phoenician inscriptions, as already stated, as a designation for the whole coastal region at the east end of the Mediterranean. Particularly it specified the far north coast. Already have been noticed the long familiar coins of "Laodikê, a mother-city in Canaan," and the fact that Laodikê was a coast-city far north of Gebal (Byblos). The Phoenicians called themselves Canaanites: they did so in Christian times along the North African coast. Their speech was Canaanitish, to distinguish it from the Berber languages of the interior. Some Greek and Latin authors explain that Canaan and Phoenicia are synonyms: and the Septuagint of Joshua 5:11 translates "Canaanites" by "Phoenicia."[41] Of the Tell el-Amarna Letters, five mentioning Kinahhi or Kinahni are so broken that no inference as to locality is possible; six specifically limit the term to the far northern coast: the Lebanon and interior being called Amurru. One letter is from Abi-Milki of Tyre; three are from Rib-Addi of Gebal. In all of them the Khabirû peril to Egypt's authority in the coastland is the theme, the interior being Amurru (Egyptian Amor). One is from the Pharaoh Ikhen-Aton to Aziru, who has descended from his Amor mountains about Gebal and seized Pharaoh's coastal provinces. Ikhen-Aton blusters and demands their restoration, feebly concluding, "Thou knowest that the king does not wish to carry war through Kinahna!"[42] In one letter there is seeming identity of Kinahna with northwestern Amor, the extreme north of the Lebanon range. In no case is the term applied to the region we call Palestine. One hundred and fifty years later Merneptah, recording this subjugation of revolted provinces, names them from the north in two series: the Hittites, Canaan, Askalon, Gezer; Yenoam, Israel, H'rw. Thus Canaan lay between the Hittites and the later Philistine territory; Yenoam was northern Galilee, the region

Archéologique, 1928, p. 175 f.: 192? Six tablets, inventories of shrine property were found: the longest of 380 lines. Four tell the property of "the Mistress NIN-E-GAL, Mistress of Katna"; two, "the treasures of the gods of the king"—suggesting the time of Hittite dominance. For the taurobolium in Italy, etc., after 134 A.D., see *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* s.v. For Asia Minor, and the numerous classic writers, see Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris* (1907), vol. ii, pp. 267-276. For Cumont's conclusions, see his *Mysteries of Mithra,* p. 180, and *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism,* pp. 66 f.: the passage of this Anatolian survival of savage hunter-customs into other cults is suggested, pp. 197, 206-208.

[41] Schroeder, *Die Phönizische Sprache,* pp. 6 f.

[42] Knudtzon, No. 162.

centering about Kadesh-Napthtali; H'rw in the inscriptions of Seti I and Thothmes III is the region about Megiddo and Beth-shean and southward, while Amenophis II merely puts it south of Kadesh, and Rameses II and Thothmes IV leave the region undefined. Israel in Merneptah's list then would be south of Galilee, and the plain of Jezreel.[43] With this placing of Canaan north of the later Philistia may be compared Joshua 13:3; the Philistines reach from the frontier of Egypt to Ekron, where Canaan begins, reaching northward past Sidon and Gebal to the Amurru stronghold Aphek. Numbers 13:29 also places the Canaanites along the seacoast. Canaan is identified with the Philistine-Cretan coast in Zephaniah 2:5 f. The same identification of Canaan with the Philistine coast-lands is made in the Abraham stories.[44]

A surprising neglect of this inscriptional evidence is shown by some modern scholars: e.g. "Kenana (Canaan) means the inland country of Judah and Israel."[45] Not a line of the above citations supports that modern popular error. A text of Thothmes III at Karnak calls the people of Kenana *Fenkhu*. This does not seem the phonetic equivalent of Phoinikes. An Anastasi papyrus (iv, 16, 2) has "Kenana slaves from H'rw," which would seem to be central Palestine. So Kenana had primarily no ethnic implications. People came and went in that coastal region, from century to century: they were all "coastlanders." But again, there was an ethnological implication: for the various Mediterranean mercantile adventurers stood sharply distinct from the Hebrew and Akkadian and Arabian peoples of the interior. The Ramessides battled in that northern area with "sea-peoples," some of whom settled in Palestine as coastlanders themselves. From Wilkinson down to Evans it has been suggested that the Teucri of the Troy district are the Zakkara or Zakkala shown by Egyptian inscriptions to have settled the coast from Philistia northward to Carmel. The ruler at Gebal in the twelfth century B.C.—Zakar-baal—may have been "Lord of the Zakkara." Moreover, Egyptian reliefs sharply distinguish the Kenana from the neighboring population. In a great inscription of Seti I a Canaanite warrior is shown as a slender, helmeted, highbrowed, short-kilted, cropped-bearded figure, utterly un-Arabian: clearly some one of the Aegaean or European coast-

[43] Compare the petty Israel of Samuel, in 1 Samuel 7:13-17.

[44] Compare "ten years in Canaan," Gen. 16:3-7 with 20:1, and the Philistine domination to Beersheba, in 21:31.

[45] *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, 295. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, I, 357 f., recognizes that Canaan is primarily "Coastland."

folk. Lebanon folk shown are just as clearly Beduin in appearance: long-bearded, long-robed, with sloping foreheads, and with kerchiefs tied on by a cord around the head. Some "Amorî" are pictured the same way. The term Canaanite in the speech of 1300 B.C. signified not the Asiatic or Arabian population of Palestine, portrayed in Egyptian art for centuries, but the non-Semitic colonists on the coast.

Then we have archaeological evidence that definitely connects the term *Canaanite* with the Aegaean coast-peoples. Macalister, considering the shaft-graves that he excavated at Gezer, pronounced them practically identical with the later Mycenaean or Minoan (as then known) and with Carian at Assarlik. They certainly are work of Aegaean peoples who dominated that district, and who maintained connections with Cyprus. And they were still dominant in the Gezer region sometime after 1000 B.C. The Canaanites from whom the Egyptian Pharaoh wrested Gezer in I Kings 9:16 must have been these Aegaean colonists. The same Aegaean or Cypriote period is shown by the pottery found in the excavations at Bethshemesh. And Kurt Galling, considering the Mycenaean finds at Byblos, of the period 1900-1800 B.C., observes that these again are the same as those at Gezer, and that the Mycenaeans are proved to have dominated Palestinian coasts centuries earlier than had been thought possible.[46] That some Aegaean traders were specifically known as "Canaanites" seems certain.

Then there is the fact, already mentioned, that the central highland of Ephraim has no towns in the El-Amarna Letters, nor in the later Joshua stories. It seems to have been a densely forested region, without settled population till the Subarean (= "Mountaineer") Hurrians begin settling there in post-Hyksos times. But this means that it was not the Kenana that appears with Egyptian records of the eighteenth dynasty.

The modern western habit of using the term *Canaan* as a designation for all primitive or pre-Israelite Palestine has then no justification in the ancient records. A recent explanation that the term *Canaanites* in the Old Testament, in connection with interior districts, simply means "lowlanders" also lacks support. For first,

[46] See Luckenbill, in *The Biblical World,* February, 1910, p. 103 f.; E. W. G. Masterman, "Beth-Shemesh and the Recent Excavators of the Palestine Exploration Fund," in *The Biblical World,* August, 1913, pp. 101-109; Kurt Galling, "Die Neue Funde von Byblos," in *Historische Zeitschrift* 133, pp. 67 f. Can the Egyptian term *Kinahhi* have originated in a corruption of Mu-kenai?

some of the Canaanite inland points were not lowlands but highland fortresses. Schroeder sixty years ago recognized that where the term *Canaan* is applied to interior districts it is because the coastland peoples had established colonies in those regions. Second, excavations have shown that the Aegaean peoples pressed into the interior and established themselves very strongly at some interior points between 1500-1250 B.C. Their Mycenaean ware appears in abundance at some of the sites recently excavated. It would seem peculiarly significant that the name Kenana appears in the Egyptian inscriptions at the same time. No cases earlier than the fifteenth century B.C. are reported to me by the Oriental Institute. Yet the records show Egypt in Palestine and Asia for two thousand years before that time. But they do not use Kenana as an ethnographical or topographical term before the Mycenaean period in Palestine. Mediterranean mercenaries, with their peculiar sarcophagi, were employed by Seti I at Bethshean. Probably Thothmes III began the practice. Rameses III employed Shardanu against other "sea-peoples" on the coast above Gebal, who had established a great military base in the land of Amor, the northern Lebanon. Three years later Rameses attacked them there, but they pushed south. Lycians, Sardians, Dardanians, Tursha (Troas, Troy), Cilicians, Philistines, Teucrians, Danai, and Achaians were among these new colonists of the Kenana. In the case of the Philistines much attention is given in the Old Testament to their pushing into the interior. It must be recognized that equal emphasis is given to the energy of other "sea-peoples"; that any "Canaanites" in the interior are simply coastland traders who had established inland posts. Such movement on the part of Mycenaean adventurers would parallel the Grecian descent upon Palestine a thousand years later, and would result in similar fusions and antagonisms. The hundred years of aggression of the "sea-peoples" from the north that culminated under Rameses III was but one episode in the long debate between east and west that has resounded for millenniums on the shores of Palestine. And if we decide that "Canaanite" simply means the coastland peoples, another term must be found for the non-Semitic, possibly aboriginal, culture of Palestine. Ethnologists suggest "Capsian."

A moment's attention to highland Canaanites is necessary. In Judges 1:27-33 is set forth the fact that Canaanites held the strong fortresses in the Galilean highlands with some as far south as Megiddo and Bethshean. These coast-peoples probably settled in the old non-Israelitish districts of Asher and Amurru and Zebulun

and Naphtali in the period shown by Mediterranean ware—1500-1200 B.C. Several of their strongholds were on the coast. Again, in Genesis 23:2, 19, Hebron is in the land of Canaan, and certainly is not a lowland city (Joshua 14:12 ff.). It is held by Hittites, in chapter 23; and also by Anakîm in the other passage. But Sargon of Akkad tells us that Anaku was beyond the Mediterranean sea; evidently the coasts of pre-Hellenic Greece. So Anakîm were coastlanders originally. Their appearance in the Cretan-Philistine plain and pushing inland with other such Canaan peoples clears the Genesis account from supposed inconsistencies. The Aegaean element absorbed by the later Israelite state seems very considerable.

Then another outstanding fact of the El-Amarna Letters is to be remembered. Not more than one-fifth of the nearly five hundred names in them are certainly Semitic. There is thrown before us nearly two hundred years of a struggle with non-Semitic peoples for the mastery of Palestine. Part of this is certainly included in the books of Joshua and Judges.

It is clear now that the pre-Israelite population of Palestine was ethnically highly-mixed, largely non-Semitic and that all this ethnical commingling was included in the pre-Israelite Semitic term *'Ibrî,* or people on the "other side" of the Jordan. This highly mixed character made it impossible to describe the region west of the Jordan by a single definite ethnic term. The various neighboring peoples found no better designation for them than "other-siders." And the absorption of this ethnic mixture by the later Israelite state puts the theory of a pure-blooded Israel out of court at the outset. Still larger ethnic infusions will appear in the next chapter.

But could such process of fusion be accomplished without effect upon the traditions of the fused peoples? The consciousness of that imperfect fusion appears in many Old Testament passages. The Israelites certainly never conquered the whole area from the Euphrates and Gulf of Issus to Egypt and the Gulf of Akabah. Whence came the oracles that they were to do so—oracles urging them to undertake the military conquest of the whole region? They are told that Israel was predestined to rule from the Euphrates to the sea (Genesis 15:18), that from the desert to Lebanon, from the Euphrates to the western sea is their promised domain (Deuteronomy 11:24). In Deuteronomy 1:7, already cited, emphasis is laid upon the Amori mountains, far north of the Palestinian Lebanon, reaching from Beirut north-

ward, while northeast the Israelites are again assured that they shall rule to the Euphrates. How far such oracles were due to old pre-Israelite Hebrews who dreamed of regaining lost political leadership is an interesting question. But Israel in Josiah's time was making some old Hebrew traditions her own. Fired by this assurance of the success of a militaristic Yahwism, the foolish Josiah embarked upon the proposed scheme of annexation and conversion, and met the fate that such mad crusading always merits. It is to be remembered that the various peoples that Israel was urged to destroy are not all included in the little strip we call Palestine: and that Canaan in ancient inscriptions which we have examined meant the northern part of the coast region at the east end of the Mediterranean. Israel was fired with the dream of maritime commercial supremacy.

But with such powerful Hebrew culture in pre-Israelite times, we must recognize that the widespread and tenacious traditions of a people's origin from certain districts of ancient Palestine may owe much more to those of pre-Israelite ancestry than to any Israelite element, and that Aramaean Israelites have in some cases adopted old Hebrew traditions in place of their own Aramaean ones. We have no recorded longing for Harran or Ur of the Chaldees as the "homeland" of their Aramaean fathers. Linguistically, any Aramaean element in Israel was "lost" among the non-Israelites long before the deportation. But a common language and institutions would not necessarily end prejudices of racial and credal origin. It does not in America. Racial and cultus-antipathies could reasonably be expected even when derivation from the same district is claimed. When we find specific groups in the far East preserving the local terms and prejudices of Old Testament times, we must recognize that recorded historic events make such preservation possible and credible. Ancient antagonisms toward Hittites, Jebusites, Philistines, and toward Israelites who intermarried with them, have their modern equivalent; is there an unbroken historic connection with the ancient past? When Dr. Joseph Wolff reports that Bokhara and Merv Jews scorn and despise those of Khiva as descendants of Hittites, Hivites, Jebusites, etc., the possibility at least must be allowed. And when he reports the people of Khiva claiming such descent from Perizzite, Hivite, and Jebusite, and cursing Joshua in their prayers, there may be some element of fact in the traditions.

CHAPTER V

The Great Schism

This examination of Jewish dispersion and of local legends or traditions popularly construed as traces of ten tribes lost as the result of a great historic schism requires that we next inquire if the popular conception of that schism is in accordance with the evidence afforded by the Old Testament. That popular conception is that Jerusalem was divinely selected and announced as the one place where proper ceremonial worship of Yahu was possible; that "Jeroboam son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin" led a revolt against this divine decree, establishing rival sanctuaries at Dan and Bethel; that as a result, all "Israel" was plunged into a paganism that Judah and Jerusalem never knew. To punish them for this, they were sent into a captivity from which they never returned, and in their Palestinian territory there developed a mongrel people later known as the Samaritans.

Now we saw in Chapter II that there never was any such wholesale deportation of Israel as the "lost tribes" hunter presupposes. There never were any tribes thus lost: there were never any such to be hunted for. But if totally wrong at this fundamental point, may not the popular conception that Israel was more pagan than Judah be equally far from the facts? That Jerusalem was divinely selected from the beginning every scholar knows is not true. Sacrifices and offerings in the early period were allowed anywhere. An altar of earth or of rough stones was enough.[1] Any Gilgal was a prominent sanctuary from Joshua's time on.[2] Samuel thought such cromlechs important, and confirmed Saul at one, and made appointments to meet him there.[3] Now Hosea 12:11 observes that the earthen altars in any Gilgal are as numerous as the ridges in a plowed field. Yet he nowhere urges a return to Jerusalem. If the popular mind is so mistaken about the divinely selected Jerusalem, is it any nearer the truth in its notion of the peculiar paganism of Israel and the superior orthodoxy of Judah? Then we find in the time of Josiah a sweeping revolution portrayed in 2 Kings 23, in accordance with specifications in Deuteronomy 12:1-15, which was produced then and

[1] Exodus 20:24 ff. Compare Judges 13:15 ff., 2 Samuel 6:13, 1 Samuel 7:8.

[2] Joshua 4:19 ff., Judges 2:1 f., 3:19. See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible, s.v.* Gilgal.

[3] 1 Samuel 7:15 f., 10:8, 11:14 f., 13:7 ff., 15:12 f., 21, 32 f.

approved by Huldah (2 Kings 22:8 ff.).[4] But earlier leaders like Samuel, David, Solomon, Elijah take the lead in using the "high-places" which in Josiah's days were destroyed.[5] Elijah did not make Jerusalem the issue in his contest. But again, if the "lost tribes" hunter is so mistaken in his notion that worship in sanctuaries other than Jerusalem was all the work of "Jeroboam son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin," how can we accept his theory of the peculiar depravity of Israel?

The devout commentator has produced that popular impression of the decreased sanctity of Jerusalem and the rebel paganism of Israel. The following paragraph from the foremost English summary of facts about the Samaritans states fairly what has been taught for many years.[6]

> "But if left stranded by subsequent historical developments, and ignored by orthodoxy, the people of Samaria may claim the privileges of both nature and early history. In marked contrast with rocky and barren Judah, Samaria is a verdant hill-country, in which the traveller marks a constant succession of smiling valleys. Even the eastern slopes, which in their southerly prolongation end in the vaster and precipitous Wilderness of Judah are gradual in their fall and contain many a fertile spot. Unlike Judah too, Samaria is rendered accessible by the valleys east and north and west, which keep the land in easy communication with the world beyond. This comparative openness of the district may have contributed to the depravement of Israel's religion and morals, through the ready contact with the Mediterranean highway, heathenish Galilee, Tyre and its seductive Baal-worship, Damascus and its luxuries (Amos 3:12). It was Judah's geographical isolation which contributed to its final spiritual development and the preservation of its sacred fruit. But withal, this catholicity of the northern land has given a richness to its history and literature which we miss in the South. Except for the episode of David and Solomon, the North occupies the stage of history until the city Samaria's fall; there was the seat of the early prophetic guilds, with their seething life, pregnant of weal or woe for Israel's religion."

The author would hardly repeat this traditional scholarly interpretation to-day. But with it before us, we have first to notice the inadequacy of the geographical statement. Then the study begun in the preceding chapter must be continued. The traditional

[4] She was mistaken about Josiah's reaching his grave in peace.
[5] 1 Samuel 9:11 ff., 19, 25; 10:5; 19:18-24; 1 Kings 3:1-4, 18:30 ff.
[6] Montgomery, *The Samaritans,* 14 f.

exposition had no conception of the highly mingled ethnic character of the Palestinians among whom Yahwism worked. The assumed original ethnic unity of Judah and Israel is a myth. Lastly, the alleged peculiar corruption of the northern kingdom directly contradicts the Old Testament records.

First, the expression "heathenish Galilee" is not justified. Jeroboam did not create the sanctuary at Dan. It was established by Jonathan son of Gershom, son of Moses (Judges 18:30 f.). Oriental custom makes religious authority descend through the nearest male relatives. So Dan, "Judgement City," was the center of Mosaic law till Ben-Hadad and Tiglath-pileser III swept away the north (1 Kings 15:20 ff., 2 Kings 15:29, Isaiah 9:1). The Gershonite Levites active in reforms at Jerusalem in 2 Chronicles 29:12, are settled in thirteen cities of this northern region.[7] Had Samaria and Jerusalem fallen first, the Moses fraternity would have been the final compilers and the critics of the other two cultus-centers. Had Samaria outlasted Dan and Jerusalem, Joseph would be before us as the supreme law-giver, his descendant-compilers criticising the Moses and Aaron sanctuaries. The excavator may yet recover some knowledge of the northern Moses school.

Next, the geographical statement tells only half the facts. Grant that Samaria was in the fertile plain through which passed caravans between Egypt and Damascus, then Mesopotamian and Euphratean culture might follow the same road; or its armies and caravans might prefer—often did prefer—to come down through the pass of Hamath and the Orontes valley, or across from Damascus to Dan. Also the great Hittite culture, with all its connections, was always coming through the Orontes valley. We find this the battleground of nations again and again, and to-day this valley is dotted with ruins of many peoples and epochs.

But the term *Hittite* is not ethnographical. Since the Hittites bulk so largely among the protested peoples in the Pentateuch, it is essential that the ethnic mingling comprised in the term be recognized. The Egyptian term *Kheta,* the Hebrew *Khitti,* and Assyrian *Khatti,* are derived from the name of a single city, Khattu-shash, "Silver City," whose ruins have been discovered at Boghaz-Keui. The fact that this city gained an early hegemony in that region resulted in its name being applied to the various peoples and kingdoms of central Asia Minor for more than 1500

[7] Joshua 21:6, 27-33. Since 1 Chronicles 23:14 classes all sons of Moses as "Levites," Ger-shām ("a stranger there," Exodus 2:22), and Gersh-ûn (from the verb *garash*) may be two ways of expressing the same idea.

years. Letters from Egyptian officials show the Kheta in south-west Palestine as early as 2000 B.C. The Moschi, or Mysians, and Phrygians became the dominant element at Carchemish on the Euphrates about 1200 B.C. But we do not hear of this in the Old Testament. In recovered inscriptions Carchemish is of the Hittite or Mitanni kingdom. Later, Iranian peoples occupied it. So political mastery changes often, without changing the conventional term of reference employed in the Old Testament. The Sargonid kings of Assyria, 720-612 B.C., copy some of the architecture "of the land of the Khatti," without specifying which of the different types employed in the wide indefinite Khatti domain. So the long-persistent prestige of the ancient Khattu city in the ethnical medley in Asia Minor is comparable to that of the city of Rome, which gave its name to an empire composed of many nations. The term "Roman citizen" came to have no ethnographical suggestion. The like was true of Nineveh and Babylon. Hittite inscriptions do not portray race-wars. Each rival state is a "land of the city NN." Egyptian and Babylonian chroniclers use Hittite as a political-geographical expression, without undertaking to distinguish the varying ethnical elements in it. The Egyptian reliefs also show this. The group of Kheta reproduced by Gardner Wilkinson (1, 259) have nothing in common in physique and equipment with the Hittites as portrayed in their own reliefs, save three faces on the right. Such wide difference in the reliefs has perplexed some of our best Orientalists, who have assumed that Kheta was an ethnographical term. But when it is recognized as a political-geographical expression, the varied racial, somatic, or cultural types that Egyptian artists may group under the term merely reflect the changing political conditions.

Hittite inscriptions published by Friedrich in 1924 in *Der Alte Orient* make the above facts clearer. The old Anittash tablet shows that Anittash was a petty king of a city named Kushshar. He tells us how he gained the domination of a number of petty city-states, chiefly within the bend of the Halys river. To the north he had Zalpa and Nesha: the city called Khattu-shash he completely destroyed, and he pronounced a curse upon any one who should ever reoccupy the site (compare Joshua 6:26). He held Shalatiwar and Purush-Khanta, south of the Halys. We do not yet know how long this kingdom in central Asia Minor lasted. But some generations later there suddenly appears a king Labarna, founder of a new dynasty, and so powerful that successors called themselves by his name also, as Julius Caesar was followed by

many Caesars. Khattu-shash has been rebuilt, and becomes the capital of this new empire which reached from Vilusha (Ilios? later on "Troy?") in the far west to the river Kumesh-Makhash. It seems to cover all central, northern, and western Asia Minor, and was called by the name of its capital city. This probably explains the presence of "the Kheta" in southwest Palestine, 2000 B.C. After some generations this first "Hittite" empire disappeared in anarchy. But we do not know what races had the hegemony in these two successive earlier empires.

As this study requires that we know just what ethnical elements pressed into Palestine from the north, the statement made in the preceding chapter is to be repeated: the Hittite language shows that an Indo-Germanic people imposed its culture on all northern Asia Minor. In the central region, the so-called Hittite country, the language has a large Mongolian element. But whether this Mongolian people mixed with the Indo-Germanic before entering the Hittite country or afterward is not yet clear. Then the prevalence of a language and culture does not prove that the ethnical element that introduced them was ever in the numerical majority. Accumulating facts suggest that a somatic or racial type which may be considered aboriginal in central and eastern Asia Minor may have been the numerical majority in the various political organizations through many centuries.

Accepting the fact that the later Hittite language was so crammed with foreign words that its vocabulary is as highly mixed as that of modern Persian,[8] we have seven other languages in the Hittite inscriptions testifying to the ethnical commingling. The dominant or Hittite language is called Kanish. In addition, Sumerian, Akkadian, Luvian, Bala, Proto-Hittite, and Hurrian and Manda are found in the inscriptions. Of these, Luvian is a dead language, surviving only in some liturgies, while Hurrian and Proto-Hittite were rare outside of religious texts and myths. But Manda is to be grouped with Kanish as an Indo-Germanic language. The Manda, who appear as early as 2750 B.C. in cuneiform inscriptions, are the Indo-Iranic people known to us now as Medes. Through two thousand years their migrations into Asia Minor appear in the ancient records. Really, Manda seems a general Assyro-Babylonian term for Aryan.[9]

[8] Friedrich, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, 1922, pp. 153-75.

[9] Forrer, *ibid.*, 1922, pp. 174-269.

That an Aryan element and an Indo-Iranic element are both to be recognized in the region called Hittite in the Old Testament and the ancient records has special evidence. The kingdom of Mitanni in the Tell el-Amarna Letters reached from the Mediterranean west of Aleppo, eastward to the Tigris, and was bounded on the north by the central Armenian mountains. About 1375 B.C. the king of Mitanni, Mattiwaza, makes a treaty with Shubbilulyuma, the Hittite king. Four of the thirty gods of Mattiwaza are Mithra, Varuna, Indra, and Nasatya (The Twins), still familiar in modern Aryan Hindustan. Then the predecessors of Mattiwaza bear Iranic names: Dushratta, Artatama, Shutatarna. Other names are Shuwardata, "Sun-given," and probably Shunasshura of Kizzuwadna. But the language and the people of Mitanni are not Indo-Aryan. We are compelled to recognize foreign conquerors lording it over the realm and introducing their favorite gods into the state pantheon. Meyer has recognized that these roving, plundering Indo-Aryan chieftains used the older Anatolian peoples for the conquest of Egypt, remaining in history as the Hyksos kings.[10] The conditions before us in Judges and Joshua picture such a political condition as the petty feudal barons would establish. There is a host of "city kings" or castle-chieftains, promptly aiding each other against peasantry uprisings. None of them seems to hold more than a few square miles of territory. And Joshua 12:9-24 suggests that the invaders were being used by a resident "Sar of the troop of Yahu" (Joshua 5:13-6:5) to cut off some city-barons, but apparently destroying few cities. For the immediate purpose of this chapter, we have to admit the infusion of much Indo-Iranic blood into the Palestinian peoples among whom the Israelites settled. For three or four centuries such elements seem to have pressed into Palestine from the north.

Then another evidence of Indo-Aryan influence is the doctrine of a punitive and systematic transmigration of souls, which dominates the many thousands of Ansairiyeh of the northern Lebanon, the region called Amor in the Egyptian records. The scholarly missionary Lyde[11] and later writers like Wortabet, Phibbs, and Oliphant have not been able to explain how this doctrine came from India to Palestine. But with our newer knowledge the problem disappears. The Ansairiyeh and some peoples with like beliefs as far eastward as Kurdistan show us ancient Aryans sidetracked on the road to India. And these Indo-Aryans seem to

[10] E. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter,* p. 58.
[11] In *The Asian Mystery.*

appear in Asia Minor some seven hundred or eight hundred years before the Aryans enter Northwest India.

Much more important among the peoples shown by the Hittite inscriptions are those called Hurri. Their language is not of the Indo-Germanic group. And no Hurri kingdom or king appears in the records hitherto published. They appear in Mitanni. The above-mentioned king, Mattiwaza, in the treaty with Shubbilulyuma, twice says "we Hurri." But, as above stated, the Mitanni rulers and their names and favorite gods are Indo-Aryan or Indo-Iranic, and the Hurri are not. Then Shubbilulyuma, telling of his interference in Mitanni affairs, says that it was because the Hurri were greatly discontented with their ruler. Perhaps they did not like to see Varuna, Indra, Mithra, and Nasatya given the precedence over their heaven-goddess Kheba. Again we find Hurri in the northern Lebanon, a people that Shubbilulyuma must subdue. In a treaty between the Hittite king and Shunash-shura of Kizzuwadna[12] they are pledged to aid each other against the Hurri. It may be a league of foreign conquerors and against a native population. Again, we find the Hurri of Mitanni in league with the Hurri of Khattu-shash, the immemorial capital-city of the Hittite region. Thus Shubbilulyuma of Khattu-shash is warring against Hurri at one period; at another, the political masters of Khattu-shash are themselves Hurri, and could legitimately be portrayed in Egyptian reliefs as "the Hittites." Then were they the original population of Khattu-shash? The grandson of Shubbilulyuma describes him as a foreign conqueror, invading the country of the Hurri-men, and defeating all of them.

The suggestion of such textual data, that the Hurri were an aboriginal population of Asia Minor, is confirmed by recent archaeological discoveries. The lowest strata at Susa, in ancient Elam, at Abu-shahrein at the head of the Persian Gulf, and at a score of points in Assyria, Babylonia, Asia Minor, and western Persia show the same fine pottery, the same general culture. The pottery shows geometric designs in black on a light ground. Recently Chiera and Speiser, excavating at Kerkuk, in the ancient Arrapha, have recovered the records of an ancient community which disappeared before Assyrian oppression.[13] The "Hittite" storm-god

[12] As a source of iron for Hittite and Mitanni and Egyptian kings, the mountain region of Pontus must be Kizzuwadna. When Rameses II fails to dislodge the Hittite king from Kadesh on the Orontes, he has to write him asking for iron from Kizzuwadna. The Hittite king seems to be between the Pharaoh and the mining country.

[13] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, March, 1927, pp. 36 ff.

Teshup is prominent in the proper names. It is a remnant of the old aboriginal cultus. At Nuzi, near Kerkuk, the same early pottery and culture were found, and the language was definitely Hurrian. Then Speiser in March, 1927, surveyed southwest from Kerkuk, on a radius of about thirty miles, finding two immense mounds eight miles apart, and a large number of neolithic mounds, showing the same culture.

"On Tell edh-Dhiyab (Wolves' Mound), a large mound on the Tang River, 7½ miles south of the village of Tang, latitude 44° 25 north, longitude 33° 3 east, there are found fragments of the same pottery that has been identified with the first civilization at Susa and the prehistoric site at Tell-el-Obeid near Ur, the same geometrical designs in black paint, the same extraordinary fine ware. The resemblance is so complete that fragments of the pottery which I picked up at Tell-el-Obeid while visiting the excavations about three months ago cannot be in any way distinguished from the sherds of Tell-edh-Dhiyab. I found similar fragments on other neolithic mounds"—some ten miles away.[14]

This, briefly summarized, links the Hurrian language with a distinct fine pottery and culture, and shows that culture originating far back in the stone age and persisting through several thousands of years in the Arrapha district. Then the like archaeological remains show the same ancient aboriginal people in central Asia Minor, spread from Aleppo and Carchemish on the Euphrates across to Nineveh, and south through Arrapha to Kish, Ur, Tell-el-Obeid, and ancient Eridu, and east through Susa and various Persian sites. Chiera and Speiser traced the same course on philological grounds.[15] Barton considers this Hurrian people to be the ethnic substratum of the civilization successively dominated by Sumerians, Semites, and other immigrants into Asia Minor. He points out that Niniwa (Nineveh) is a Hurrian name, and that the names Ushpia and Kikia, the names of the legendary founders of the city, are also Hurrian. The perplexing undeciphered inscriptions found in the lower strata of some sites in the Euphratean alluvium may turn out to be Hurrian. And as Hurrians prove to be the real founders of the culture in Arrapha, at Ashur to the west of it and at Nineveh, they may yet prove to be the founders of the ancient city of Khattu-shash (modern Bog-

[14] E. A. Speiser, *Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research,* October, 1927.

[15] *A New Factor in the History of the Ancient East,* Annual of the American Schools, 1926.

haz Keui) whose ancient hegemony resulted in later times in all central Asia Minor being called "the Hittite country." That they were the controlling people in Khattu-shash at one period of negotiations with Mitanni was cited above from the Hittite records. And the somatic type of this aboriginal Hurrian stock has been mingled with those of successive political masters, whether Assyrian, Armenian, Palestinian, or more modern peoples. But it should be observed that the name Hurri is not yet explained. We do not know how extensively it was applied to themselves by those of this aboriginal stock. They may have called themselves by other names in various places.

A study of all institutional life is not possible in this survey. But it may be observed that the vine, with its Old Testament phraseology and associations, came into Palestine from Asia Minor.

Now the physical or somatic type of this ancient people is of preëminent importance to every one inquiring into Israelite origins. For the type is that of the popular American conception of the Jew; it is one type shown us frequently in the Hittite reliefs. As above shown, the Hittite texts thus far examined suggest that the Hurri were the original population of "Hittite City." Dr. Hrdlicka, of the Smithsonian Institution, speaking as an ethnologist declares that this hypsicephalic prominent-nosed somatic type is the aboriginal substratum in Anatolia and in northern Mesopotamia, Assyria, Persia, and even as far as northern India. But Hrdlicka's styling them "Semites" no historian or philologist will accept. Their ancient culture occupied southern sites thousands of years before Semitic-speaking peoples appeared among them.

Further, this Hurrian people appears in the Egyptian records as giving distinction to Palestine in the last period of Egyptian control. They are not specifically mentioned until Ahmose I has driven the Hyksos back into Palestine. Thereafter they are a people with which Egypt continually struggles for the control of Palestine, appearing first in the records of Thothmes III. They must have been a chief element of the peoples grouped under Hyksos leadership. The characters transliterated *H'rw* have been read "Kharu" in Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt,* with the suggestion that "Horites" (Genesis 36:20 ff.) may have been meant. Recently some scholars have proposed to understand the term as "Aryans," in view of the Indo-Iranic element shown in the El-Amarna Letters. But there seems no reason to suppose that Egypt viewed Palestine as dominantly Aryan through the whole period of preëxilic Israëlite history. The proper vocalization of

H'rw is suggested by that of *D'rw*, "Dzurrû" = Tyre: Hebrew "Tsôr"; El-Amarna and Assyrian "Tsurrû." *H'rw* is to be pronounced Hurrû. That clears up the mystery of the non-appearance in Egyptian records of the terms "Hebrew," "Judah," and "Israel" (save in Merneptah's stele), "Ephraim," "Joseph" and so on. The records merely mention a non-Semitic ethnic type that has become prominent in the country. The Hurrû are especially characteristic of central and southern Palestine. Thothmes IV conquers Hurrû who dwell in Gezer (*Records*, II, 821 f.); Amenhotep II, conquering Upper and Lower Rutennu (northern and southern Palestine) conquers also Hurrû resident there (II, 798A). This is to be compared with Genesis 36:22, 30 and I Chronicles 1:39, where the Hori or Hurri are a southern element of Lotan (Rutennu). Rameses II (III, 457) also distinguishes them from desert-marauders who have settled among them, and Merneptah's stele distinguishes them from the district he calls "Israel." Merneptah also makes Tyre into a region, and has "Upper Tyre" in the land of Hurrû. The name occurs dozens of times from Thothmes III, 1500 B.C., to Piankhi of the twenty-third dynasty, 720 B.C. Egypt always considered the kingdoms of Israel and Judah as largely a Hurrû people—(Garstang prefers "Harri").

It should be said here that the Khabirû, Kashshi, and Mitanni of the El-Amarna Letters may be three tribes or peoples of the Hurri stock. Their association and coöperation is an outstanding feature of the records. In the preceding chapter we noticed the Mitanni people speaking of themselves as "Hurrians," though under Indo-Iranic rulers, with some Indo-Iranic gods. The Kashshi, or Kassites, who conquered Babylonia about 1700 B.C., also had Indo-Iranic names among those of their gods and rulers. Murshilish I is thought by Forrer to be the Hittite king who conquered Babylonia about 1750 B.C., the kingdom of Mitanni taking form about the same time. Indo-Iranic immigrants, ruling conquered Hurrian masses, may be the explanation of the three empires and of the Hyksos invasion of Egypt. The Khabirû appear a subject people, and associated with the Kashshi in two or three pre-Kassite records from Elam. In the El-Amarna Letters, the Kashshi are hired against Megiddo by the sons of the Hurrian Labaya of Shechem. In others, they coöperate with Khabirû against Pharaoh. Again, Pharaoh is in two or three cases begged for some Kashshi guards, or a Kashshi physician. But Abdi-Kheba of Jerusalem complains that they are traitors to Pharaoh, leagued with the Khabirû, and have tried to kill him. Rib-Addi of Gebal says in

three letters that the king of Kashshe and the king of Mitanni, in order to seize Pharaoh's territory are mustering all of the GAZ (Khabirû) people. The intimate coöperation may mean racial identity. Sayce in a study of the Moscho-Hittite inscriptions in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* gathers data showing that the land Kashi is pretty certainly southeastern Cilicia. The name is also connected with Carchemish. There would seem to have been Kashi people there, as well as west and north of the Gulf of Issus. For the popular reader, details of the cuneiform texts need not be given.

It should be remembered that Mitanni is but "the land of the city of Metan," a capital not yet located. The term is not ethnographic, just as the term "Hittite" is not. Some scholars propose to substitute the name "Subareans." This also is not ethnographic: it merely means "highlanders." The mountain regions north of Nineveh are often referred to as *Subartu.* The term *Subareans* then merely expresses the fact that the highland peoples from the Zagros mountains to the Gulf of Issus were politically dominant for a long period. Ungnad observes that the traditional Hurrian founders of Nineveh—Ushpia and Kikia—were Subareans. But with these Subareans and the Khabirû known to be Hurrian, the associated Kashshi probably were also.

Besides the passages in which the Old Testament agrees with the Egyptian records in locating some Hurri in Lotan or southern Rutennu, there are others of great importance, in which the Hurri are obscured by or confused with a regional term. Consideration of these requires first a statement of the origin and significance of the oft-recurring term *Amorite.* The popular reader considers this an ethnographical term. But the data show that it must be regarded as a topographical or geographical term including peoples as unlike as the Arabs and the English. It is the adaptation of a Sumerian term. MAR. URU or MA. URU was used by the old Sumerians as a designation for their domain about the junction of the Khabûr and Euphrates. Originally "ship-town," it came to be a general term for west or southwest, probably because it was originally the western district of the Sumerian domain. Ma-uru and IM-Ma-uru ("southwest wind") became in later popular speech, Amurru, used as a general term for west or southwest.[16] As such, it may be applied to the west side of the Zagros mountains, or to the desert peoples southwest of the

[16] Albright, *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* September, 1925, pp. 203 ff.

Euphratean alluvium, or to the western side of Arabia, near Palestine or the Red Sea. Failure to recognize this resulted some years ago in the curious theory of a great Amorite empire, since Amurru is represented in the Old Testament by the term *Amorite*.

The Sumerians never entered Palestine. No trace of them has been found by any excavations hitherto. But they gradually extended their domain up the Euphrates. Gargamesh (Carchemish) bears a Sumerian name. Gudea, about 2500 B.C., recorded his trade with what appears to be Bashan. All his Amurru was probably east of the Anti-Lebanon. But the powerful cities in that region were not conquered. Lugalzaggisi, king of Uruk about 2850 B.C., records that he extended his domain to the Mediterranean. This would mean the northeast curve of it, nearest the bend of the Euphrates. He thus gained direct trade with the Mediterranean peoples, unhindered by middlemen. Sargon of Akkad within fifty years does the same thing, evidently administering on the political estate of Lugalzaggisi. He boasts his reaching Kaftara and Anaku,[17] but has left no trace in Palestine. It seems that Katna near the modern Homs may have been the Sumerian trade-garrison for that frontier. And the name Amurru, Egyptian Amor, applied to the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon regions to the southwest, may have meant the western frontier of the empire, or may have meant the region west of the Anti-Lebanon. The great variety of peoples shown by the records to have crowded into that bottleneck of the traffic-highway of the ancient world makes it appear impossible that the region should have gained its name from a single ancient people. Whatever the reason for the name Amurru, Amor, it clung to the region for nearly a thousand years. Sargonid Assyrians record their advance southward through Hittites, the mountain of Amurru, Tyre and Sidon, Humri (Omri = Israel), and Palastu (Philistia) and Edom: placing the Amurru mountain north of Sidonian territory. The Old Testament order of Hittites, Amorites, Hivites, Canaanites or Coastlanders also places the Amurru-mountain next south of the Hittite stronghold (Kadesh on the Orontes?). "The mountain of the Amorites" remains in Deuteronomy 1:7, 19, 20; cf. Numbers 13:29. And "Westland" is still used by modern Palestinians as a name for all the region west of the Anti-Lebanon crest. In *Records of the Past,* May, 1903, Mrs. Ghosu-El Howie wrote of "Rock-Sculp-

[17] Crete and Greece; see Albright, "A Babylonian Geographical Treatise upon Sargon of Akkad's Empire," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* September, 1925.

tures in the West-Land," high up the eastern slope of Lebanon, "overlooking the Buka'a" (Coele-Syria).

The reliefs and records show us different peoples in this Amurru region. In one relief copied by Wilkinson (I, 259), the A-ma-u-ru and the *Lmnn* (Lebanan folk) are identical: long-bearded, long-robed, girdled, with kerchief tied on head with a cord, in Beduin fashion. As already stated, they bear no resemblance to the Kenana of the adjacent seacoast, nor to the Kufa further north. The El-Amarna Letters show that the Khabirû who are making so much trouble on the coast about Gebal-Byblos are raiding that region from the Amurru district. In fact Rib-Addi of Gebal (in No. 85:84-87) says that the countries of the Amurru have all gone over to the Khabirû invaders. Aziru himself, the arch-traitor in the region, was probably a Khabiri, since the families of his following which Ikhen-Aton demanded from him as pledges of fidelity (162:67 ff.) bear names suggesting Khabirû connection. Langdon also points out that Boghaz-Keui texts connect the Khabirû (SA. GAZ) with the land Amurru.[18] Waiving the question of the identity of Khabirû and "Hebrews," we have here another type of "Amorites," which we cannot certainly portray. The writer views them as a Hurrian clan or tribe. Then some other Egyptian reliefs show as men of Amor a tall, yellow-haired, blue-eyed, heavy-jawed folk, widely different from the conventional Asiatic of Egyptian art. They strongly suggest some of the Indo-European folk shown by the records to have settled in Asia Minor and in the Lebanon mountains. Such a type survives among the Ansairiyeh of the northern Lebanon. Till within twenty-five years, prominent ethnologists identified these with the fair, yellow-haired invaders of North African Hamitic territory, and included them in the general term *Libyans*. It was suggested that they were of a Nordic type; also that they were the original Semitic type, and were related to the early Israelites. At the time of such theories the lack of ancient inscriptions concealed from us the confusion of the Hurrian invaders with the western (Amurru) mountains which became their stronghold.

Moreover, Sumerian and after them Akkadian scribes grouped wandering peoples west or southwest of the Euphratean alluvium as "Amurru." In this case again the term is not ethnographic. It rather implies that the peoples mentioned have no definite political organization or culture; as barbarians, they are simply called

[18] *Babyloniaca*, VI, 55.

"Westerners," or "South-westers." A movement of such into the region southwest of Babylon is of record. Their character is tersely described in a Sumerian text from Nippur, in the University of Pennsylvania Museum: date about 2400 B.C.

On the mountains his weapon is his companion;
To catch meat he crosses over the mountain,
What is good he does not know;
He eats uncooked meat.
While he lives he has no house;
His dead companion he does not bury.
In the land (?) his protector (?) is the god Amurru.[19]

Since Amurru-wind in the records is the parching destructive southwest wind from the deserts, the last line may refer to the destructive character of these desert-rovers. Consider the much debated Joel 2:1-11.

Another tablet, from the reign of Libit-Ishtar of Nisin, is dated "In the year when the Amorites, who know not houses, invaded the country from the south." This was about 2270 B.C. They appear in the south of what we call Babylonia, coming in from the desert. Still another tablet, recently dug up at Ur, gives explicit testimony. Its date-formula reads, "Year when to Ibi-Sin, king of Ur, the Amorites, a southern tribe who never knew a city, surrendered." Ibi-Sin lived about 2350 B.C. The savage nomad character of the so-called Semitic "Amorites" of the time is well-established.[20]

But it should be emphasized that these savage desert-folk are not represented as calling themselves by the Sumerian name Amurru. Nor do the Egyptian inscriptions during several thousands of years of Egyptian familiarity with southwestern Arabia call any region or people of it "Amorite." Amor for the Egyptian was a very late term for the mountains and valley of the Lebanons. The recognition by scholars like Albright and Barton that the West Semitic names of the supposed Arab "Amorites" are connected with the dialect of Minaean Arabia does not give us any Arabs calling themselves Amor, or Amurru.

Who then are the two "Amorite" chieftains Og and Sihon, mentioned in wilderness-stories as controlling regions held by Aramaeans in Jacob's time, as noticed in Chapter IV (Genesis 31:43-32:8)? Neither Aramaeans nor Amorites are in that region

[19] Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible,* p. 539, 1925 edition.
[20] L. Legrain, ***Museum Journal,*** December, 1926, p. 379.

in the El-Amarna Letters. These marauders are a thousand years after the above irruption of Amurru savages into southern Sumerian domains. Then Balak, of Aramaean Moab, is the king when Sihon broke in (Numbers 21:21-32). These border marauders must have been western Arabians,[21] if not Hurrians from the Lebanon Amurru. Israelite traditions elsewhere confuse two peoples, Amurru and Benî-Hamor, "Red-Skins." Hamor, when= "he-ass," is so because of the wild asses' reddish color. In Genesis 34 is a story of the treachery of Jacob-clans and the massacre of the Benî-Hamor, while in 48:22, Israel says to Joseph, "Moreover, as the one over thy brethren, I give to thee Shechem, which I captured from the Amorite with my sword and my bow." So *'Amor* and *Hamor,* "Amorite" and "Red-Skin," are the same in this tradition. But "red-skin" is a common term for the sun-burned desert-rover and peasantry as contrasted with gentry. A like term, *red-necks,* in some parts of our southern states, is applied to sun-burned farm-laborers. It will be remembered that the Greeks applied the term *Phoinikes* to a wide range of Oriental "red-skin" folk. American Indians of all tribes are "redskins." This term Egyptians repeatedly apply to some of their captives, and to peoples in this part of Palestine in a stele of Rameses II, recently unearthed at Bethshean. The term is *'Aperu, Aperiu,* which Brugsch (*Egypt under the Pharaohs,* 344) translates "red-skins." The desert border at the Suez frontier is the country of the Aperiu, in an inscription of Rameses III. But with "red-skin" and "Amor" thus confused in the Jacob-story, in how many other places does "Amorite" stand for any of the redskin people?

But the Old Testament also knows the red-skin people, and specifically describes them as Edomites, and adds the information that the Edomites were particularly fond of dressing in red skins. It has been customary to explain Edom, "ruddy," as referring to some red hills of the region. But Genesis 25:25 declares that the ancestor of Edom was born "red all over, like a garment of (red) goat-hair." The Tabernacle is declared to have been the work of an Edomite, great-grandson of Caleb, who demanded "rams' skins dyed red" for its decoration (Exodus 25:5; 26:14; 35:7, 23; 39:19; 39:34). Isaiah 63:1 f. asks, "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? —Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel like winefat?" Sheikhs of this region still ask scarlet cloaks as a badge of distinction, and many travellers have noticed the splashing with red of the sides of lambs driven

[21] Can *Amor* in this case simply mean "western Arabian"?

for sale to festal occasions. Thus Brugsch is justified in his translation of Aperiu. For the Egyptian the term had a double point, as "Edom" probably had for the Hebrew.

Thus peoples of widely different stocks and of periods chronologically far apart, with no historical connection are found referred to by the old Sumerian term *Amurru*. Another most important people are sometimes called Amurru, because some settled in that mountain region. These are the Hurri. But an additional factor is the confusion resulting in reading cuneiform texts, because a certain cuneiform character is either *har, hir, hur, mur,* or *kin*. Some Jewish compilers have certainly read Hur-ri as Mur-ri, and concluded that it was an error for A-mur-ri. Modern cuneiform scholars have done that. Knudtzon, in at least one El-Amarna letter (No. 56:44), thought that *Hur-ri* meant (A)-mur-ri. And some scholars who recognize Hurri-men in other Hittite texts upon Asia Minor affairs have made the same ancient kings speak of Mur-ri-men in this northern Lebanon; but they have not explained this new people. The following passage from a Hittite historical text definitely places the Hurri in Amurru. The king writes, "When my grandfather Shubbilulyuma invaded the country of the Hurri (or Murri) he defeated all the Hurri men, and fixed his frontier beyond Kinza (Kadesh on the Orontes) and the land of the city of A-mur-ra."[22] The king pushes across the Orontes Valley and subdues the Hurri of the mountains west of it. That this section of the Lebanon range is to be read A-mur-ra, not A-har-ra, is shown by two passages in the El-Amarna Letters, where a city A-mu-ur-ra and the land A-mu-ri are spelt out. An Egyptian nominee, Aziru, probably a Khabiri, is claiming authority over a score of cities in the Lebanon and along the coast from Beirut to Arvad and northward. None of these acquiesce in the domination by the people of the A-mu-ri district.

Now it is to be emphasized that while A-mur-ra mountains are frequent in the El-Amarna Letters, no people called "Amorites" occurs among the nearly five hundred ethnographical, personal, and geographical names. In all the war of deeds and words, there is never any question of such a people.

The few Hittite inscriptions accessible to me show the same fact. The treaty of Murshilish II with Duppi-Teshup of the Amurru land mentions that land four times, but it names no "*ameluti* Amurru-*mes*." Nor do we hear of "Amurri people" in

[22] *Boghaz-Keui Texts,* No. 2361-9-12.

other texts published by Friedrich. In ritual texts we meet with "gods of peoples." In one, "the gods of the Lulahhi people, the gods of the Khabirû people" are immediately followed by "the male and female gods of the Khattu city, and the male and female gods of the Amurru land." Just as the published texts tell us of no Khabirû land, they tell of no "Hittite people," or "Amorite people."

The same is true of the Egyptian inscriptions. The name Amor does not appear in them till the time of Seti I. Kadesh on the Orontes is in the land of Amor: also in the land of Zahi, which includes everything from the meridian of Damascus to the sea-coast. Rameses II makes his Amor include the sea-coast, and does not call the latter "Canaan." Kedesh-Naphtali in northern Galilee is in the land of Amor, in Seti I's narrative. Rameses III speaks of a land of Amor, of a city Amor, as the El-Amarna Letters did, two hundred years before. He shows us a chief of the city of Amor. His invading sea-peoples have a fortified camp in the land of Amor, probably northeast of Kadesh on the Orontes, at Meshrifé. But nowhere is there mention of a people called "Amorites" parallel to the ethnographical terms "Libyans," "Tehennu," or "Nubians." Since the above citation from the Hittite royal records shows that the actually dominant element in the Amurru mountains in the time of Shubbilulyuma, about 1375 B.C. are spoken of as Hurri-men, it is plain that in Joshua 9:1 the peoples annoyed by Joshua's intrusion into central Palestine are these same Hittites and Hurrians and the Coast-landers. But Joshua makes no attack upon their northern strongholds. The Gibeonite confederacy are southern colonies of theirs, and Joshua thinks it prudent to make an alliance with them. In the Septuagint of Joshua 9:7 these Gibeonites are called "Khorrai," where the Hebrew and Samaritan versions have "Hivites." Then the same Hurrian region that Shubbilulyuma subdued about 1375 B.C. is described in Judges 3:3 as dominated by the "Hivites in Mount Lebanon, as far as the frontier of Hamath" (cf. Joshua 11:3). Another case of identifying Hivites with the Amurru peoples or territory is in Genesis 34:2, where Shechem is claimed as a "son" or colony of Hamor the Hivite; but the reference in Genesis 48:22 makes the conquered people "Amorites." Like the Gibeonite Hivites, Shechem may have been at one time a colony of the Achaians in the Lebanon Amurru. It is probable that the story of Shubbilulyuma's conquest has here been included in the tale of Israelite achievements, brought in by the Hurrians eventually incorporated into the kingdom of Israel. Late

compilations of supposed Israelite history could not avoid the ancestral traditions of annexed peoples who had long counted themselves an important tribe of the confederate Israel. The perplexing Judges 1:8 must refer to a capture of Jerusalem by the Khabirû that so distressed Abdi-Kheba, the Hurrian governor, becoming part of Judah when David captured the city from them.[23] The capture is later credited to Judah. The same Hurrian stronghold, mountain of the Amurru, is mentioned in Deuteronomy 1:7, where the Hurrians are referred to simply as "West-mountaineers." In Amos 2:9 the same location is in mind: "Yet I cut off from before them the Amurru whose highland was in [not "like"] the highland of cedars." From this stronghold the Hurrians raided the regions south. Then in 2 Samuel 24:7 the story of David's military census includes "all the cities of the Hivites" placed next to the *mibsar* or fortified district of Tyre—the same Hurrian region that Shubbilulyuma subdued. The Hivite power in Mt. Lebanon was very strong; for their southern outpost had a king at Gibeon, and all the men were *gibborîm*—skilled warriors (Joshua 10:2). They appear a garrison colony rather than a mercantile colony. Were the five kings called to their aid Hurrians, or Hivite adventurers, or of some other people from the Amurru region?

But what is the explanation of Hivites and Hurrians being in the same territory, and in some passages being assumed to be the same people? Is there any mention of Hivites, *Khiwi,* in the Hittite and Egyptian inscriptions? In the preceding chapter was noticed the great southward migration of Indo-European and "sea-peoples" that began about a hundred years after Shubbilulyuma's conquest, and a hundred years later still, in the time of Rameses III, shattered the Hittite power and established their own military base in Amurru. The Hurrians there had new masters. Of these peoples one was the *Ekwesh* of the Egyptian inscriptions, identified as the Hellenic Achaians. Specifically, these appear in the time of Merneptah, with the Tursha (Troas?) people and the Shekelesh (Sagalassos folk?), and are a factor in Merneptah's final loss of Palestine, necessitating the campaigns of Rameses III. In the Boghaz-Keui inscriptions describing this time of ethnical turmoil and migration in Asia Minor, the cities of the Akh-khi-ya-wa, and the god of the city Akh-khi-ya-wa are mentioned in the same tablet, within three lines of each other. These are gen-

[23] 2 Samuel 5:6 ff. The Jebusite is a "brother" of the Hittite and Hurrian in Genesis 10:15 ff., and must be a Khabirû clan.

erally recognized as Achaians. It is important that a tradition of Achaian settlement in this Lebanon area survived in Herodotus' time. The coast Cilicians, *Kilikes,* were formerly *Hupachaioi* (inferior or lowland Achaians?) who had come thither from Phoenicia. They claimed Kilix, son of the legendary Phoenician Agenor as their ancestor.[24] The popular reader will more readily recognize the Akh-khi-ya-va as the Achivi of Virgil's Aeneid. Now the Phoenician regularly drops the *a* in Akhi. Thus Akhiram becomes Hiram; Akhi-Melkart becomes Hamilcar; Akhimilkâ becomes Himilco. So Achivi in the Hebrew-Phoenician mouth becomes Khivi or "Hivite." The treaty of the Hittite king with Antravas of the Akhkhiyava points to some Hurri-Hivite mingling or alliance. It perhaps opened the way for the southern push of the Achaian league a hundred years later: Rameses III represents the Hittite (Hurri) power as shattered by them. And he says that these "sea-peoples" had a strong military base in the Lebanon Amurru. This is corroborated by Judges 3:3, where the Achivi-Hivites dominate the older Hurrian settlement from Hermon to the frontier of Hamath. Their colonies control the Gibeon confederacy with which the invader Joshua is represented as making terms. The Hebrew compilers were then justified in using Hurrian and Hivite indifferently for the mingled peoples. Incidentally, Achivi or Achaians became one more of the various "Amorites."

The southern raids of the Hurri brought them also to southwest Palestine. Hittites are pictured in Genesis 23 as prominent at Hebron in Abram's time. And Ezekiel 16:3, 45 evidently means that Hittites and Hurrians were the pre-Israelite occupants of Jerusalem.

Did the Hurri extend their predatory migrations into Edom? Scholars like Winckler and Meyer think that a genuine Semitic people called Khorri or "Hur-ites" have been confused by compilers with the Hurri. In Genesis 36:22, 29, the Khorri are represented as an Edomite clan. These Khorri are assailed by Elamite raiders in Genesis 14:6, and in Deuteronomy 2:12 they are described as overthrown by the Edomites. Certainly there is confusion as to the actual history of these Khorri. Esau is represented as intermarried with Hittites in Genesis 26:34. Since, however, it has been shown that the ethnical term Hurri and the political term Hittite were sometimes interchangeable, there is no

[24] Herodotus 7:91. Sturtevant identifies the Achaian king Antravas (Hittite form) with the Greek Andreus, 1350-1325 B.C.; Tavaglavas with Eteocles; Alaksandus of Vilusa with Alexandros of Ilios. Cf. *Classical Weekly,* April 30, 1925, p. 175.

necessary conflict in these passages. Esau's Hittite wife was probably of the Hurri stock and the movement of Hurri into Edom is as credible as their movement into southern Palestine.[25] The intermarriage of tribes is represented as occurring in Palestine, and as followed by migration southward to Edom in Genesis 36:6 f. Against Winckler and Meyer, this probably represents a real racial migration. "Zibeon the Hivite" is father of one of the Esau mother-clans in Genesis 36:2, 20, 24. But the Hebrew text translated by Lucian had Khorri instead of Hivite in this passage.

With the proved confusion of the Hurri with the name of their Lebanon Amurra, it is possible that wherever Hittite and Amorite are mentioned together in the Old Testament the original records had "Hittite and Hurri." King Araunah, the "father" of the Jebusite Yahu-sanctuary at Jerusalem, in 2 Samuel 24:23, seems referred to in Ezekiel 16:3. The Jebusite and the Amurra mountaineers (Hurrians) and Hivites are "brothers" of the Hittite in Genesis 10:15 f. That the Hurri were at Jerusalem in pre-Israelite times is shown by the El-Amarna Letters. The governor of Jerusalem is Abdi-Kheba (or Khepa). The Semitic *Abdi* represents the Hurrian *Buti* or *Puti,* "servant." His native Hurrian name was probably Puti-Kheba, "Servant of Kheba." But Heba or Kheba is the great Hurrian Queen of Heaven. So in the fifteenth century B.C. Jerusalem had a Hurrian governor, and we should expect him to maintain a Hurrian sanctuary. Ezekiel's charge of Hittite and Hurrian ancestry for Jerusalem is more than rhetoric. Sayce thinks that Bath-sheba in David's time is a Semitic slurring of the above name, Buti-Kheba. It will be remembered that her first husband was Uriah the Hittite.

The influence of the Hurrian and his Kheba cult in Palestine may be estimated by its influence in other directions. In Palestine the Queen of Heaven of that period is portrayed standing on a lion; cf. Psalm 91:13. Whether she was identified with Anath, so bitterly opposed by Jeremiah (7:17 f.; 44:15 ff.), remains to be determined. Kheba is shown by the Hittite inscriptions to have been worshipped both in Mitanni and in the Hittite domain. Her cult seems earlier in Mitanni, Aleppo being her great western sanctuary. Probably Hurrians moving west carried the cult to the Hittite country and Kheba is probably represented by the mural-crowned goddess standing upon a lioness or panther. From the Hittites she passed to the Phrygians. Sayce finds that she

[25] Bashemath is not Hittite but Ishmaelite in Gen. 36:3. Is this a reference, from another source, to her new nomad life?

was Kubaba with the Hittites, Kubebe and Kybele among the Phrygians, from whom Rome eventually imported her.[26] At Hierapolis-Mabog in Greek times she was Kombe and Kombabos. Among the Hittites Kubilis, "she of Kubi," became a feminine personal name. The Greek legend of Hebe subduing the lion is probably another form; and in the cuneiform lore Hubaba or Huwawa is a terrible monster of the cedar-mountains of Amurru: which is probably a reminiscence of Hittite-Hurri domination. The familiar horrors of the Cybele cult need not be detailed.

The outstanding fact to be recognized from this sketch is not simply that northern Palestine was exposed to the cultural influences and migration-waves in Asia Minor, but that such exposure meant at times Hurrian or Aegaean or Indo-Iranic or Achaian or other Indo-Germanic political dominance in early northern and central Palestine: an ethnic commingling that inevitably differentiated "Israel" widely from the Minoan-Semitic south that we call "Judah," and left some somatic impress to this day. Two-thirds of the names found in the excavations at Samaria are not Biblical names. The proper names in the Tell el-Amarna Letters and in the texts recovered from Taanach and Katna show that the non-Semitic peoples were everywhere dominant. The land seems apportioned among them much as conquered England was among the Norman nobility, or as mediaeval Palestine was among the victorious Crusaders. But these older conquerors of Palestine made use of the colloquial Hebrew-Phoenician, or of the West Semitic ("Amorite"). Any Israelite immigration in those centuries accepted this Hurrian, Indo-Germanic, and Coastlander leadership, and fused with it. Demands for the extermination of Hittite and Hurrian and Achaian do not come from this period of Israel. No Semitic influence came down from the north; no Semitic element existed among the older populations of Asia Minor. The Arabized south demanded the crusade against "Hittite and Jebusite and Amorite and Canaanite" of the north (Deuteronomy 7:1 ff.).

When the last revival of the Hittite federation is shattered by 1200 B.C., we find the Mushkaya of Tiglath-pileser I (Column 1, 62 ff.) pressing in from the northwest. These are the Meshech of the Old Testament, the Moschi, the Mysians, and Phrygians of classic times. As an iron-using people, they master the bronze-users. They gain control of the great iron regions of the Kizzuwadna country, from which Mitanni presented iron gifts to Egypt three centuries earlier. Within a century of this Moschi advance

[26] *Classical Review,* November, 1928.

Rameses II had asked the Hittite king for iron from Kizzuwadna. The Mysian-Phrygian immigrants seem to have made themselves masters of Carchemish by 1200 B.C., and, without expelling the Hurrian and earlier Indo-European Hittite rulers, remained the politically dominant element.[27] Later Iranic hordes come from the east and become the dominant element in all central Asia, some of them settling in northern Palestine. This detail is not mentioned in the Old Testament, though such Indo-Europeans and Iranians were actual directors of some of the so-called Hittite activities which it mentions. Thus the northern sanctuary of Dan and the central region about Samaria were always much more exposed to aggressive Hurrian or Indo-European or Iranic influences than Jerusalem was. Dan, like Kadesh on the Orontes, was a meeting-point for the clashing ethnic tides from north and south and east; and because of these clashes it fell before Samaria or Jerusalem.

The popular reader may think all this very new. But most of it has been familiar to scholars for a generation. Before the discovery and decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions, the Dutch scholar Böhl wrote in *Kananäer und Hebräer* (p. 98).

"In those lands there dwelt at that time no unified people, but a chaos of peoples. Semites of an older stratum with a great past: Semites of a later stratum, with a great future: Hittites of evidently two distinct strata to the extreme south of the land; Aryans of an Iranic stratum: the land itself a tennis-ball of politics between the world-empires of the Hittites and the Egyptians—till a century and a half after the Amarna period an invading tempest of Indo-Europeans shattered their power and paved the way for the dominance of a later Semitic stratum for some centuries."

And two years earlier (1909) in a study of the language of the El-Amarna Letters he had written

"Perhaps we are near the time when we must enumerate and describe all those peoples from which the [so-called] Jewish race arose. As we can already recognize, from the earliest times there streamed into Palestine a great body of different peoples, from which the Jewish race resulted. Of a pure Semitism in that connection there can not be the remotest suggestion."

But what of the trade-routes coming up the Arabian coast, or the shipping-trade through the Red Sea and Elanitic Gulf, or Gulf of Akaba? Around and north of this Gulf are the tribes of

[27] H. R. Hall, *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, 192.

the Sinaitic Peninsula, Midian east of the Gulf, and Edom, Moab, Ammon, Judah. From the days of the prominence of Byblos, 4000-1500 B.C, down to the time of the rise of Tyre and Sidon, any power controlling Mediterranean and coastal commerce wished to keep open the road to South Arabia, to the Persian Gulf and India, to Punt or East Africa. Arabian caravan commerce did not have to go through Judea to reach the coast. But the Minoan-Philistine colonies that held the Mediterranean coast below Joppa for more than two thousand years had perforce to deal with the peoples grouped about the head of the Red Sea. The alternatives were warfare or commercial partnership. In the story of David's Philistine lieutenancy, the villages to whom captured booty is restored in 1 Samuel 30:26 f. are Edomite; the territory is "Cretan" in verse 14. There seems to have been a Philistine protectorate of Edomite settlements. Such is South Judah at the time. The immense importance of the Red-Sea Arabia trade is evidenced by the successive struggles for its control. Phoenicians, Aramaeans of Damascus, Sargonid Assyrians, Nebuchadrezzar, Persians, Greeks, and Romans fought for this across the ancient stage. Jerusalem, therefore, was in no sense isolated. She was in close contact with surviving Minoan influences through Philistia and the Cretan Tarsisi or Tarshish, with the Mediterranean in general through Tyrian relations, and with all South Semitic peoples through shipping and caravan routes. Were these cultures less corrupting than those of the north were for Samaria and Dan?

This particular contact of Jerusalem with the world is emphasized in the Old Testament. Since all remember that Tyrians built Solomon's temple, Tyre's Arabian connections must be noticed. Ezekiel has the merchants of Sheba and Ra'amah in Tyre's markets, with spices, precious stones, and gold (27:22). Ra'amah (Genesis 10:7) was in southeast Arabia, near the lower Persian Gulf. Men of Dedan brought tusks of ivory and ebony and their own manufactured saddle-cloths (Ezekiel 27:15, 20). Dedan, now El Ela, was a great trade-oasis, 265 miles south of the Edomite frontier and long controlled by the Sheba caravans.[28] Arabia and all the princes of Kedar brought rams, lambs, and goats. They were Tyre's chief source of supply (27:21). Droves amounting to tens of thousands had to come to Tyre through Palestine every year. In 2 Chronicles 17:11 Jehoshaphat collects an annual toll of 7700 rams and 7700 he-goats from the Arabians who wish to reach the Phoenician markets. Compare the Moabite tribute to

[28] Musil, *The Northern Hedjaz*, p. 249.

Omri and Ahab of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams, in 2 Kings 3:4. In Ezekiel 38:13, Sheba and Dedan and Tarshish are ready to purchase any spoil the Lydian vassals may take in Palestine. In Isaiah 21:11 ff. the doom of Dumah, 250 miles east of Petra, and of Seir (the Edomite Shera highland), and of the forest of Arabia (between Dedan and the Red Sea), and of the caravans of Dedan, and the end of the glory of Kedar are announced. Job 6:19 pictures the caravans of Teman (now Teyma) finding the rivulets dried up. Jeremiah 49 sees the approaching downfall of Edom, Teman, Dedan, Bozrah, Kedar, the Beni-Kedem and Hazor (vv. 7 f., 13, 17, 20 ff., 28 ff.), Jeremiah 25:20-23 dooms all of Uz, Edom; Moab, Ammon, Dedan, Tema, and Buz, and all those with shaven heads.[29] Then, reverting to Tyre, Ezekiel 27:10 has men of Put or Punt (Somaliland) in her armies. In Genesis 10, the empire of Egypt (Ham) includes Cush and Put and Mizraim ("the two strongholds," i.e., Lower Egypt and Tell Fara'?). The Cush colony has mercantile "sons" in Sheba, Havilah, and Dedan. These white Cushites were active traders in all the stations of the Sabean caravan route.[30] South of Dedan, on the line from Medina to Mecca, are Wedan, Yevan, and Uzal (or Ma'wa'il?), traders in pig-iron(?), cassia, and calamus (Ezekiel 27:19). The pig-iron pretty certainly came from India.[31] Wedan is Waddan, between Mecca and Medina. Yevan is Yaûn or Yayn, twenty-four Arabic miles from Medina.[32] Uzal could be Azalla, ten miles east of Medina; but Ma'wa'il would be the same name reported more recently by Jaussen and Savignac in a Minaean inscription. Another more southern Dedan appears in 27:20. Another Uzal appears in Genesis 10:27, which we know to be an ancient name of Sana'a, a hundred and fifty miles N.N.E. of Mocha; it is the chief city of modern Yemen.[33] In the preceding chapter was noticed Israel's acquaintance with the peoples of southern Arabia and "the other side" of the Gulf of Aden in Punt, the modern Somaliland. Jeremiah 46:9 sees "the mighty men of Cush and Put" pass through Palestine in Necho's army. Joel 3:6-8 pictures Tyre selling captives of Judah to the men of the above Yevan, that they might be carried far away. But they

[29] AV wrongly, "uttermost corners"; cf. Musil, p. 274. All these were Arabian kings. Nearly all the nomads still shave their heads, leaving only a tuft at the crown.

[30] Musil, p. 288.

[31] Schoff, *The Ship Tyre,* p. 84. Nubian iron more probably came down the Nile.

[32] Glazer, *Skizze,* pp. 327, 437.

[33] Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* IV, 841; Margoliouth, *op. cit.,* p. 54.

will be returned, and Tyrians sold to Judah will be taken down to the far-off Sabeans and sold there.

Moreover, the whole west coast of the Red Sea has been ignored in our translations: yet the *Periplus* shows that it was much more important than the Arabian coast, which was pirate-haunted. Furthermore, the ancient Arabian traders tried to keep all foreign shipping out of their coastal trade, not allowing Indian vessels to enter the Red Sea. Thus the *Periplus* describes contemporary commerce as clinging to the west coast, whose ports are terminals for trade-routes penetrating the interior of Africa. Failure to recognize these fundamental facts has left translators puzzled by the very common word *'Ereb,* "evening" or "the west."

Now Jeremiah 25:23 pictures Nebuchadrezzar as overthrowing "Dedan and Teman and Buz and those that crop their hair, and all the kings of the Arab, and all the kings of the west-coast ('Ereb) that dwell in the desert." It is plain that the 'Ereb folk are not in Arabia. In 25:20: "all the west-coast folk ('Ereb) and all the kings of the land of Uz"—on the Arabian coast. In Ezekiel 30:4 f. the overthrow of Egypt is pictured: "A sword shall fall upon Egypt and Cush (Nubia) shall be in anguish, as the slain fall in Egypt, as her multitude is captured, as her (fortress) foundations are razed: Cush and Put and Lud, all the west-shore people and Lub (Libyans), and Cherethites (Philistines) shall fall by the sword." To read "Arabians" here instead of "west-coast" people would contradict Egyptian history of the time. Lud in this passage, and as province of Egypt in Genesis 10:13, and as grouped again with Cush and Put in Jeremiah 46:9 and Ezekiel 27:10, is certainly the lower west coast of the Red Sea, as distinguished from Put, the north coast of Somaliland. It may be a metathesis of the name later written "Adulis" in Greek, the modern Massowah. The Adâl to-day dominate the coast from Massowah to the Gulf of Tajurra. Similarly in Numbers 11:4 and Exodus 12:38 we probably have "west-coast folk." These live to-day by hunting and eat the flesh of their herds, much of the country inland being desert. As for the trade with this coast, in 1 Kings 10:14 f., Solomon's receipts of gold were 666 talents, "besides (gifts) from adventurers and thoroughfare-fees of merchants, and all the kings of the west coast, and (presents from) the district-officers of the land." These officials probably paid for their tribute-collecting positions: a familiar Oriental abuse that adds to the burdens of the populace (1 Kings 9:23; 10:26; 4:7 ff., 21 ff.). The 'Ereb coast was just as familiar to the Israelites as Egypt and Nubia, Arabia and Somaliland were.

Thus the predominant commercial outlook of Jerusalem was incessantly to the southern peoples. Though her merchants in the markets of Tyre met those of the Ionians, the Mushkaya-Moschi (Meshech, Mysia) and the Tibarenes of the Black Sea coast, there is not a station in all Asia Minor that the prophets consider so significant to Jerusalem as the trade through the Red Sea and the Arabian caravan roads. Their last dreams of future glory envision the same commerce by Arabia and the Red Sea to East Africa and India. In Isaiah 60:6 ff., restored Jerusalem is promised the mighty camel-caravans of Midian and Ephah[34] and Sheba, the flocks of Kedar and the Nabateans, and the ships of Tarshish.

This incessant Arabian outlook sharply contrasts with the portions of the Old Testament now stamped with Aramaean claims. No passage of the prophets pictures a gathering of Aram as a whole; nor is any single tribe or state of Aram so viewed. Yet a complete Aramaization was very near. The cuneiform inscriptions show us Samal, Damascus, Bit-Adini, Tel-Barsip, Bazu, Yabroda, Lakê, Hindani, Harran, the Suhi, Hadrach, Yauri, and others immediately north and northeast of Palestine. But there is no notion in any of the prophetic literature that the expansion of Yahwism or of a Yahwist people will include any of these Aramaeans, or will be in their direction.

Thus Jerusalem was incessantly Arabized, and in consequence our volumes of expository comment are incessantly Arabized. Had we volumes of archaeological and historical material from northern Syria, our commentaries might be pointing out many Indo-European elements continually. Dr. Margoliouth, considering *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam*,[35] confines his study to linguistic phenomena. He reaches the same conclusion: that Jerusalem was incessantly Arabized. South Arabian inscriptions, from the Hedjaz through Yemen, Saba, Hadramaut, to Kataban near the eastern end of the South Arabian coast show many names and types of name-formation that are found in the Old Testament. There are Hebrew words that are not explicable save as corruptions of South Arabian forms. There are some thousands of the inscriptions in Lihyani, Sabaean, Katabanian, etc., through which this evidence is scattered. It is clear that in many cases such words have come from Arabia into Palestine; they did not travel from Palestine to Arabia.

[34] Haiappa of cuneiform, now 'Wafa, 27°44' north, 38°4' east: an oasis station 30 miles east of the Red Sea. Notable ruins are there; cf. Musil, pp. 184 ff., 289.

[35] Oxford, 1921; the Schweich Lectures.

But do they prove the origin of all Israel from South Arabia? Not at all. Dr. Margoliouth acknowledges the practical identity of the Hebrew and Phoenician dialects, pointed out in the last chapter. The essential features of the language seem established in Palestine a thousand years before the Israelite settlement there. But the Phoenician tradition is that they themselves were once traders in southeastern Arabia, along the Persian Gulf. Why do not these South Arabian peculiarities appear in the thousands of Phoenician inscriptions? The god 'Amm, or 'Ammu, for example, common in South Arabian and early Israelite proper names, does not appear among the ten thousand names distributed through many centuries of Phoenician inscriptions. Therefore it is not a general ancient Semitic god-name. It was not familiar to the pre-Tyrians in their early Persian Gulf home, nor did they find it among the people whom they absorbed when they settled in Palestine about 2750 B.C. But by 2100 B.C. it is very common among the western Semites who have crowded into the southern Lebanon mountains. The names Yakir-'Ammu, Yabil-'Ammu (Ibleam), 'Amm-yator (Ithre-Amm), 'Ammu-Yakum, 'Ammu-anas' appear in the Egyptian "cursing texts" hurled at these highlanders about 2000 B.C. These 'Amm-using peoples were then in Palestine long before Israelite settlement there, and were to some extent absorbed by them. But it is clear that the dialectic peculiarities considered by Margoliouth were not on the South Arabian coasts nor yet in Palestine in the earlier days of the so-called Phoenicians. In both cases the peoples using this dialect have reached the said regions much later than the time of the Phoenician migration, and their cultus-prestige was so inferior that the Phoenicians of the Palestinian coasts did not adopt any of their 'Ammu-nomenclature.

Furthermore, none of the thousands of South Arabian inscriptions come from a pre-Israelite period. Müller forty years ago concluded that some Lihyani inscriptions from Dedan were one thousand or twelve hundred years earlier than Mohammed's time; about the time of Ezra or Josiah. But Glaser replied that the inscriptions belong to a Jewish kingdom in North Arabia, about the third century of our era. There are no South Arabian inscriptions that certainly date within a thousand years of the theoretical date of Abram, or within two thousand years of the time of pre-Tyrian migration from the lower Persian Gulf. The inscriptions prove much intercourse between Palestine and Kataban, twenty-five hundred miles away by the coastal route. The inscriptions prove much traffic between Palestine and South Arabia in

general, reaching back to early Israelite times. They do not prove more. The settlement of many South Arabians in Palestine suggests as its correlate the existence of Palestinian trading-posts in South Arabia. Attempts to write Hebrew history have generally been dominated by the obsession that Israelites could not have known distant peoples nor ventured far from Palestine. The whole commercial *milieu* of the ancient world is against the theory. The Hebrew-Phoenician dwelt at the cross-roads of ancient oriental commerce. The linguistic facts pointed out by Margoliouth prove much intercourse with some interchange of population.

Reverting to the Old Testament emphasis upon the commercial outlook of Jerusalem, we observe as a feature of first importance that this literary outlook clings to the coast-lands. The great interior markets of Asia Minor are never named. The peoples are mentioned, not the cities. In the case of Arabia, save for Adumu or Dumah, two hundred and fifty miles east of Petra, the interior markets are unnamed. We hear of no interior point of Punt or of Nubia or of Abyssinia: no interior point of north Africa or Asia Minor. "Tarshish" still stands for all the coast-lands visited in earlier times by the ancient Minoan mariners. Phoenicians followed them, then the Greek. The Hebrew still used the old geographical term. But no single city or interior point of all the ancient Minoan coasts is named in the Old Testament, though what we have seen of commercial colonies in the Mediterranean as early as 3000 B.C. assures us that thousands of the Israelites during earlier centuries in Palestine must have been parties to written contracts in commercial ports whose very names have perished. Ancient Phoenician-Hebrew trade was preëminently coastal. The popular notion that Israel was an isolated, secluded people, untouched by maritime commerce, has all the Old Testament evidence against it. Long before the days of Solomon, Dan was the *gêr* or protégé of alien ships, when Jabin's aggressions annoyed, and Asher retired to its strongholds on the coasts (Judges 5:17). In the days when Judah was assured that it would never lack a leader so long as it assembled with other tribes at the Josephite sanctuary of Shiloh, and Joseph was preëminently wealthy, Zebulun's coast was the haven of Israelite sea-trade, and its coast-control reached to the city of Sidon (Genesis 49:10, 13, 22, 24-26). Again, in the traditional blessing of Moses, the hegemony of Joseph is asserted; then

> "Rejoice, Zebulun, in your enterprises abroad,
> And you, Issachar, in your tents at home!

They call peoples to their mountain shrines
To share in the due sacrifice-feasts,
For they are sucking up the wealth of the seas,
And the hidden treasures of the sands."

(Deuteronomy 33:13-19.)

But Zebulun's activity we have seen to be centuries older than Israel. To this evidence of Israelite maritime activity add the fact that the names of Asher and Zebulun are reported from Carthage.[36] Before Israel the El-Amarna Letters say much about shipping. All regions north of Joppa preferred to reach Egypt by sea instead of by caravan. Abdi-Kheba, governor at Jerusalem, complains that commerce through the port of Haifa has been interrupted. Through centuries Judah traded through ports of northern Israel, Tyre, and Sidon. And when a voice of cheer arose in Babylonia as Cyrus appeared, it called incessantly to "all the coast-lands" (AV "islands"; Isaiah 40-55). For Hebrew colonies had been in the coast-lands since Deborah sang. Canaan, we know now, was the northern coast-land of the east end of the Mediterranean, and the persistent Israelite dream of possessing the "Land of Canaan" was a dream of sea-coast commercial supremacy.

As to a division between Israel and Judah, scholars have long recognized that there was never any real unity. There was nothing of the sort for Jeroboam to break. There was, on the contrary, a gulf between the component ethnic elements which he could not bridge. It is recognized that southern Judah became largely Edomite, being settled by the invading clans of Caleb, the Kenites and Jerahmeelites. Macalister points out that the excavations in the southwest of Palestine indicate that there was a destruction of an older culture by ruder invaders whose sparse settlements in the ruins show that their own development was due to much aid from the cultured Philistines. This Philistine influence has been set forth by Macalister in his Schweich Lectures, and has long been recognized in the Bible Dictionaries. But it is to be emphasized that this Philistine culture which made the framework of David's military organization, provided royal guards and determined the succession to the Jerusalem kingdom on at least three occasions, and supervised temple rituals at times, had no such influence in the kingdom of Israel. It is to be grouped with the southern Semitic elements as one of the ethnic cultures differentiating Judah from Israel.

[36] By Slouschz; no date suggested.

The days of the wilderness wanderings are represented in Joshua and the prophets as pagan days, with ethnic comminglings. The "elders" of the villages with whom David, as a Philistine agent, divided the plunder recaptured from the Amalekites, were of this Edomized region. It was in the house of a "Servant of Edom" of Gath that David left the ark for a time (2 Samuel 6:9 ff.). Edom was a *ba'al* of that age. The narrative of David's latter outlaw days indicates intimate relations of the Philistine trading colonies with the Edomites who controlled the road from the Gulf of Akabah to the Mediterranean. As for the ark-cult, which Jeremiah 3:16 denounces, saying that such ark must never be made any more, it is specifically stated to be of Edomite origin; the maker of the first Israelite ark and tabernacle being Bezaleel, represented as a great-grandson of Caleb (Exodus 35:30; 1 Chronicles 11:19 f.). The dolphin and dugong (AV "badger") skins that covered the tabernacle were from the Upper Red Sea that the Edomites controlled. The "Mountaineer" priest with whom Moses made a fraternal alliance, and who became chief speaker of this combination was from the northeast part of Edom, and was eventually buried there.[37] His descendants, "Aaronites," have their headquarters from the beginning in Hebron, the political capital of the Calebite territory (Joshua 14; 15:13 ff.; 21:9-19). So strong was the Edomite influence upon Jerusalem, despite some bloody wars,[38] that even in the sweeping revolution under Josiah Edomites were not to be abhorred or excluded from the Yahu-councils (Deuteronomy 23:7). Edomite friendship was still considered indispensable. The furious outburst of Obadiah is from a later time. Isaiah 63:1-6 is later still; probably from the time when the Nabateans were driving the remaining Edomites over into southern Judah, which they completely dominated in later times, producing the Herod family.

It is of first importance that Genesis not only portrays Edom as the dominant partner in earlier times, but makes its dominance a matter of commercial supremacy. In Genesis 32, 33 the Aramaeans of Harran control everything down to the Jabbok, and Esau-Edom holds all the country south of the Jabbok, and is rich enough to be indifferent to the petty presents offered by the nomad Jacob-folk. In Genesis 36 we learn that Edom's strength in the pre-kingdom days of Israel consisted in its powerful commercial or caravan-associations. The word "duke" in the AV of that

[37] Aaron is "Aharôn," "Mountaineer" (Exodus 4:14, 27 ff.; 7:1 f.; Numbers 20:22-29). "Brother" we have seen to be a regular oriental diplomatic term of one of equal or coördinate or independent authority.

[38] 1 Kings 11:14-22; 2 Kings 8:20 ff.; Isaiah 34; 2 Kings 14:7.

chapter is a mistranslation of the Edomite word *allûf*. Sprenger pointed out the fact seventy years ago. Genesis 36:40 and 10:32 are parallel forms of statement. Some sort of association or grouping of people is absolutely required in 36:40. Now the word *alûf, alîf,* or *alîfa* is familiar in Arabic as a comrade, fellow, travelling-companion. And this Edomite word *allûf* of Genesis 36 became the regular term for a "Fellow," or "Associate"; a graduate of a rabbinical school, in later Palestine. It certainly meant some sort of association when Genesis was compiled. Sprenger pointed out that in the Koran (Sura 106:1, 2), the Edomite term is used of uniting the Koraysh into defensive commercial associations; caravan-companies able to repel any attacks. Moslem commentators agree upon this point. This reminds us of the Garu commercial stations of Assyria, in the Cappadocian tablets 2500 B.C., considered in Chapter III. The thirty-two *allûfim* in Genesis 36 were then trading-companies, caravan-associations: the district or place of assembly of each is named. The struggle of early Israelite kings was to divert the caravan-trade so long controlled by Edom. One result was to push the caravan-bases southward into Dedan.

When David harried the people east of the Jordan, he put garrisons in all Edom, and made it part of the Israelite kingdom (2 Samuel 8:14 f.). This is the basis of Solomon's southern commerce, and explains Phoenicia's anxiety for alliance with him (1 Kings 9:26 f.). The Edomite Hadad who led a revolt (1 Kings 11:14 ff.) apparently controlled the caravan road from Ezion-geber to Egypt. There was still no independent king in Edom in the days of Asa. An appointee of Jehoshaphat built ships for him there, but they were wrecked (1 Kings 22:47 f.). A few years later, however, the same appointee probably is king in Edom, and is Judah's ally (2 Kings 3). It is not till the time of Amaziah that we find Edom claiming entire independence, and badly defeated (2 Kings 14:17 f.). But it was not crushed, for Amaziah's son has the task of winning the Red Sea port again (2 Kings 14:22). The cruelty of Amaziah was never forgotten, and Amos a generation later speaks of Edom's ruthless revenge (Amos 1:11 f.). The sum of it is that Edom for two and a half centuries was a part of Judah's territory, with Judah's trading-posts and ports there; and Edomite scholarship contributed the Book of Job, while the Edomite Benî-Kedem left a profound impression for wisdom.[39]

[39] Job 1:3; 1 Kings 5:10; Isaiah 19:11. Eliphaz and Teman, of the Book of Job, are Edomite names, in Genesis 36; cf. Ethan, Kenaz, Amalek, Uz,

Now the fact that David became the king at Hebron, which was the Calebite domain, while "Israel" clung to the house of Saul is a familiar tale.[40] As a successful raider of weaker neighbors, David was a great captain; but, like Hannibal, he did not know how to organize the fruits of victory. There was no codification of law; no organization for the administration of a code like Justinian's or the Hammurabi Code. "Israel" keenly felt this deficiency (2 Samuel 15:1-6). They evidently did not like to continue subject to the courts and decisions of David's Philistinized court, nor to bring their appeals to Edomite-Calebite authorities from Hebron. "The manner of the kingdom" credited to Samuel in 1 Samuel 10:25 is hardly separable from the "renewal" of a kingdom at some Gilgal in 11:14; and such kingdom of Saul had been a protest against the Philistine-Edomite coalition that David utilized. And there was no temple, no centralization of worship at Jerusalem, no thought that there should be. No organized assimilating ideal had taken form, to hold the petty tribes together when their great captain was gone. David could not have succeeded himself. There was no united kingdom.

We face directly now the historic schism of the lost tribes hunter. Solomon, in addition to oppressing and enslaving the older population, undertook to control the trade routes south, through Edom, Arabia, the Red Sea to Punt and India. In this he had the coöperation of Tyre and Sidon. They could not reach that route if Judah and Edom were hostile. In his commercial alliances Solomon became a vassal of Egypt, whose aid he secured in subduing the old pre-Israelite population (1 Kings 3:1; 7:8; 9:15 ff., 24). He was allied with Tyre, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Sidon,[41] and the kings of the Hittites, and the northern Aramaeans. Also David's Cretan associations gave Solomon the commercial support of Tarshish. For a broken Esarhaddon prism places Tar-si-si in the Mediterranean beyond the Yadanana or Ionian colonies, and a duplicate prism reads "Nu-si-si," or Knossos, in Crete. Tarshish then means the Minoan culture and its colonies from Egypt to Spain. With a colonial base in "the Negeb of the Cretans" (1 Samuel 30:14), this ancient people kept open a road to India, and could build at Ezion-geber for Jehoshaphat

Elah, *ibid.* See R. H. Pfeiffer, "Edomite Wisdom," in *Zeitschrift für die Alt-Testamentliche Wissenschaft,* 1926, pp. 13 ff.

[40] 2 Samuel 2:1-4, 8-11; 3:1-11; 4-5:5.

[41] 1 Kings 5; 7:13 ff.; 9:10-19, 26 ff.; 10:13 ff., 22, 26-29, where for the AV "Egypt" read *Musri,* the region at the northeast angle of the Mediterranean. It is the horse-raising "Hittite" country referred to.

(1 Kings 22:48), as they probably did for Solomon. Palestinian writers clung to their ancient term *Tarshish* long after the Minoan culture had developed into the Hellenic (Genesis 10:4).

Now let us remember exactly what this meant in the way of contact and cultural influence. We saw in Chapter III that in the ancient Orient any enterprising commercial people had its little trading-posts in friendly or subjugated foreign towns; that we have many records of such Assyrian posts in the Hittite country fifteen hundred years before Solomon's time, and that each such trading-post had its own quarter in the town, its own temple, and managed its own internal affairs. A Jewish Ghetto organization of later times is but the continuation of this ancient commercial colony. Thus these commercial alliances of Solomon meant that every favored nation had its own trading-quarter in Jerusalem, as in 1 Kings 20:34, and that each strong one had its own temple there and its own burying-ground. So Solomon's cemetery-shrines for Ashtart of Sidon, Milcom of Ammon (or "Molech"), and Kemosh of Moab are inevitable elements of his commerce.[42]

Most important of all at the time was "the House of the Forest of Lebanon," which we must recognize as Tyrian headquarters at Jerusalem (1 Kings 7:1-6). We may understand it as the house of "the Baal of Lebanon" occurring in Phoenician inscriptions. It was customary also to say simply, "Lebanon." About a century before Solomon's time a king of Byblos treats contemptuously the Egyptian envoy Wen-Amon, who demands timber as tribute. The Phoenician asserts that he is no vassal, and that he is all-influential with his gods. "If I cry out to The Lebanon, the heavens open, and the logs lie here on the shore of the sea!"[43] Nebuchadrezzar II five hundred years later refers to "the Lebanon mountain, the mountain of cedar, the proud forest of Marduk, the odor of whose cedars is good . . . of another god," etc.[44]

One more must be added. A host of names have been destroyed. But Anath, the great Queen of Heaven, was not eliminated by the iconoclasm of Deuteronomy 12:2 f. And the reason was that hopes for the Hereafter were centered in her. A stele recently recovered from the temple of the Egyptian Pharaoh,

[42] 1 Kings 11:5-ff. The AV Milkom-Molek is certainly for *Malk-am*, "Their King," any Oriental divinity being addressed as "King" by his worshippers. Kemosh of Moab is probably the dialectic form of Ka'ush of Edom, occurring in the Assyrian royal inscriptions.

[43] Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 1925, p. 412; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, 278 f.

[44] Barton, p. 439.

Seti I, at Beth-shean, succinctly presents the fact. An Egyptian devotee, Hesi-necht, has pictured himself before the great goddess of Palestine. The goddess, in long cloak and the usual conical crown of Syrian gods, holds the Egyptian official crook in her left hand and the sandal-strap sign of life in her right.[45] An altar with a flower on it is before her. The inscription over her reads, "Anath, Queen of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods." And over Hesi-necht, "May the king give him a gift! May Anath pour forth life, strength, and health for the KA of Hesi-necht." Now the KA of a man was that which survived death,—dwelling in the tomb, receiving offerings, and gaining continued life by them. Thus insurance of happiness hereafter was begged of Anath.

Now this stele of 1300 B.C. shows us one cult at the Beth-Shean where the bodies of Saul and his sons were displayed two hundred years later. Anath seems to have had a temple site in Naphtali, the Beth Anath of Joshua 19:38, Judges 1:33. But Anathoth, two and a half miles northeast of Jerusalem, is the plural of her name: it was a priestly village of Judea in early times.[46] Shamgar ben-Anath, who defeated the Philistines (Judges 3:31), may have been from Anathoth. The cult of Anath was carried into Egypt by the Hyksos invaders, and the Ramessides use her name in compounding names for some of their favorites. She was a favorite in the Jewish Elephantiné community. Our immediate interest is in the fact that her cult was never uprooted in pre-exilic Judah. We have no record that it was seriously opposed before Jeremiah's time, and we shall see it persisting in the Jewish exile.[47]

With this situation before us, we have to inquire, What is the reaction of Israel to such grouping of cults at Jerusalem? That appears in 1 Kings 11:26 ff. Ahî-Yah of Shiloh selects Jeroboam to lead a revolt, "because they have forsaken Me and worshipped Ashtart goddess of Sidonians, Kemosh god of the Moabites, and Milcom, god of the Benî-Ammon." This record stands unchallenged. The exilic compilers who have shown their spleen by parenthetical assertions that "Jeroboam son of Nebat made Israel to sin," have also copied statements that are their own confounding.

[45] *Ankh,*—once called *crux ansata.*

[46] Joshua 21:18; 1 Kings 2:36; 2 Samuel 23:27; Jer. 1:1.

[47] Jer. 7:17 ff.; 44:15-19. The article in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* makes Anath a Chaldean goddess brought to Palestine in Jeremiah's time. The Beth-shean stele shows her cult in Palestine hundreds of years before any Chaldeans appear in Babylonia.

As for the "calves" set up at the ancient shrines of Dan and Bethel, every scholar is familiar with winged ox-figures as symbols of the thunderstorm. In all the ancient world distant thunder is a bellowing bull. All bovines are prone to stampede at the approach of a storm: "the cavalcade of God is twenty thousand bellowing oxen!" (Psalm 68:17) Ezekiel's Merkabah for Yahu will show the popular reader that "ox" and "cherub" in such portrayals are the same (Ezekiel 1:10; 10:14). Yahu's riding such storm-bulls is a familiar expression in David's time.[48] Such cherubim are not "calves," but swift "Riding Oxen"; the ox being the riding and chariot-animal for ages before the introduction of horses. The Riding Oxen for Yahu at Dan and Bethel were quite as comfortable seats for Him as the winged Riding Oxen placed on the lid of the Edomite Ark (Exodus 37:6-9). The Hurrian Storm-god, Teshup, is also portrayed standing on the back of such a storm-bull. Later times, beginning with Hosea (8:5 f.; 13:2), counted such concrete idealizations unworthy. As already observed, Jeremiah 3:16 says that such an ark should never more be made.[49] Winged storm-bulls are carved on crags of Lebanon.[50]

This protest of Israel against Judah's corruptions is emphasized by the Chronicler, who carefully avoids reflecting upon Solomon's policy, lays all the blame for forsaking Yahu-worship upon Rehoboam, repeats the assertion that the secession of Israel from the corruption at Jerusalem was directed by Yahu (2 Chronicles 12:1; 11:1-4), and declares that the corruption was unchecked till the fifteenth year of Asa, and that a new altar had then to be built in the court of the temple. He declares further that *gêrîm* or proselytes swarmed to him from Ephraim and Manasseh and Simeon as soon as they saw that he was ready to clean up a little (2 Chronicles 15:3, 8, 13). And the ruthless Josephite policy of death to all non-Yahwists is put in their mouths (Deuteronomy 13). The compiler of Kings credits Asa with removing some idols his royal fathers had made (1 Kings 15:12 f.). But both are discreetly silent about the outstanding foreign cults. And the Chronicler, crediting a considerable reform iconoclasm to Hezekiah, is

[48] Psalm 18:9-13. 1 Samuel 4:4; 2 Samuel 6:2.

[49] Waterman, "Bull-Worship in Ancient Israel," has not seen the primitive man's experience with bovines, ages before agriculture began, nor the present use of oxen for burdens by tribes who are not agriculturalists. Yahu was never a Bull. The fundamental question for the groping mind was, Who can ride and manage the Storm Bull?—See *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, XXXI, 229 ff.

[50] See Mrs. Ghosu-El Howie, "Rock Sculptures in the West-Land," in *Records of the Past*, May, 1903, pp. 143 f.

careful to credit it to the Kohathite Levites of Mount Ephraim, the Gershonites of the Dan-Galilee-Bashan region, and the Merarites of the Reuben-Gad-Zebulun Country.[51] He totally discredits the claim that Israel's religious leaders were more corrupt than Judah's, and asserts that these Israelite Levites were better than Jerusalem's priests (29:34). The Chronicler may have been a Northerner. His emphatic claims that northern Levites reformed Jerusalem have to be reckoned with.

The strenuous protest of Israelite prophets against the introduction of this group of cults into Jerusalem is tremendously emphasized by the campaign Elijah headed. For Ahab had married Jezebel, daughter of Eth-Baal, king of Sidon (1 Kings 16:31). Her energy makes the cult of the Ashtart of Sidon an immediate Israelite issue.[52] But through this whole hectic period in Israel there is not a word from Elijah or Elisha to urge return to the sanctuary at Jerusalem. That forsaking it was an unpardonable sin never enters their minds. The compiler's fling in 1 Kings 16:31 would have made them stare. "Should we add to the cult of Ashtart of Sidon all the others that are welcomed at Jerusalem?"

This raises directly the question of the persistence of these cults at Jerusalem. In 2 Kings 23:13 we are told that they still dominated the Mount of Anointing or Mount of Olives in Josiah's time, three hundred years later. The significance of this statement has not been appreciated. We have to remember the habit of making shrines into repositories, and that every important shrine had its treasury and treasures, and that such temple-treasuries were a first object of attack or plunder in time of war. Thus royal treasuries and Yahu's temple at Jerusalem are repeatedly plundered.[53] What happened to the pagan shrines at the time of the eight notable recorded plunderings? The devout Yahwists are not interested in chronicling their vicissitudes.

But we must inquire a little further; some of the most notable military disasters of these three hundred years are not mentioned in the Old Testament. Perhaps there was little that was creditable to the Yahwists in connection with them. We may note some of them. Adad-nirari III of Assyria (812-783) conquers Damascus and all the east coast of the Mediterranean:—the Hittites, Amurru

[51] 2 Chron. 29-31; compare 29:12 with Joshua 21:3-7; 34-40.

[52] Volumes have been written about "The Tyrian baal"—which one?—by persons ignoring the fact that such baal was not the Ashtart of Sidon nor "the Mistress" of Gebal-Byblos.

[53] 1 Kings 14:25-28; 15:15-21; 2 Kings 10:32 ff.; 12:17 f.; 14-13 f.; 16:7 f., 17 f.; 18:13 ff.; 24:12-16.

mountains, Sidon, Tyre, Humri (Omri=Israel-Judah), Philistia, and Edom, imposing heavy tribute upon them. This was in the days of Joash and Jeroboam II of Israel. But the Old Testament records are silent. Hosea 7:11; 10:6 suggests that king Jareb had invited Adad-nirari's help and had been made the Assyrian regent of the territory credited to Jeroboam in 2 Kings 14:25 ff.: the same that is detailed in Adad-nirari's inscriptions.

Then Tiglath-pileser III (745-727), invited by Ahaz (2 Kings 16:7), sweeps the country. He tells us that the whole Mediterranean coast up to Mount Amanus had gone over to Azariah of Judah, and observes that the powerful state of Hamath had nineteen districts. In 2 Kings 15:13 ff. Tiglath-pileser is called Pul; in 29 ff. he is given his royal title. He records that he received tribute in his third year from Azariah of Judah in his raid of the Mediterranean seacoast, storming many cities. But his account is so broken that we can not tell what places suffered. In another record we learn of his exactions from Menahem of Samaria. In another he has exacted heavy tribute from Sanibu of Ammon, Salamanu of Moab, Kaush-malaku of Edom, Jehoahaz of Judah (=Ahaz), Hanunu of Gaza. "All the people of the land of Omri" he carried to Assyria (=2 Kings 15:29). Tema and Sheba, south of Edom, were also despoiled. Let us recognize that this means plundering and stripping temples of Judah and its neighbors:[54] "gold, silver, lead, iron, tin, bright woolen garments, linen, the purple garments of their land [i.e., official robes] . . . all kinds of costly things, the products of the sea and dry land, the commodities of their land, the royal treasure, horses, mules," and so on.

This record reminds us that we have no details of the hundred years' war of Damascus with Palestine. Could we recover the ancient records of these Aramaean kings, we should find some other specified temple-strippings that do not appear in the Old Testament. And in like manner, there may be in the ruins of Phoenicia and adjacent territory stories of other exactions of which there is no Old Testament record. We remember the Tell el-Amarna tablets.

In further records of the Sargonid dynasty we read that a year after Sargon's capture of Samaria there was another revolt in the west, led by Ilu-bidi of Hamath, and Samaria took part in this. Its "ten tribes" had not been deported. In 714, seven years

[54] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria,* I, par. 770, 772, 799, 801, 815 f., 818.

later, Sargon colonized a number of Arabian tribes in the Samarian plain.[55] In this fifteenth year Samaria was able to join another coalition led by Yau-bidi of Hamath. In these campaigns Sargon swept Philistia to the border of Egypt, and came down the north Arabian coast of the Red Sea, receiving tribute from Sheba,—Jerusalem not venturing to help her neighbors.

When Hezekiah was facing Sennacherib, he imported Arab troops to garrison Jerusalem. This tells of his close political relations on that side.[56] Esarhaddon later swept the whole land, conquering the whole Jerusalem coalition and exacting heavy tribute; afterwards mustering Manasseh of Judah, and the kings of Edom, Ammon, Moab, and Gaza, with seven more of the Philistine-Phoenician coast, to furnish building-timbers.[57] Later the same Jerusalem coalition, with seventeen of the eastern Mediterranean cities, paid heavy tribute to Ashur-bani-pal, as he poured into Egypt.[58] Samaria at this time had an Assyrian governor, Nabu-shar-ahê-shu, and it is certain that Jerusalem was under his supervision, if it did not have its own Assyrian garrison.[59] It was at this time that other foreign colony-garrisons were introduced, credited to "Asnapper" in Ezra 4:9. It was probably when Shamash-shum-ukin of Babylon revolted, that Manasseh did also, and was for a time a prisoner at Babylon (2 Chronicles 33:11). And that means still another plundering of the treasuries of Jerusalem.

But the greatest disaster probably was the irruption of the Scythian hordes. Herodotus says this plague lasted twenty-eight years; that these ruthless robbers reached the borders of Philistia. It is agreed by modern ethnologists that this was an advance wave of a great Iranic migration, resulting in Persian supremacy.[60] This terrible invasion inspired Zephaniah, and is reflected in Jeremiah.[61] His burned book (Jeremiah 36:20-23) must have contained much information about it. The recent discovery that Egypt, after repelling the Scythians from her border, was in close and faithful alliance with Assyria against new onslaughts of Iranic and Median hordes puts Josiah in a different political light.[62] Psamtik I, in 615 B.C., the sixteenth year of Nabopolassar, was on the Euphrates, aiding Ashur-uballit of Assyria against the Scyth-

[55] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria,* II, par. 5, 17, 55, 99, 80, 134.

[56] *Ibid.,* 312.

[57] *Ibid.,* 690.

[58] *Ibid.,* 876.

[59] *Ibid.,* 873 note.

[60] Minns, *Encyclopaedia Britannica, s.v.;* Deniker, *La Grande Encyclopédie, s.v.*

[61] 1:13-16, 3:21 f.; 4:5-31, 5:15 ff.; 6:1, 22 ff.; 8:13-17; 9:17-22.

[62] C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh, London,* 1923; Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible,* 1925, pp. 492 f.

ians and "the king of Akkad," Nabopolassar. That suggests then that Josiah was in active coöperation, whether voluntary or forced, with the Iranic hordes who had swept the land till much of it was a depopulated ruin (Jeremiah 4:19-31), Zion wildly wailing in vain. Probably the political negotiations with Egypt, bitterly opposed by Jeremiah, were originally a popular anti-Scythian movement, the people seeing no other possible source of help, when these Iranic raiders were spread over the states north of Palestine. In fact, according to Ezra 4:9, Ashurbanipal in his latter days had placed a garrison of these Iranic nomads, with some Elamites, in the Samarian territory. Their stronghold was evidently Beth-Shean, called Scythopolis or "Scythian-town" because of this Iranic colony. It is certain that Josiah could not have raided and plundered the sanctuaries of Bethel and the villages of Samaria without the collusion of these new banditti. We know that the Medes were a chief problem at the time they destroyed Nineveh (612 B.C.) —and that Josephus' statement that Necho went up to the Euphrates coöperating with Assyria against the Medes is correct.[63] Israelite warriors had been in the cities of the Medes a hundred years (2 Kings 17:6) and must have coöperated with the Medes and Scythians against their old enemy, Assyria. They may have had part in inspiring the demand that the Israelite Levites be allowed full recognition at Jerusalem (Deuteronomy 18:6-8). We also know that some of the baalim destroyed in various revolutionary spasms of Palestine were the reliefs or steles erected by conquerors for the worship of their own baalship (Assyrian *belûtu*), for excavations are recovering some of these shattered steles. Such baal-smashing might be a political rather than a religious protest. Josiah's action at the time when Assyria was in a death-grapple with new Scythian hordes, and the Scythian garrison in Samaria were naturally taking the side of their incoming kinsmen is a matter of record. Assyrian governors in Palestine had been driven from their posts, and the symbols of Assyrian lordship were being destroyed. Our special interest here is the fact that this period was certainly one of sanctuary-plundering beyond any preceding one. If the house of Yahu inside Jerusalem had need of extensive repairs (2 Kings 22:5 f.), how had the shrines on the Mount of Olives fared?

Consider then the vitality of these cults that Solomon planted upon the open (?) hilltop. We have seen a score of recorded occasions of their exposure to pillage and destruction. Does anyone be-

[63] *Antiquities,* x, v, I.

lieve that all invaders respected them? Does anyone think that kings of Judah, good or bad, who stripped their own palaces and the temple of Yahu to buy off a rapacious foe, were careful not to touch these shrines? They must have been plundered and wrecked repeatedly. There must have been repeated restorations, if they could still be a dominant element in Josiah's time. And if we hesitate to recognize this evidence of their vitality, Jeremiah can reassure us. He saw those shrines for years before a supposed reform began; he knew the political and international complications they represented. He charged the same combination of Judah and Edom and Moab and Ammon that Solomon had perfected for his commercial ends. He knew the meaning of all combinations against Assyria, and the diplomatic efforts to direct the policy of Judah, and that the Ammonite king was a leader in the intrigue. And the Ammonite king continued the effort to dictate Judah's policy after Jerusalem fell; and there was still an Ammonite faction in the shattered kingdom.[64] Hordes of Jews had taken refuge in Moab, Edom, and Ammon. The situation forced action by Nebuchadrezzar. Five years after the capture of Jerusalem, Coele-Syria was in revolt, and Nebuchadrezzar again subdued it. Then he swept the land of the Ammonites and the Moabites.[65] It will be recognized that Josiah's destruction of the ancient Ammonite and Moabite sanctuaries had only enraged those Aramaean kinsmen of Israel, and their exclusion from all possible membership in a Yahu congregation (Deuteronomy 23:3) had brought all their powers of political compulsion into action. They regarded such a measure as Chinese or Japanese governments regard American acts of exclusion of their peoples from American citizenship. For the polytheism of the ancient world arises in part from that very issue. Why may not Naaman, a chief functionary in the House of Rimmon, also testify his reverence for Yahu of Israel? (2 Kings 5:19) "Go in peace!" Also, "Come in peace, when thou comest into our land, into our Yahu-congregations!"

In addition to Jeremiah's evidence of Ammonite dominance we should notice Isaiah's complaint that every year Judah held a *haj* or pilgrim-festival with Moab. That would be natural, in view of their common commercial and political interests. The passage occurs in the Septuagint version; it is omitted from our present Hebrew text of Isaiah 29:1 ff.:

[64] See Jeremiah 9:26; 25:15-27; 40:11 to 41:10.
[65] Josephus, *Antiquities*, x, ix, 7.

"Woe to an Ariel! There year by year assemble pilgrim feasts!
[Gloss: *Ariel:* any city where David campeth!]
For ye will eat! Ye will eat with Moab! etc."[66]

It is probable that this festival was held at the fords of the Arnon. There is still a *Muhâtet el-Haj,* "Camping-place of the Pilgrim-Feast," on the north side of the Arnon. And when Sargon swept Philistia, Isaiah knew that the control of the trade of Arabia would be the next objective. Observe Jerusalem's profit by the Sabean trade (Ezekiel 23:42). And so Isaiah chants that Sargon will sweep away Moab and Edom and the marauders of northern Arabia within three years (Isaiah 15; 16; 21:11-17). Then Moab will assemble at the familiar boundary and negotiate for the aid of Judah:

"Then will the rulers of the land send a tribute of lambs
From Selah, by way of the wilderness, to the mount of the daughter of Zion
And like fluttering birds, like scattered nestlings
The daughters of Moab will gather at the fords of the Arnon;
Bring counsel, give decision!
Make your shade [=protection] deep as night in the height of noon!
Shelter the outcasts, betray not the fugitives!
Let the outcasts of Moab sojourn among you!
Be a shelter to them from the face of the spoiler!
For when the oppressor has finished, the spoiler has ceased
When the trampler down has vanished from the land,
A throne shall be established in kindliness,
And upon it shall certainly sit, in the tent of David
A judge who seeks out justice, hastening pledged aid."

"Pledged aid" is *tsedek,* generally, but erroneously, translated "righteousness" in our AV. The term is still in everyday use in Moab and northern Arabia. When two men are solemnly sworn to stand by each other in the face of all danger, they are said to be *tsiddîk* with each other, as David was with Jonathan.[67] David was once in this relation with the king of Ammon (2 Samuel 10:1-3) and with the king of Moab (1 Samuel 22:1-4).

The shattered Moabites are pictured as offering to return to the vassalage forced upon them by David (2 Samuel 8:2), and as

[66] See Godbey, "Ariel, or David-Cultus," in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature,* July, 1925.

[67] 1 Samuel 18:1-4; 20:8; 11-17, 42, where *Khesed-Yahu* is the technical term.

offering to set up again his pavilion of state, or "Haj-camping place" in which he periodically held court. It again thrusts upon our consideration the intimate relations which geographical position forced upon the peoples about the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akabah. Those east want a traffic with the Mediterranean coast; those west want an open road to the Arabian coasts. The effort of Moab and Ammon and Arabs (Midian) to dominate is before us in the Book of Judges,[68] and the gods of Moab and of Ammon were worshipped in Israel then (Judges 10:6). In fact, these cults were in Israel from the wilderness days of Baal-peor (Numbers 22-25).

Sargon does not mention Moab, Ammon, and Edom; but his subjugation of the restless Arabs south of Edom, placing them about Samaria, we have noticed. Turning to Ezekiel, we find him styling Moab and Ammon as "daughters of Sodom," charging that Jerusalem has been worse than they,[69] and assuring all hearers that Ammon and Moab shall be restored as certainly as Samaria and Jerusalem.

Ezekiel gives the real reason for the bitter hatred of Edom, Ammon, and Moab in his time, and later. In the hour of test they had been false to their sworn political friendship, which we see in Jeremiah 25:17-26; 27:1-8; 28:10-14. To save themselves they had suddenly sided with Nebuchadrezzar and urged the destruction of Jerusalem. For this Ezekiel assures them of a time of retribution; their seizure of the ravaged and depopulated districts of Judah shall not profit them. The eastern foes (Nabateans? Kadmonites?) that are already pressing upon them will reach them in Judah.[70]

Thus consideration of the vitality of the Moab-Ammon cults on the Mount of Anointing makes it clear that such did not begin with Solomon; that David had been in the closest possible personal and political relationships with both Moab and Ammon himself, being a descendant of Ruth of Moab; that intimate commingling of Judah with these peoples dated from Judah's earliest days; that faithlessness to sworn treaty-obligations was the unpardonable sin; and that the great prophets of Judah insist that such promises should be religiously kept. But what becomes of the tale of Jerusalem's geographical seclusion and consequent superior spiritu-

[68] See stories of Ehud, Gideon, Jephtha.
[69] Ezek. 16:46-59; cf. Gen. 19:30-38.
[70] See Ezekiel 25:1-14; 35; and seizure of waste land, 33:24-29; 36:1-7. Compare Obadiah.

ality? Then add the incessant complaint that "the high-places were not taken away"; that "the blood of poor innocents was upon every oak"; that there were as many gods as there were cities in Judah, or streets in the cities; that Jerusalem had a different high-place in every street; that her own royal ghosts were the popular gods in the Yahu temple.[71] Then the horrors of Tophet have made Hinnom eternally infamous. The Queen of Heaven, Anath, mighty at Beth-shean in the days of Rameses II, was still mighty in Jeremiah's time; and the Host of Heaven was everywhere.[72] Where are any of these things recorded of Israel? The popular notion of Jerusalem's seclusion and religious purity is a myth.

It is to be repeated that the presence and dominance of the foreign cults is the one reason given by Ahî-Yah of Shiloh to Jeroboam, when he directed him to lead the secession from Solomon's pagan chapels. And Shema-Yah heads the protest against the military suppression of the movement. "This whole secession is from Yahu!" (1 Kings 11:29-40; 12:21-24). It is probable that an ineradicable dislike of dictation in religion by a royal court was also a leading factor in the secession, for later Judaism through its whole history has been essentially congregational. A secular despot with infallible bishops; a pope with a college of cardinals—such are alien to the Jewish spirit. Jeroboam did not make the mistake of dictating that his own court should be the center of religious authority. His people had had enough of dictation from Solomon's royal chapel at Jerusalem. His secession was essentially conservative. The old sanctuaries of the family of Moses and the memories of Jacob, with the old familiar cherubim, should remain the popular sanctuaries. The old popular "high-places" were respected, and The Last of the Clan (AV wrongly, "lowest of the people"), the legitimate hereditary ministers of these sanctuaries, regained their places (1 Kings, 12:13). Cosmopolitan culture and elements of progress might be coming into Jerusalem; the old conservative Josephites would have none of it.

And in this era of protest and secession because of the foreign cults gathered about the royal court at Jerusalem, it is to be remembered that Rehoboam was the son of an Ammonite princess (1 Kings 14:31). Of all the harem of Solomon, she had gained the ascendancy over him. What a royal favorite or queen-mother could do in an Oriental court is illustrated by Bath-sheba, Athaliah, Jezebel, Esther, and Nehushta. So Solomon had built an

[71] Jer. 2:34, 28; Ezek. 16:31; 43:7-9; 8:3-18.
[72] Jer. 7:30-34; 19:5, 6; 7:17 f.; 44:15-19; 8:1 f.

Ammonite shrine dominating the eastern approach to Jerusalem to please his Ammonite wife, had named her son Rehab-'Amm, "'Amm enlargeth" (my kingdom?), and this son of the Ammonite favorite together with his associates shows plainly their purpose toward the older population of the land (1 Kings 12:10 f.). They probably have not forgiven the old Hebrew "people of the land" for turning the scale against Rabbah in the days of David (1 Samuel 12:26 f.). It is certain that Ahî-Yah, Shema'-Yah, and their friends feel that there is an actual element of Ammonite control at Jerusalem. See later how Joash died (2 Chronicles 24:26).

This fact of an 'Amm-cultus fostered at an Ammonite shrine by the son of an Ammonite queen thrusts upon us the question of the provenance of such cult in Israel. Names like Eliam (Eli-'Amm), 'Ammi-Zabad, 'Amm-ram, 'Ammi-Shaddai, 'Ammi-Nadib are recognized as survivals of it in the early days of Israel in Palestine. Was it a local Palestinian cult? There are about three hundred personal names of people of various races and languages, in the El-Amarna tablets, about 1400 B.C. There are two hundred geographical names. Not one of the five hundred is compounded with 'Amm. The type seems unknown in pre-Israelite Palestine. Still more emphatic is the evidence of several thousand Phoenician inscriptions containing nearly ten thousand names, from all parts of the Hebrew-Phoenician dispersion. Only one name occurs in all these, Eli-'Am of Sardinia, in the last century B.C., when Jews are familiar in the Roman world. It is plain that some element in the Israelite state brought the 'Amm cult with them into Palestine. This supports the claim that 'Ammon and Moab were closely related to the Aramaean immigrants led by Abram. 'Amm-compounds among Himyarites and Katabanians, 1000 to 2000 years later, cannot suggest origins of such in Israel. There was some early paganism common to Ammon and Moab and Judah that fostered Solomon's and Rehoboam's shrine for all three upon Olivet.[73]

If these Old Testament records are to be trusted, later Judaism never had to face a worse aggregation of pagan cults than existed in Judah in the days of the kingdom. The handful of Yahu missionaries, often feeling themselves "a few teachers shoved into a corner" (Isaiah 30:20) were getting a tremendous testing. If they could survive and win adherents in ancient Judah, they could

[73] Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names,* wrote before the El-Amarna evidence was available, and does not weigh the Phoenician. The particular point here presented is outside his study.

successfully grapple with anything that they might encounter in a wide dispersion.

But with a swarm of pagan cults thus pictured by the prophets as dominant in Judah, what is the meaning of the statement that a particular king "did that which was right in the sight of Yahu," nevertheless these other cults he took not away? Simply that among the host of competing oracles, the Yahu-oracle was the favorite of some kings. This personal preference for a certain god meets us often in the phraseology. Saul had not been a Yahu-propagandist; his first altar was built after a victory over the Philistines (1 Samuel 14:35), and he knew that the mass of the people were not Yahwists. So he speaks to Samuel of "Yahu thy God" (1 Samuel 15:15, 21, 30). So Naaman speaks of "his God" (Elisha's; 2 Kings 5:11), not of a god of all Israel or Judah. Hezekiah's court is a mixed assembly. The Secretary of State, Shebna, is an Egyptian. The Assyrian agent has been deposed. So they go to Isaiah, urging him to call on "Yahu thy God"—not the God of all Judah (2 Kings 19:1-14). And Isaiah does not speak to Hezekiah in the name of the god of Judah, but in that of "Yahu, God of David thy father." This repeats the tradition that Araunah said to David, "May Yahu thy God accept thee!" (2 Samuel 24:23). He well knew that Yahu was not the god of Palestinians in general. The woman diplomatist in 2 Samuel 14:17, 23, also speaks to David of "Yahu thy God." So in the case of Joshua, where the writer insists that polytheism is the general condition of the invading Israelites, there is the personal address to Joshua, "Yahu thy God is with thee."[74] Again in the last terrible days of the kingdom, Nebuzaradan, who well knows Jeremiah's battle with polytheistic fanatics and political morons, says to Jeremiah, "Yahu thy God hath pronounced this evil upon this place!" (Jeremiah 40:1 f.). Then the remnant that has escaped from the hands of the Ammonite faction and desires to go into Egypt, where the worship of The Queen of Heaven is shown to be their favorite cult, beseeches Jeremiah, "Pray for us unto Yahu thy God!" (Jeremiah 42:2 f., 5:44:15-19). So over and over in the speech of the time, we hear of "Yahu thy god"; we never hear of Yahu as the god of all Judah. We see that Yahu is the favorite oracle of some individuals. Only a small fraction of the people would "return" from their paganism, was Isaiah's conviction.

[74] Compare Josh. 24:2 f., 14, 22 f. with 1:9, 17.

But what of the prophet-vocabulary? Since we are considering whether Israel or Judah best represented the religion of Yahu, is there any call to Israel to repent and return to "Yahu, God of Judah?" Not one. The phrase does not occur in the Old Testament. We have no school of prophets in the Old Testament urging Israel to return to the God of Judah. Nor is there a single appeal to Judah from the prophets of the period to return to "Yahu your God" nor to "Yahu, God of your fathers." Nor is there any "return unto Yahu our God." Any prophetic expression connecting Yahu with Judah rather than with Israel is conspicuous for its absence.

On the contrary, any prophetic review in this period of Judah's past insists that Yahu has never been recognized by Judah as its God. Yahu appealed to their fathers, but was never heeded nor accepted by the fathers.[75] A modern speculation that Yahu was originally the God of Judah, and that his cult gradually spread through the other tribes, is not supported by the thought and phraseology of the extant prophets of this particular period.

In striking contrast is the incessant presentation of "Yahu the God of Israel." Any southerner who emphasized the separation between Judah and Israel had to listen to the prophets' call to obey the "God of Israel." Jeremiah's appeals contain the expression "Yahu, God of Israel" forty-one times. There is the incessant suggestion that if Judah and Israel are ever united, it will be by Judah's accepting "Yahu the God of Israel" and the worship of Yahu according to the ideals of Israel. It is quite possible that some of the prophets that were killed by Jerusalem were slain as asserting the superior ethical and spiritual character of Israel. In fact, both Jeremiah and Ezekiel do assert it; and both were priests of Judah (Jeremiah 3:11; Ezekiel 17:51 f.).

If one should suggest that the unvarying presentment of Yahu as the God of Israel is but to insist upon the essential unity of Judah and Israel, it would be answered that if such primal unity were a fact, the "God of Judah" should express it equally well. That persistent use of "the God of Israel" still leaves Judah with the impression that Israel is not the seceding or paganizing party. Or it may be thought that the present text of the prophets represents an editing to put the "God of Israel" in every passage. That would only strengthen the case. It would mean that post-exilic Israel was strong enough to stamp all literature with the assertion

[75] Jer. 2:5; 7:21-28; 11:4-10; 17:1-4; 16:10-13; 44:9 f., 15-19, 21; Ezek. 20:18, 27, 30, 36; Zech. 1:2, 4, 5, 6.

of its own preëminence or peculiar proprietorship in the worship of Yahu, and to make Judaism everywhere accept such literature.

Thus the investigation in this chapter of the lost tribes hunters' theory of the peculiar isolation of Judah, and its great superiority to Israel in pure Yahu-worship proves that the theory is directly contrary to all the records. And the notion of a segregate pure-blooded racial Israel again is seen to be without foundation. We have southern Judah dominantly Edomite from the beginning, with an ark and tabernacle claimed to be of Edomite manufacture; and an incessant commingling in all respects with the contiguous Arabian peoples. As to the geographical isolation of Jerusalem, the records prove that a fiction. In modern traffic-parlance, Palestine had two "bottle-necks." The valley of Coele-Syria or of the Orontes in the north, with its terminal Pass of Hamath, meant an incessant contest among the adjacent states, great and small, with unceasing contact and commingling of northern Israel with the circumjacent group of cultures. The Gulf of Akabah region on the south was another bottle-neck, through which came all the coastal traffic of Arabia, India, and northeastern Africa; and Moab, Ammon, Edom, Philistia, and the Arabians were as definite and aggressive a group of cultures here as those that clustered about the valley of the Orontes; and Judah was always the prize of their political and commercial competitions. As for Egypt, all know that influence from the beginning.

CHAPTER VI

The Status of the Deported Israelites

We must next consider the assumption of the lost tribes hunter that deportation of Israelites meant such a change in their cultural environment that they could not possibly withstand the increased stress, and must inevitably be merged, for the most part, with the pagan world. The records examined in the preceding chapter show that no greater aggregation of paganism, and no closer contact with it was probable anywhere in the ancient world than actually existed in the Palestine described by the prophets, and that Yahwists of a puritan type were a small minority of the population, to be fairly regarded as a missionary movement among the pagans of Palestine.

As for the assumption that Assyrian overlordship meant a dictation in religious matters, that is contradicted by the Old Testament records. In 2 Kings 17:24 ff. the new colonists are pictured as bringing their own gods and rituals, unhindered by their Assyrian political masters. If they desire to know the fashion of the various ancient *elohîm* of their new land, they are accommodated, because the deported Israelites have been equally accommodated, and are able to furnish priests to them or to any one else who may desire to know something of the religion of Israel.

Nor have we record of any dictation in religious matters by Assyrian or Babylonian military governors in Palestine. We have seen from the cuneiform records that there always were such governors in times when the populace was particularly restless. But no Old Testament record mentions any such. Hezekiah was holding the Assyrian governor of the southwest a captive, when Sennacherib came to suppress the Judaeo-Philistine revolt. Yet the extant fragments of Isaiah do not mention him. The pictures drawn by Josephus show that the more important festal assemblies were occasions when fanatical uprisings were possible, and either Greek emperors or Asmonean kings or Herods or Roman overlords had to be very watchful upon such occasions. We may recognize then that Nahum's shout at the fall of Nineveh shows that Assyrian governors had sometimes prohibited such fanatical assemblies; but we can hardly make more of it.

Look! On the hills the feet of the messengers of good
tidings
They are shouting "Peace!"

Celebrate thy haj-feasts, O Judah!
Fulfil now thy vows!
Never again will the villain [Belial] pass through you.
He is completely cut to pieces! (Nahum 2:1)

Nor can we find Assyrian dictation when Ahaz goes up to Damascus to attend the levée of kings consulting Tiglath-pileser III (2 Kings 16:10 ff.). He had proffered vassalship. We have seen in Chapter III that that would mean an Assyrian commercial colony in Jerusalem, with its own shrine. Ahaz solves the shrine question by adapting a section of the temple to Assyrian tastes and making the king's entry the place for a stele of Tiglath-pileser, who thus becomes for the time the great baal of the place. The tributary status of Judah in the time of Azariah had probably ended under Jotham. Both are recorded as able to "do that which was right in the sight of Yahu," as was Hezekiah also, despite Assyrian overlordship.

It should be said that no Oriental, ancient or modern, can be held by an oath by gods that he does not know or fear. He must be sworn by what he himself dreads and reverences most. This appears before us in ancient treaties again and again. The party held by an imprecation must be made to invoke the vengeance of his own gods. This is found to be one of the most powerful weapons in the Assyrian diplomacy. A ruthless destruction of other cultus-organizations would have weakened its own political authority. Further, recovered treaties show that the gods of both parties to such treaties had to be diplomatically recognized. If Israel had to recognize the gods of Moab, Ammon, Phoenicia, or Assyria, these countries also had to recognize Yahu. And the prophets insisted that treaties must be kept (Amos 1:9, Ezekiel 17). The treaties certainly spread some knowledge of Yahu. But they made Yahwism a political issue.

Again, the character of popular pre-exilic Yahwism is to be remembered. The voluminous and vivid portrayal of its savage cruelties and gross immoralities compels the statement that if such evidence from the Old Testament prophets is not accepted at face value, it would be impossible to find anything historically credible in the Old Testament. Volumes have been written portraying an idealized righteous Israel of the exile that should be consigned to the historical waste-basket. Some Jewish apologetes have claimed that all superstitions and corruptions in the Judaism of the Diaspora came from the new foreign contacts. This defies the assertion of the great prophets that the ways of the Israelite fathers

were the most evil and stubborn features with which Yahwist reformers had to contend. It is also to be remembered that Semitic Judah is pictured as worse in such matters than the Israel which had come under the influences of Asia Minor. The sum of it is that pre-exilic Yahwism was of a highly mixed character, and that the dispersion could not place a uniform type in each new Yahwist settlement. Neighboring Jewish communities might be antipodal in their dominant ethical ideals from the time of their founding. There are degraded, superstitious, semisavage Jewish peoples of the present day that compel the query, Was their Judaism ever any better?

As to the actual social and political relations of any ancient deported colony, it is clear that the real value of such a colony to the deporter might be immensely increased by fostering its cultus-organization. We saw in Chapter III that trade-colonies with temples of their own were thousands of years older than the Israelite kingdom. A thoroughly godless colony of that sort would have been an assemblage of tricksters or brigands whom no one could trust. We shall find the same generally true of colonies arbitrarily stationed by the will of a conqueror.

We have then first to rid ourselves of the idea that political deportees were in the same positions as individuals captured by private soldiers and held as slaves. Whole groups, moved by military authority, were not slaves any more than the inhabitants of Neapolis-Naples are slaves because originally moved from Rome. Ancient Oriental deportations were not of one unvarying pattern; nor was there uniformity in the disposal of those deported. Assumptions that utterances like Psalm 137 describe the condition of all deportees do not accord with the facts. Thousands who followed the advice of Jeremiah 29:4-7 found their temporal condition better than before. Bankrupt and homeless poor would eagerly respond to Rabshakeh's offer of a piece of land under Assyrian protection (2 Kings 18:31 f.). If Sargon on the one hand carried off the leading political agitators from Samaria, Sennacherib by contrast swept up the peasantry from south-western Judah (200-150 B.C.); but the political dictators in Jerusalem were left behind. Assyria's own need of small farmers at home would always be considered. Nebuchadrezzar, on the other hand, carried off the political agitators and oppressive landlords and Gibborîm, and left the peasantry behind (Jeremiah 34:8 ff.; 52:15 f., 28-30). It is important to notice Jewish testimony that these various deportees were colonists. Josephus says that Nebu-

chadrezzar's captives were Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians, and various Egyptian nations, and that they were "placed as colonies in the most proper places of Babylonia."[1] But the sum of two policies is that the mingled and conflicting elements in Palestine find themselves in some juxtaposition in exile, with the probability of mutual recriminations perpetuating ancient antagonisms.

That Assyrian disposal of deportees did not mean uniform and hopeless servitude meets us repeatedly in the cuneiform inscriptions. "As people of my own land I counted them" is occasionally said; in their new province they are on a par with native Assyrians and likely to fuse with them. The periodic exchange of lands held by various clans of a large tribe is a regular feature of certain stages of social development. Early modern missionaries found it in regular operation in strong tribes of South Africa. The great chief directed the periodic exchanges, assigning each subdivision to its new district. Each village chief then, in laying out a new village appointed the site for each family hut or a group of huts. Elphinstone in his *Caubul* a hundred years ago pointed out that the like system still existed in Afghanistan. And Assyrian-Akkadian official terminology puts the same social stage before us. The head of a large district or province is the *bêl pahâti,* "Master of Exchanges." In Arabic he is the *Khalîfa,* "Exchanger," which we call Caliph. And the city-chieftain often is before us as the *Shaknu,* "Appointer," while a permansive grammatical form (?) *Shakkanakku* is "the Perpetual Appointer" by the will of the gods—(the later *bêl pahâti?*). Thus the appointing of deportees to territory in Assyria itself actually meant considering them desirable citizens. Our modern western governments shut out undesirable foreigners. The ancient world went out and captured desirable ones; see in I Samuel 13:19 the deporting of the smiths. The Assyrian did not originate the land-exchange system, as is often wrongly charged by modern historians, and "exile" does not at all express what he intended. He was not merely banishing citizens from their own land by this procedure; he was moving selected citizens into what he claimed as his own land. The system had existed for ages. We may recognize that a dissatisfied clan might revolt to force deportation to a better location. Shamshi-Adad (IV, 4-8) says that the city of Mê-Turnat submitted, and the people were deported and counted with people of his own land. Agum-kak-rimê[2] tells of "consecrating several

[1] *Antiquities,* XI, xi, I.
[2] Epish-rimê, "doer of benevolent deeds"? Column VI, 5, 10.

citizens with their houses, orchards, and fields to Marduk and Sarpanit." This gives them all the benefits of asylum; and they dwell now on asylum lands. Sargon (Cyl. IV, 6) tells of restoring and confirming the asylum-character of Sippara, Nippur, and Babylon, collecting and quieting their scattered protégés, and extending his protection over the city of Harran; "as soldiers (sabê) of Anu and Dagan I wrote their consecration" (*zakutu*). In some of the Hammurabi letters we find Sin-idinnam, director of corvée-service, drafting men who protest that they belong to the sacred or *zakku* classes; and where they prove their status, he is peremptorily ordered to set them free. In various *kudurru* or "Donation" deeds we read that no tribute, tax, or impost of any kind can be levied upon any lands or people thus made *zakku*.[3] The relative rank of such *zakku* people appears in several inscriptions. In the British Museum tablet 83-1-18, 45 a solemn oath is entered into by Shamash-shum-ukin, his younger brothers, the "king's sons" (those of royal descent), the provincial governors, the "city-mayors," those who march before (the king?), the *zakku* class, the minor officials of the whole land, and all the sons of Ashur. Here the *zakku*-folk seem to be the guards following behind the king. Similarly, in an oracle-inquiry concerning the possibility of a revolt against Ashurbanipal[4] the *shaknûti zakkê* or officers of the *zakku*-classes come next after the bearded nobles, the seed royal, three-plume men, and chief executives, superintendents of posts, and city governors; and ahead of a dozen others. We find the *zakku* soldiers in one or two reports refusing to go out upon expeditions ordered.

Here we need to recognize clearly the status of any declared *zakku* to any god. Such are bound to discharge certain functions. They are not necessarily proselytes to that god. The author of Daniel (1:6 ff.) puts before us Jews called by new names: "May Belit protect the prince,"—"Brother of the moon-god," "Servant of Nabu"—but these, faithful and intelligent in the duties assigned them, have not forsaken the worship of Yahu. So Mordecai is "Belonging to Marduk," or "Devotee of Marduk." It strikes us more sharply in the records of the Jews at Rome. They dedicated synagogues to the emperor. They freely and repeatedly called him *Divus*, but balked at calling him *Theos*. They regularly hailed him as *Dominus;* they would even address him as *Kurios,* the word regularly used for Yahu in the Greek translation of their scriptures. But they objected to *Despotês*. They used

[3] Cf. Ezra, 4:13, 7:24. [4] Klauber, No. 44.

Sotêr and *Euergetês,* Savior, and Benefactor, alike of Yahu and the Emperor.[5] Such an attitude is something removed from the rigid monotheism popularly attributed to the later Jews by casual modern readers. It makes clearer the furious wars in Palestine, that destroyed Jerusalem: zealots insisting that the terms applied to God ought not to be used of any men. Only Yahu is to be called *Despotês* and *Kurios.*[6]

A second fact is that *zakûtu,* the *zakku*-status, is hereditary. It creates by secular decree a class of "saints." Once declared *zakku,* the descendants of those originally dedicated claim the same status and privileges. Their insistence upon the privileges being still accorded by other peoples or new rulers is rather different from our modern western insistence that the terms of a charter be fulfilled. It is an insistence that the personal and divinely authorized and hereditary sanctity of the petitioners be acknowledged. That the sanctity of the fathers, *zekûth abôth,* descended to the sons and conferred benefits and special privileges upon them was an assumption with which rabbinism had to deal. "All Israelites are children of princes!" said R. Simeon. Hosea 12:2 means that righteous ancestors do not avail, said others. Elijah's invocation of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel in 1 Kings 18:36 was effective for that day only, said others.[7] "Say not within yourselves, We have Abraham for father!" cried John (Matthew 3:9). The intolerable arrogance that may result, and the immeasurable suffering such posing may bring is readily perceived. "Dog of a Gentile!" (Matthew 7:27)—"dog of a Jew!"—"dog of a Christian!": three phrases for the same attitude of soul.

This hereditary *zakku* character remains in the orient to-day. There are two main categories of Arab holy men: first, those who have voluntarily entered the dervish or fakir career, are "without father, without mother, without beginning of time (in a holy order) or end of the days" of their personal consecration. They have cast off secular social ties, and declare they have no longer father or mother: they have forsaken all for God's sake.[8] Second, there is the hereditary holy man, the descendant of one self-devoted, or of one donated to some shrine. In much of North Africa to-day, the hereditary saintship passes to the daughters,

[5] Geo. La Piana, *Harvard Theological Review,* Oct. 1927, pp. 377 ff.

[6] Josephus, *Antiquities,* XVIII, ii, 6.

[7] Rodkinson, *Babylonian Talmud,* I, 100, 228.

[8] Wolff, *Travels and Adventures,* I, 484 f., on Hebrews 7:1-3. Compare the perpetual Levite, Deuteronomy 33:8 f.: self-consecrated. Such an one is also officially a Melek Salem, or "king of peace," as in Genesis 14:18, writes Wolff.

when the saintly father has no sons. The Sherîfs descended from Mohammed's daughter Fatima illustrate the point. So the descendants of a saint, whether through the male or female line, may become quite a tribe. Every member of the tribe is credited with mysterious hereditary powers, and the tribe as a community is accorded a superstitious reverence. Any member of it will be consulted by an Arab who has lost anything. There is such a Fukâra (plural of *fakir*) tribe near Teima to-day,—the Batawneh.[9] Two Jewish Arab tribes at Medina in Mohammed's time, the Nadir and Kuraidza, were known as *kahinâni,* "the two priestly or diviner tribes."

It is probable that the much debated Khabirû appear as such a sacred privileged clan. At the Hittite capital they were specially connected with some ritual or liturgical services. "The gods of the Khabirû" appear in some passages. This does not permit monotheism to be attributed to them, despite the fervid desire of some apologetes to explain *ilâni,* "gods" as a plural of dignity only. But "the gods of the *ilu* (divine) Khabirû" also appears along with the "divine Lulakhi," (Greek Leleges?) and "divine Annarummi." There were certainly "divine Khabirû" ancestors, and living Khabirû who were accorded divine honors or titles, as temple-officials in Phoenician inscriptions, might themselves be styled *elîm.* The original reason for the "divinity" of the Khabirû does not yet appear.[10] But their having been originally attendants bound to some shrine is among the possibilities.

That colonists made *zakku* to some shrine were exempt from secular demands because actually giving an equivalent in service to the shrine is familiar to every reader of the *kudurru* deeds. The new tenants might till the temple-lands, care for the herds, manage the stores and revenues, or act as guardsmen. But with the passing of the sanctuary, colonists claiming hereditary sanctity and privilege would be in the position of claiming continued exemption from taxation without rendering any equivalent in service to society. This attitude has been very common in Jewish communities. How it might react upon the community itself is shown by a single modern example. Captain Riley, shipwrecked upon the African coast near Cape Blanco in 1815, and prisoner among the Arabs till taken to Mogadore, describes the internally autonomous Jew-

[9] Jaussen, *Coutumes Arabes,* pp. 386 ff.

[10] See Jirku, *Orientalische Literaturzeitung,* 1922, sp. 38, and *Zeitschrift für die Alt-Testamentliche Wissenschaft,* XXXIX, 56 ff.; also Gustavs, *ibid.,* XLIV, 25 ff.; Lewy, *OLZ,* 1927, 738-746 and 825-833; Jirku, *ZATW,* XLIV, replying to Gustavs.

ish community of six thousand very poor people headed by four rich merchants with a large number of untaxable "priests and Levites." A Moorish assessment of $3500 was apportioned by the untaxed priests, who laid $2000 of the amount on the four merchants.[11] A Jewish emissary from Jerusalem arrived, to collect contributions for the support of the priests in Jerusalem—so Riley puts it. From this man, Abraham ben-Nassar, Riley learned that there were about twenty thousand Jews in Jerusalem, and that he expected to get $20,000 from the Jews of Morocco alone, and that the total collections in Mediterranean lands in 1813 were $580,000: which Riley considered an imposition upon the superstitious and credulous in the interests of idle priests and elders at Jerusalem.[12] A Jewish missionary thirty years later tells the same. Benjamin II writes that each of the four sectarian divisions of the Jews had its council of six with a *Sheliakh ha-kolēl* at the head, charged with receiving voluntary contributions from abroad.[13] The basis of division of funds contributed was theoretically an apportionment to each family in proportion to the number of its members, to pay the capitation-tax of the very poor; secondly, to pay expenses of the synagogues and Talmud-Torah schools. The rest went to the rabbis. A very small portion ever reached the widows and orphans and very poor, whose distress was paraded before the doors of the Israelites of Europe (cf. Acts 6) whose pity was implored, and whose hand was generously extended. "As for the Israelites of Africa, they receive almost nothing, although this part of the world sends the largest sums. This vicious and unjust distribution has provoked altercations and lively disputes for some years past. But all these demonstrations were without effect upon this point, as upon other administrative abuses that demand reform." Benjamin II adds that the condition had existed for at least thirty years past. The story will help us to appreciate the social tendencies of ancient Israelite colonies that urged the continuance of some ancient privileged status accorded to their forebears.

How the privileged land or *zakku*-land pretension may work in social or national relations is illustrable by a single case. Benjamin II (p. 132) tells how the holy Moslem city of Kerbela fared. As the resting-place of Ali, the soil was sacred. Once a Jew or Christian could not even enter the town. All who chose

[11] Riley's *Narrative*, p. 332. [12] *Ibid.*, pp. 339-44.

[13] Israel Joseph Benjamin, *Eight Years in Asia and Africa*, French version, p. 183.

or were privileged to dwell there paid no taxes: none could be exacted from those dwelling upon holy land. In 1839 the Pasha of Bagdad insisted that the town must pay tribute. The population flew to arms, but were conquered. Then they took refuge in the great Mosque of Ali; but the saint failed to protect his protégés. When it was half-destroyed the survivors surrendered, and learned to pay taxes. The spiritual atmosphere of the town was improved by the experience, and Jews and Christians were admitted as residents of the holy city. The incident will help us to appreciate at their real value any ancient Israelite pretensions to peculiar sanctity or privilege, and any insistence that some concession accorded by a former political régime should be renewed by all its political successors. Will such Israelite insistence upon the maintenance of an ancient privileged segregate social status be considered as promoting or hindering the best social development? Will the tax-refusing fanatics of Palestine who brought their town and temple down in ruins upon themselves gain any more abiding respect for their attitude than the tax-refusing fanatics of Kerbela have done? Has the Israelite often confused the maintenance of ideals worth while with the maintenance of outworn social forms?

Thus any one group of deported Jews might be a farmer colony, or a trader colony, with no special privileges. Another might be a *zakku* colony, accorded special privileges because of its "devoted" character. Another might be specially privileged because assigned to garrison duty. And these two latter social relations meant both opportunity and misery.

But in this employment of alien guardsmen we face one of the oldest of social institutions. Any group, large or small, that has acquired a reputation for pugnacity, may be employed by some other social aggregation to do its fighting. A people peculiarly turbulent when claiming independence may be valuable supporters of their political masters when employed as its military police. Had the Romans had the wit to make the turbulent Jews into a corps of Praetorian Guards, they would have Judaized their empire. They did recognize what had occurred during Greek domination. And when to the active militarism of such a warlike people we add the element of sworn fealty as guards, and their own religious impulsions, we have a situation psychologically similar to that of the mediaeval knight, religiously inducted and authorized, but ready to sell the service of his sword upon occasion.

Now this employment of conquered peoples as guards of the conqueror we find in our oldest records. The Assyrians did not

originate the practice. In the Hittite records of Murshilish II (1400-1350 B.C.) he tells us of raiding and burning several towns. "Next morning I marched toward the city Taptina. When I reached the town of Tarkuma, I burnt Tarkuma down. And the people of Taptina, the people of Kharshana, and the people of Pikurzi came to meet me, and they clasped my feet and spoke thus: 'Our lord, thou needst not crush us to the earth! Take us into thy service and make us foot-soldiers and chariot-warriors, and we will go to the battlefield with thee!' I took them into my service, and made them infantry and charioteers." A few days later Murshilish reached the city of Dukkamma and, "I did not let the city Dukkamma be plundered, my son. I subdued it by carrying away captives; and the three thousand captives that I brought to my royal abode I made into infantry and charioteers." A little later the land of Azzi proffered surrender upon the same terms, liberating also a thousand Hittite prisoners.[14]

We may recognize that the progress of a successful Oriental army was like that of a rolling snow-ball: cities making such terms hoped to recoup themselves by plundering the next countries in the line of march. They might deliberately proffer such service in order to be revenged upon a troublesome neighbor. We have seen Obadiah and Ezekiel charge such conduct upon Moab, Edom, and Ammon. But such a snow-ball army might in time of reverses quickly melt away.

> Nineveh is like a pool of water,
> Whose water is escaping;
> "Stand fast! stand fast!" they are shouting,
> But no one is turning back! (Nahum 2:9)

But we can go back thirteen hundred years and find the same institution. Naram-Sin of Agade, about 2700 B.C., writes of "the Khabirû who are in the garrison." In the time of Rim-Sin of Larsa, we read of "four (official?) robes for the officers of the Khabirû, which Ibni-Adad has received" (2100-2040 B.C.); while several tablets show sheep delivered to the Khabirû at the same time. These Khabirû guardsmen have been construed as proving that Semitic "Hebrews" were dwelling in the Sumerian lands about the Persian Gulf at the time.[15] The fact that such guards might be a thousand miles from home had escaped the speculator, and nullifies the speculation. Still more damaging to the theory of

[14] Friedrich, *Der Alte Orient,* Band 24, Heft 3, pp. 10 f.
[15] Jirku, *Der Alte Orient, Band* 24, Heft 2, pp. 14 f.

Semitic "Hebrews" is the possibility that the Khabirû were a Hurrian tribe or profession. In the preceding chapter it was mentioned that Boghaz Keui texts put them in the Hurrian region of Amurru. The excavations of Chiera and Speiser at Kerkuk revealed the passing of an ancient Hurrian community; and among these folk one man, Zili Kupi, is a Khabiri, and one woman, Sinpalti, a Kha-bi-ru-u. These sell themselves as slaves, to be supported. The time was 1500-1800 B.C. when the Hittites were dominant in Babylonia.[16] The Hurrian(?) Storm-god Teshup was the favorite in this community, as is evidenced by the personal names Haish-Teshup, Alki-Teshup, Nai-Teshup, Ar-Teshup, Shur-Teshup, Shukri-Teshup, Shehal-Teshup, and Mat-Teshup. Many proper names ending in *-ya* indicate a Hurrian population.

Moreover, Lugal-banda, a Sumerian king of Dêr, east of the Tigris, helps a Sumerian king of Uruk "to expel entirely the abominable Hurrû." What is their relation to the Khabirû who were in that region as early as Naram-Sin's time, and still there six hundred years later, as cited above? Khabirâ appear also in Elamite employ. An unknown Hittite king speaks of three thousand Kha-bi-ri-ish soldiers in his service.[17] Another Hittite king in an Akkadian text mentions six hundred. A ritual text of the El-Amarna period shows that the Kha-bi-ri-ash had some special functions in a ritual ceremony, perhaps at the capital.[18] All this agrees better with a professional class of the Hurri folk which we have seen distributed all over the area in question than with a theoretical band of Semitic nomads, roving through more than a thousand years. Murshilish II (1400-1350 B.C.) tells that the king of the Hurri had seized the city of Gyaruwata in the land of Barda, and put it in the charge of the grandfather of Tettish, the Khabiri. That the Khabirû in the El-Amarna Letters were raiding from the Hurrian Amurru region has been noticed, with the specific report from Rib-Addi of Gebal "that all the countries (petty states) of the Amurru region had gone over to the Khabirû." Now the arch-conspirator Aziru has a brother Paalu-ya: a name of Hurrian form. And the Pharaoh responds by demanding that Aziru send to Egypt as hostages for his fidelity Tu-ya and his sons, Lê-ya and all his sons, together with Wishiari, son-in-law of Manya, and all his family. These again are Hurrian names. Could Aziru care what became of these hostages if they

[16] Chiera and Speiser, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, March, 1927.
[17] King, *Hittite Texts*, plate 32, 37.
[18] K.U.B.K. IX:34; IV:14. The varying final syllables are case-endings.

were unrelated to him? He was certainly of Hurrian family himself. Some twenty-five Hurrian names in *-ya* occur in the letters: most of them active in the cause of the Khabirû. Labaya of Shechem and his two sons; Addaya, Be-ya, Ma-ya, Dumu-ya, Arzaya and his sons; Hanya, Yashu-ya (Joshua?), and Me-ya are chief abettors of the Khabirû seizures; while Shatiya, Widya, Haba-ya, Hibi-ya are governors professing fidelity or asking for help. That the Khabirû were people to whom the Hurri naturally gravitated seems clear. From the Euphrates to southwest Palestine the Hurri governors were thoroughly familiar with Khabirû activities. They certainly knew that these were immemorial. There were cuneiform records of this roving free-lance (?) class fourteen hundred years earlier. Sayce, noting that at Khattu-city in that period 1200 Khabirû and 1200 Lulakhi were the royal guards of the Hittite king, concludes that the term SA GAZ applied to them so frequently means that they were employed by the Hittites as their official *sagasi,* or executioners; comparable to the *ferash* class of modern Persian rulers. As such, the Khabirû invaders would have been regarded by Egypt as pioneers of Hittite schemes. Perhaps similar activities led to a demand for the extermination of Hittites in late Israelite times. The above mentioned Aziru again brings this Khabirû service of the Hittite king before us. For in the El-Amarna Letters, Akizzi of Katna writes to Amenophis III that the Hittite king has incited Aitugama of Kinza (Kadesh) with the cities of Lapana and Ruhizi, to invade the domain of Katna. They have raided Ube nearly to Damascus. Akizzi begs for troops; the lands will else be lost to the king. In his last letter, Aziru has been in the land of Katna six days with his troops: if the king does not act quickly, Katna, Nukhashshe, Nii, and Tunanat will be lost. It is the same complaint that is made to Ikhen-Aton against Aziru, a little later. The Hittite king Shubbilulyuma must have been the instigator in both cases, and his Khabirû pioneers his agents. Since no Khabirû appear as Arab or Aramaean tribes in the many hundreds of Arab or Aramaean inscriptions, the long debate as to the racial identity of the Khabirû may be ended by recognizing that the name Khabirû is not Semitic, and that the Khabirû were some Hurrian people.

To return to the employment of Hittite guards: the Assyrian Tukulti-Nimrûd I,[19] about 1250 B.C., says that on his accession to the throne he carried off 28,800 Hittite warriors from the other

[19] NIN-URTA: Assyrian dialect NIN.WURDA or MURDA, assimilated to Nimrûd, the Arabic form to-day.

side of the Euphrates, and used them in his other campaigns.[20] Tiglath-pileser I writes: "Four thousand Kashkaia of Uruma, of the Hittite country, surrendered with one hundred and twenty chariots, and all their property; as people of my own land I counted them. I made them to look to the face of Ashur my lord."[21] We may consider the "surrender" an Assyrian royal boast. The essential fact is that these men of the Hittite country entered the Assyrian service, and were made a garrison of lands of the temple of Ashur, on equal terms with people of the king's own land. He mentions other peoples who submitted and were made to "look to the face of Ashur my lord."[22]

We see, in short, that any foreigners whom the Assyrian might choose to make *zakku* might be in the position of the Philistine guards of David and his successors; participating in temple-rituals, and actually determining the succession at times.[23] Again we find them as guards of the Assyrian capital city, in a position comparable to that of the Varangian Guard, the Janizaries, or the Mamelukes; a situation likely to strengthen and perpetuate their class-spirit and their antagonism to others around them. Sometimes we read of the rights of an ancient asylum-city being restored, and of deportees brought to increase its population.[24] Such measures we find over and over in the Orient. It is Nehemiah's method of repeopling Jerusalem (Nehemiah ii). It does not mean serfdom or temple-slavery, as some historians have hastily supposed. But it places such deportees in sharp antagonism to adjacent districts or towns that resented the restoration of ancient religious prestige and asylum-charters. Samaria's anger in Ezra 4:6 is but one case out of scores. But this new antagonism would foster the perpetuation of the ancestral prejudices and traditions of those deported, and a feeling of aloofness from their new neighbors. The same would result if they were placed in eastern mountain tracts to stem the tide of barbarian invasions.

A more primitive stage of the compelling conquered or threatened peoples to do military service is illustrated by the terrible Mongol raids of Genghis Khan. With eighteen horses required for each Mongol, the hordes on capturing a city drove such warriors as they spared before them into battle with the next people.

[20] Luckenbill, AR.A I, par. 171, 164.

[21] Col. II, 100 ff.

[22] *Ibid.*, III, 87, 91; IV, 31.

[23] Cf. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible, s.v.* "Philistines" and "Cherethites."

[24] Cf. Godbey, "The Semitic City of Refuge," in *Monist,* October, 1905.

These stood the main shock and actual losses in battle, while the Mongols massed behind them shot down fugitives or deserters. Thus the relatively small hordes of Mongols swept land after land, destroying about twenty million people, without serious losses to the Mongols themselves.

We have already noticed, in Chapter I, the Egyptian Pharaohs employing the Mazoi (Masai?) so long in this way that their name came to be the regular Coptic term for "soldiers." We have large "Eliaut" clans on the Bokhara frontier to-day, moved there by Persian monarchs in modern times from the Kurdish frontier. About 960 A.D. the Niutchin Tartars from West China came to Taitsou's court, with horses and with pledges of good service. He assigned them Cha-men (Hai-nan?) as residence, with exemption from all service upon public works.[25] Whole colonies were thus brought from Asia into Slavic territory: Turks to Vardar and Uskub; later to Ochrida and Vodena. Syrians, Slavs, and Paulicians were thus settled in Thrace.[26]

It must be recognized, however, that police duty varied widely. The effects upon any Israelite colony assigned to such a task would vary with the local conditions. In a peaceful populous district, the duties in time might be merely nominal; and the descendants of the original Israelite colony might be in the position of demanding the continuance of a privileged untaxed condition, for which they rendered no equivalent in service. Then the question of regularity of pay would be a factor. Benjamin II records that when he visited the island of Kerkena on the Tunisian coast between Gabes and Sfax, the inhabitants paid no taxes, because all were soldiers. But as for support, the little population maintained itself by fishing.[27] On the contrary, a colony assigned to police-duty upon a disorderly or nomad frontier would inevitably acquire some of the characteristics of our American frontier and half-breed population. Such unpaid police-colonies would tend to become mere Israelite brigands, supporting themselves by raids; and any proselytes they made would become robbers by profession, ceremonially Judaized. Hence traditions that we may find in the Orient of Jewish brigands in certain regions may be fairly considered as probably resulting from ancient Israelite border-police colonies.

Pages of such data need not be added. The instances cited make it clear that deported Israelites had not a unique and crush-

[25] Boulger, *History of China*, I, 237.
[26] Mishew, *The Bulgarians in the Past*, pp. 17 ff.
[27] Benjamin II, p. 250.

ing experience, as the lost tribes hunter always supposes. They were but one case of thousands, and any posing as exceptional martyrs would react to the injury of the poseurs; while those prompt to accept or seize the new opportunity, as Jeremiah (29:1-7) advised, would find their cultus-interests immeasurably promoted. It is misleading to speak of the "captivity" of the Israelites. The connotations of that term to our modern minds do not at all correspond to the actual conditions of colonies in the ancient world. The Jews always call their migrant status "the Golah," and they maintained a certain amount of organization, with a Resh Golah, commonly mistranslated "Head of the Captivity." But this term or verb is regularly used of the Ilmormo, or "Sons of Orma," who appeared on the borders of Abyssinia in 1542 A.D., and now spread over a region nearly a thousand miles each way. Their language and institutions are of a very old Semito-Hamitic type. But the Abyssinians dubbed them "Gallas," which means "emigrants" or "rovers." And Gallas they remain, in all our literary references to them. So the Israelite Golah was really a migration, and the individual Israelite was potentially a Galla, like the wild rovers of East Africa. He posed often as having no "continuing city" (Hebrews 13:14).

Now consider the records of Jews employed as garrisons and guard-colonists, and the ultimate results for Judaism. We have already noticed the statement of Aristeas that the Ptolemies deported vast numbers. But the very procedure followed in Assyria, that of dedicating or releasing captives to a god, is also found in Aristeas; Sosibius reminding Ptolemy Philadelphus that this is peculiarly pleasing to the god. But Aristeas tells that of the more than one hundred thousand (Josephus, one hundred and twenty thousand) deported by Ptolemy Soter, about thirty thousand picked men were selected as soldiers and settled in the frontier fortresses, and that at still earlier times other Israelites had been a main dependence of Psamtik in holding the Nubian frontier. There were such, beyond the rivers of Nubia, in the time of Zephaniah 3:9. Probably both Psamtik I (663-609 B.C.) and Psamtik II (593-588 B.C.) thus used Israelite garrisons, though Aristeas thinks the number not so large as that employed by Ptolemy Soter. Then we have noticed a similar measure in placing one hundred thousand Jews in the Libyan area about Cyrene, as colonists and garrisons. David's Philistine guards, and the Assyrian examples, lead us to expect special inducements in Egypt also, and Aristeas quotes a letter of Philadelphus to the high priest Eleazar: "those enrolled

in the army received higher than the ordinary pay, and in like manner, having proved the loyalty of those who were already in the country he placed under their charge the fortresses that he built, that the native Egyptians might be intimidated by them. So we drafted into the army those that were in the prime of life; such as are fitted to be attached to our person."[28] Josephus reports Ptolemy as saying that many were so placed by the Persians.[29] Thus it is indisputable that the deportation of Israelites by various conquerors did not necessarily involve the extinction of their Judaism, or their being lost in the paganism of their new location. It might, on the contrary, mean vastly better opportunities for Jewish propagandism.

And a recently discovered fragment of a new charter, prepared by Ptolemy Soter for Cyrene and discussed by Theodore Reinach emphasizes the favor shown to military colonists. This charter announces a *politeuma* or electing citizenship of ten thousand persons: a small dominant oligarchy. The ten thousand "active" citizens may be refugees accorded asylum by Ptolemy, or persons having visible property worth two thousand drachmae or more. The "inactive" citizens are (a) the children of two Cyrenian parents; (b) barbarian military colonists; (c) other military groups whom Ptolemy may name. Our modern world would say that such an organization would in time produce a tremendous outbreak against the small voting oligarchy. But our present interest is in the actual dominant position accorded to refugees and foreign military colonies.

A like situation in Alexandria is brought before us by "A Greek Papyrus in the British Museum" discussed by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon. It contains "the full text of a rescript from the Emperor Claudius, shortly after his accession to the throne, and addressed to the people of Alexandria: and a considerable part of it is devoted to the perennial quarrels between the Jews and the Greeks in that turbulent city." It was written before November 10, 41 A.D., and answers an address presented to Claudius by an embassy from Alexandria at his accession in the preceding January. It shows that the Jews were a powerful independent community. They had sent their own separate embassy. Claudius complains that the Jews and the Greeks act as though they occupied two distinct cities. One of the embassies had petitioned for the reëstablishment of an Alexandrian Senate which had been con-

[28] Aristeas, 12-14, 36.

[29] *Antiquities*, XII, ii, 5.

ceded by some of the Ptolemies. Evidently it was soon abolished: it had not existed under the Roman emperors. It must have been such a militarist or foreigner oligarchy as that created by the above Cyrene charter. Claudius did not grant this petition for the restoration of such undemocratic privileged condition. We shall have occasion to notice conditions in Cyrene and Alexandria again. Our present interest is in the actually dominant position repeatedly accorded in the ancient Orient to refugee settlements and foreign military colonies. They were expected to be the "Swiss Guards" of the administration.

We have still further illustrations of the same procedure in the ancient Orient. When Antiochus the Great was annoyed by revolts in Phrygia and Lydia, he moved two thousand families of Mesopotamian and Babylonian Jews over there to certain fortresses and strongholds, and each of them had a house, farm, land, place for a vineyard, and grain to support their servants, sutlers, etc., till they could raise a crop; as well as exemption from all produce-taxes for ten years, and absolute freedom in the matter of their own laws and customs.[30] The net result is that any captives or slaves made by such a Jewish garrison would be brought up as Jews. Of their restless new neighbors, some would bitterly hate them, others would become Jews to gain like advantages. Demetrius later made large concessions and exemptions to win the favor of the Jews, and called for thirty thousand as garrisons and guardsmen, some to be his own bodyguard; and promised that all property held anywhere by the Jerusalem temple should exercise the right of asylum, as we see in Assyrian records.[31] One result of such outstanding privileges would be that "ten suppliants would seize the skirts of each Jew, saying: 'We will go with you for we have heard that Yahu is with you'" (Zechariah 9:23). There certainly would not be a carefully maintained exclusively Israelite Judaism. It would tend to become panethnic.

But we must consider these garrison-colonies of Antiochus and Demetrius a little more minutely. Sir William Mitchell Ramsay has pointed out that the single colony in Phrygia cited by Josephus is not to be regarded as an unique case; that every other Jewish garrison-colony in Greek Asia Minor had the same status, and upon occasion cited the same or a like charter. The Seleucid emperors founded many such commercial cities. The Black Sea had some, on the southern shores and on the European shore. The Seleucids reached the Caspian also, and many of them had Jewish

[30] Josephus, *Antiquities*, XII, iii, 4. [31] *Antiquities*, XIII, ii, 3.

garrison-colonies on its coasts. In Alexandria the Jews were chartered as one of the Greek city *phylai,* and were the "Makedones." The rest of the city was in almost constant war with them. This kinship classification often brought appeals from the Greeks of various cities that the Jews ought to be compelled to worship the same gods as the Greeks, since they were kinsmen.[32] Ramsay does not consider that immense numbers actually were "kin," but rather Greek proselytes who were attracted in part by the special favors in the charters to these Jewish colonies. Wherever the Jew appeared, in these Greek cities, he did not appear as a lone adventurer, but as an organic tribe with chartered privileges.[33]

This enrolling of the Jewish colonies, whether originally trade-colonies or guard-colonies, as "Tribes" of a Greek colony naturally continued when the Roman power became paramount. Josephus boasts that the Jews in various Greek cities of the Orient were known by the same generic names as the Greeks, even as Iberians, Sabines, Tyrrhenians, were then all called "Romans."[34] A curious letter of which Josephus boasts then seems to have a rather simple explanation. Areus, king of the Lacedaemonians, wrote to the high-priest Onias, in the time of Seleucus Soter, "that a writing had been discovered showing that the Jews and Lacedaemonians were of one stock, and are derived from the kindred of Abraham." A reply was sent by the high-priest Jonathan, acknowledging the kinship, which the Jews of Jerusalem had not dared to be the first to claim.[35] The presence of an old Jewish colony in Sparta is a sufficient explanation. Agrippa boasts that Jerusalem had for a long time been

"the metropolis, not only of the one country of Judea, but also of many, by reason of the colonies which it has sent out from time to time into the bordering districts of Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria in general, and especially that part of it which is called Coele-Syria, and also with those more distant regions of Pamphylia, Cilicia, the greater part of Asia Minor as far as Bithynia, and the furthermost corners of Pontus; and in the same manner into Europe, into Thessaly, and Boeotia, and Macedonia, and Aetolia, and Attica, and Argos, and Corinth, and all the most fertile and wealthiest districts of the Peloponnesus."[36]

[32] Suggeneis; cf. Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches,* pp. 43 ff.; Josephus, *Antiquities,* XII, iii, 1, 2.
[33] *Ibid.,* pp. 151 ff.
[34] *Contra Apion,* ii, 4. Notice the above 'Macedonians' of Alexandria.
[35] *Antiquities,* XII, iv, 10; XIII, v, 8.
[36] Philo, *Virtues and Office of Ambassadors,* XXXVI, Yonge's Translation, iv, 161.

Agrippa speaks as a contemporary of Josephus. Both are two hundred years later than the time Josephus assigns to the Spartan letter, but the date of the letter is a hundred and sixty years after Alexander's general concessions to the Jews, and their spread through Greece by that time is certainly credible. And in any such Spartan Jew-colony, men of its city-tribe might be persons of importance in the Spartan council. Areus does not say that he is a Jew himself. He merely says that some writings among the Spartans show that some of distinction among them are of the kindred of Abraham. Now it is a matter of record that the savage Artaxerxes Ochus, 340 B.C. deported Jewish rebels in Palestine to the trade-cities of the Caspian coasts: while Greek-speaking Jews were on the northern coasts of the Black Sea in the same century, as shown by inscriptions recovered, and were also in Thessaly, west of Macedonia, before the rise of Alexander the Great. The report of the letter of Areus has no impossible element. In like manner, a letter from the prytanium of Pergamos claimed that their "public records showed that their ancestors were friendly to the Jews even in the days of Abraham": which means that some proselytes or "Benî-Abraham" of a relatively early period of the Diaspora had been influential in Pergamos.[37] And we shall see evidence of Israelites in western Asia Minor at a much earlier period.

Should it be asked, what became of this immense body of Greek garrison-colony Judaism, we may anticipate by saying that a large proportion of them came eventually into the Christian church. Phrygian Jews appear in records as Roman nobles, with Roman names, even as Saul of Tarsus was the Roman Paulus.[38]

But we take a step beyond Sir William. It should be clear that the Greek emperors did not suddenly discover or invent this peculiar availability of the Jew as a colonist. They were simply accepting an immemorial Oriental institution and acknowledging a status which many Jewish colonies already had, and which was but a continuation of the *zakku* character some Jewish settlements had under Assyria and Babylonia. When Psamtik II substituted Jewish garrisons in Egypt for Libyan ones or earlier Nubian, or still earlier Mazoi, he did not create an institution. Nor did the Ptolemies when they in turn used Jewish garrisons. All of these military peoples were conceded what they specially insisted upon

[37] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* articles "Bosporus" and "Thessaly"; Josephus, *Antiquities,* XIV, X, 2; cf. pp. 454, 587 f. below.

[38] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,* ii, 538, 649 ff., 667 ff., 675 f.

as conditional to their service. On no other terms would they have been dependable.

An excellent illustration of the proselyting possibilities of a Jewish garrison is presented by the colony on the island of Elephantiné at Syene, the modern Assuan (Al-Suan, "The Market"), in Upper Egypt. There will be occasion to notice it again. Whether it was established by Psamtik II or by an earlier Pharaoh is immaterial here. The Aramaic papyri from it begin at a date a hundred years or more after its founding. Several scores of personal names are preserved in the letters, contracts, lawsuits, and subscription lists. The Hebrew names are the most numerous, but there are many Egyptian names, compounded of the names of Egyptian gods, as well as a number of Assyro-Babylonian names, similarly compounded, and some Persian and Aramaean names. The most interesting fact is that the Aramaean is the ancestry most frequently claimed. "An Aramaean of Syene"; "an Aramaean of Yeb the Fortress" is a frequent description of some one who bears a Hebrew or other non-Aramaean name, yet the whole mixed company is referred to occasionally as "the Jewish army in Yeb." Anani writes "To Yedon-Ya my brother and his companions the Jewish army." The garrison is divided into centuries and "banners." It is interesting to find an Aramaean with a Hebrew name reported as one of the banner of Nabu-Kudurri, Babylonian; yet all are "Jews" of the garrison. Menahem is one such person. Another banner or clan has the Babylonian name of Iddin-Nabu. Mahsê-Yah, rather prominent, alludes to himself three times as a Jew, four times as an Aramaean, just as Paul boasts that he is Hebrew or Roman, as occasion may suggest. The whole community is mentioned as "all the Jews, the citizens of Yeb the fortress." Especially interesting is a long list of contributors of money for the local temple. They are "members of the Jewish army" or garrison; but a number of them are women. Whence it is clear that "the Jewish army" or "the Syenic garrison" is a term that includes the whole community that accreted about the original soldier-colony.

We have an illustration of the freedom of action which Jews in Babylonia had in later times, under Parthian domination, in the story Josephus tells of Anileus and Asineus, who gathered about them a strong force and dominated the grazing-lands for a considerable distance about the Jewish colony at Nehardea, running northward toward Nisibis, it appears. Both Nisibis and Nehardea were then strong Jewish settlements; a Jewish college being some-

times at Nehardea. Despite complaints of others, the Parthian king made Asineus governor of the territory; but Anileus abused his position by unprovoked raiding and plundering of Parthian villages. Josephus says that in the Parthian reprisal, "many ten-thousands" of the following of Anileus were slain. A Babylonian outbreak against the Jews followed: they always hated the Jews, because of the contrariety of their laws, since the Jews were not forced to live in Babylonian fashion. The Jews gathered in the stronghold of Seleucia, where the Greeks and Syrians were at loggerheads. The Jews, "who are men that despise danger, and are very ready to fight upon any occasion," aided the Syrians. But the Greek leaders then patched up a truce with the Syrians, and combining forces they suddenly slew fifty thousand Jews. The remainder fled to Ctesiphon and later to the strongholds of Nehardea and Nisibis, because of Syrian hatred. The story illustrates the freedom of Jews in Babylonia in the time of the Roman Caligula, and the special privileges allowed them, and the fact that the arrogance begotten by special privileges might end in their own ruin.[39] Josephus elsewhere observes that the Jews in Babylonia and Media enjoyed their own laws, which he attributes to Alexander the Great.[40] Had they not enjoyed the same colony-freedom under the Assyrians, four hundred years earlier, and then under the Babylonians and the later Persians, there would have been no Israelite colonies to ask such recognition from Alexander. The *zakku* privileges of ancient Semitic shrine-guards kept a colonial Judaism alive; and conversely, the Jews insisted on preserving or retaining these sacred-class privileges.

The Romans did not make the same use of Jewish guard-colonies. Josephus records a number of decrees that Jews shall not be interfered with in matters of religious observances, but these decrees in several cases made the Jew free from army service.[41] Any Gentile in such a community could escape army-service by becoming a Jew. In several of these cases it appears that some Jews were not willing to fight on the Sabbath. But the Romans themselves were beginning to fear lest the empire be Judaized, and Jewish garrison-colonies would be in conflict with Roman military organization. The individual Jew was drafted. But in the Orient in Roman times, some Jew garrison-colonies originated. Josephus tells of the Jewish "knight errant" Zamaris of Babylonia, who with five hundred cavalry had won the favor of

[39] *Antiquities,* XVIII, ix. [40] *Ibid.,* XI, viii, 5; V, 2.
[41] *Ibid.,* XIV, X, 6, 11-14, 16-20, 23, 25.

Saturninus and been accorded Valatha near Antioch in Syria. Herod tempted him with larger offers and concessions; he was placed in the Beduin-raided Argob; and the tax-free concessions quickly drew to him all willing to live by Jewish ceremonial law. As a result of this garrison proselyting quite a Jewish province developed in a former pagan desert.[42]

Suetonius (Tiberius xxxvi) tells us that Tiberius drove the Jews out of Rome to please those protesting against the introduction of foreign religions. Jewish youths on garrison duty were sent to unhealthy regions; other Jews and proselytes had to leave Rome or become slaves; and all vestments and sacred utensils were burned. This seems the same situation that we saw under the Ptolemies; there are Jewish guards whose situation is very favorable to propagandism, and they are making extensive use of it. Josephus says there were four thousand of these guards and that they were sent to Sardinia, and that four disreputable Jews from Jerusalem, posing as teachers of the law, had embezzled funds paid them by wealthy lady proselytes, thereby bringing the wrath of the emperor upon the whole Jewish community.[43] Hence we see that Judaizing missionaries were active in Rome and not likely to arouse opposition if they were personally upright. But the presence of four thousand men capable of bearing arms and willing to do so has been estimated to indicate a Jewish community of fifty thousand,[44] assuming that many would refuse military service, because of Sabbath scruples. But Judas Maccabaeus should be remembered. The Jewish community seemed to be made up of poor laborers and tradesmen. No wealthy Jews are heard of. The four thousand who entered garrison duty probably bettered their financial condition, found their opportunities for proselyting undiminished; and many were probably proselytes themselves with little scrupulousness about a ceremonial Judaism.

It should now be clear to any reader that deported Israelites in the ancient Orient were in no such danger of being lost among the heathen as the usual lost-tribes hunter supposes: that on the contrary the whole social structure of the time was peculiarly favorable to the preservation of such cults as might be pedagogically well-organized. With a swarm of shrines whose lands and guards and servitors were exempt from secular demands, and whose servitors were pledged to give information to the king of any disaffection or probable revolt, many Israelite bands found themselves

[42] *Antiquities,* XVII, ii, 1-3. [43] *Antiquities,* XVIII, iii, 5.
[44] G. La Piana, *Harvard Theological Review,* Oct. 1927, p. 346.

either guards or business-managers of shrines to which they had been dedicated. But this very privileged character meant in time hatred and persecution of all Jews. Josephus says, in replying to Apion (1:13), that "the Egyptians in general, all of them, are known to have borne the greatest ill will toward us." That does not accord with Josephus' own records, nor with the attitude of Deuteronomy 23:7. But it does express the feeling of the Egyptian masses who found arrogant Jewish garrisons thrust among them for the specific purpose of suppressing their own social or political self-expression, while scorning them as unclean and unfit to associate with, and mocking the local religion. Garrison duty of this sort would in time ruin such Jews.

The Greek, not thoroughly understanding ancient Oriental social development, accorded the same specially privileged character to all Jews that wished to establish a colony in any Greek city. The old Oriental *zakku* colony was thrust into a Greek city of secular tribes. The conflicts were produced by the privileges and exemptions accorded the Jews and by some posing as a sacred people of unique ancestry. They could not be welcome in a Greek city-democracy of tribes,[45] where one tribe would resent special privileges to another. Nor could the system be reconciled with the Roman imperial theory of equal personal responsibility to secular law, and of approximately uniform principles of secular law and administration. So when in later times restrictive legislation against the Jews appears we find it in the form of abolition of ancient exemptions. Theodosius (378-395 A.D.) has an edict:

"It is recognized that the community of the Jews and of the Samaritans cannot be summoned for navicular duty [furnishing ships for the State]: for the duty which appears to be enjoined upon the whole body can obligate no person in particular; hence on the one hand those who are poor and engaged in petty business ought not to have to perform the duty of contributing ships to the state, so on the other hand those who having the means can be chosen from these bodies ought not to be immune to the aforesaid function."[46]

Thus the Roman imperial lawyer asserts the injustice of letting any class be exempt from the duties of maintaining the State that protects it, and also asserts that civic burdens should be propor-

[45] Compare Esther 3:8-13; 4:15 f.; 8:9-14, 9:2 f., 6; 15 f., 27, from the Maccabean period. Nicanor's Day is celebrated by reading the Book of Esther.

[46] Codex Theodosianus, XIII, 5, 18.

tioned to the means of the individual, while he shows no knowledge of the historic origin of the anomalous privileged, ecclesiastical communities in the Roman state. He also shows disapproval of the system still found in much of the Orient of announcing a certain exaction from a community as whole, leaving the official head of the community to distribute the exaction as he chose, exempting privileged classes. It is before us in Josephus, who tells that poor priests were starved to death by the collection-methods of powerful priests. Against such a system were the Sicarii or Zealots organized.[47] Theodosius insists that Roman law will not recognize that a corporate exemption shall be construed to mean the individual exemption of each person in the corporate community.

One function of ancient Oriental *zakku* colonists is here to be added. Tributary rulers were solemnly sworn to return all runaways or fugitives, and to report faithfully any signs of disaffection or any plots to revolt. The Assyrians had a *bêl têmê* or "Master of News" as one most important functionary. He was also the Master of Records and directed the official compilations. He appears in Josephus' story of Samaritan correspondence with Cambyses, which is not included in Ezra. The protest is sent by "Rathumus the historiographer and Semellius the scribe." The reply is sent to "Rathumus the historiographer, to Beeltethmus to Semellius the scribe." Josephus mistook *bêl têmê,* an official title of Rathumus, for a proper name.[48] And in all tributary territory Assyrian conquerors placed *shupar-shakkê* to send important news to the capital.[49] Courier-posts are found in Jeremiah 51:31. Jews in *zakku* colonies and garrisons would perform some spy and post-service; and the narratives in Jeremiah 29, Ezekiel 33:21, and Nehemiah 1:2 f. show that courier-service between Jerusalem and the colonies in Babylon was maintained in some fashion from the first. The system continued under Persian rule; we see it in Ezra and Nehemiah.[50] But such service would add to the unpopularity of privilege-claiming Jewish communities, and specific edicts against this privilege appear. Following Theodosius, the next emperor, Honorius (395-423 A.D.) in an edict of 404 A.D. said, "The Jews and Samaritans, who flatter themselves that they have

[47] *Antiquities,* XX, viii, 8, ix, 2, 3. [48] *Ibid.,* XI, ii, 2.

[49] The name has been conjectured to mean "message-headmen" and the *shupar* compared with Hebrew *shofar,* "trumpet." The trumpet-signaling of Ezekiel 33, Jeremiah 4:19 f. may be meant. Recent translators read *shût-shakkê* without explaining.

[50] Ezra 4:7 ff.; 5:3 ff.; 6:1 ff., 7:11 ff.; Nehemiah 2:7 ff.

the privilege of being [imperial] agents [including "informer" or intelligence-activities] are to be deprived of all such militia privilege."[51] In modern times Jews in Bokhara have been accounted the spies of the Russians against Persian or Turkoman authority; at other times they have been thought the spies of the English.[52] The clinging to ancient, outworn pre-Israelite forms of social life and community organization will keep any people distinct from the world around it. But it will keep it assailed and persecuted. As to the final success of the methods of ancient days when the gates of Janus were never closed, the Protestant missionary may consider the advisability of propagandism by means of small military colonies that shoot rather than teach.

Extended citations of this sort are needless. To the modern western mind it will be clear that this very privileged character tempted angry cities to even up matters by imposing special arbitrary exactions upon the Jewish community. Mobs would be aroused by the fact that they as individuals endured burdens from from the Jew escaped. And arbitrary municipal regulations of the price of Jewish wares were provoked by Jewish freedom from certain taxes. Such arbitrary exactions Theodosius disallowed.[53]

In contrast with these Jews who counted themselves an ancient privileged militia stood those who claimed that an ancient exemption from military service should be perpetual. We have noticed military service forced upon many recalcitrant Jews. But with *zakku* garrisons, *zakku* shrine-servitors, trader and artisan colonies each insisting upon the perpetuation of a different privileged social-political relation, what chance was there for the unification or social solidarity of Judaism?

One inevitable feature of this ancient social disorder was the repeated migration of Jewish communities. Some had worn out their welcome, and a kindly government concluded that they could be of more use elsewhere, or that the Jewish community would be less persecuted in a new location. Such governments did not recognize that they were perpetuating a theory of society that was at the bottom of all their administrative troubles. The mischievous segregate community organization was a heritage from the caveman. Such petty unassimilable units were the enemy of political and social solidarity. They were not the product of the moral and spiritual truths of inestimable power that were often seen in indi-

[51] *Codex Theodosianus* XVI, 8, 16.
[52] Wolff, *Travels and Adventures,* II, 19.
[53] *Codex,* XVI, viii, 9, 10, 12.

vidual life in them. That these ideals might inspire a man to be of no nation in order to be of all nations was learned very slowly. So our inquiry into the status of deported Israelites has discovered the ancient world shuffling unassimilable social groups to and fro, without learning much thereby.

CHAPTER VII

Ethnologists and Jews

Our examination of the status of deported peoples has proved that deportation from Palestine did not increase the peril of the destruction of Yahwism. Were one to argue concerning the purpose of Providence in the case, it could be fairly claimed that the intention was to save Yahwism by improving the environment. Certainly the usual assumptions of the lost tribes hunter in this respect have been found to have no historical justification. So far as the opportunities to spread Judaism are concerned, we have seen that the so-called exile tremendously increased them. But was there active propagandism by the widely-dispersed Israelite and later Jewish colonies? To answer this fairly means to ask the testimony of ethnologists. Does the Jew to-day show a distinct physical, facial, or cranial type, such as the ancient monuments show for the contemporary Asiatic folk? We cannot use more specific terminology. The Israelite claim to be descended from an historic Aramaean chief named Abram who left his kinfolk and settled among Palestinian aliens, leaves no ethnological point of departure that we can call a Jewish race. For we have no certain distinction between Aramaeans and other Asiatics, in the ancient reliefs. Nor can we distinguish Gibeonites, Perizzites, Hivites, etc. on the monuments. Hittites or Hurrians and Philistines are well-defined. An Israelite type, distinct from other Palestinians, or from Phoenician, Aramaean, Moabite, Akkadian, or Edomite, is not known to us. No one can tell by studying any face on an ancient relief whether the person was a Yahwist or Baalist, a worshipper of Shamash or Ashtart, Kemosh or Adad.

This should be kept clearly in mind. Recently an ancient popular fiction has been announced as scientific anthropology, by the German scholar, R. Andree:

"In the anthropological review, the Jews are one of the most interesting objects, for with reasonable certainty no race-type can be so clearly traced back through the centuries, and no other shows such constancy of form and has so long resisted the influence of time and environment. Though relatively strong infusion of foreign blood was experienced, there resulted no new type; no amalgamation occurred. The Semitic blood prevailed in the most pronounced fashion, and the Jewish physique of the old monuments is as fully retained as the old Jewish spirit inherited with it. One who glances at Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, on which

the Jews of more than two thousand years ago were portrayed with masterly accuracy, reaches the conviction of the invariability of the Jewish type. And he will be impelled to make comparisons, as he thinks that he sees there the portraits of people still in the flesh, who walk amongst us every day."[1]

For the historian and Assyriologist, such writing puts the author outside the pale of rational discussion, for the reasons above stated. The identifiable Jew of the ancient monuments exists only in the writer's imagination. Any particular physical type that he may have in mind can be found in far greater numbers among modern non-Jews, who also have not inherited with that physical type "the unchangeable Jewish spirit." Jews number about 10,000,000 out of a world-population of 1,400,000,000. Any common physical type then has about one hundred and forty chances to appear as Gentile to one as Jewish. And as ecumenical Judaism is believed by thoughtful historians to be now less strong numerically than nineteen hundred years ago, it is plain that the theoretical Jewish race is not prolific; or, if prolific, that its spirit is not unchangeable, for its natural increase is incessantly lost to other religions.

Next, as we consider the historic records of earlier Yahwism and later Judaism, to know if propagandism was always an essential feature, we must remember among what peoples this propagandism had to work. In Chapter V it was clear that northern Israel was peculiarly exposed to Hurrian, Indo-Aryan, and Indo-European contacts from Asia Minor. When Israelite colonies were placed in cities of the Medes, it meant propagandism primarily among Indo-Iranic peoples. When they were specially favored by Persian monarchs through two hundred years, it meant increased Indo-European and Indo-Iranic opportunities. When the Greek emperors continued the same policy, and colonized Jews in Asia Minor and all the eastern Mediterranean, the Indo-European possibilities were vastly increased. For the dispassionate historian then there are but two alternatives. Either there never was any Jewish missionary activity, or the leadership in the spread of Judaism passed to Indo-European peoples nearly two thousand years ago.

A third necessity in this study is the careful examination of some old Hebrew social institutions, to ascertain if their practical operation involved an actual and intentional propagandism. Did they result in an incessant infusion of Gentilic blood into a cir-

[1] *Zur Volkskunde der Juden*, pp. 24 f.

cumscribed Jewish community? Did they mean the spread of Judaism among many contiguous peoples?

With the historical probabilities clearly stated, the conclusions of modern ethnologists are properly introducible here. They have critically considered the modern Jews in many lands, with the result that no one dominant physical type is found everywhere. A few ethnologists are clearly influenced by the popular fallacy that some such unique race is presupposed in the Old Testament. One or two manifest a desire to show themselves and their people to be a distinct and superior race. These conclude by regretting that they cannot certainly identify its original type: the historic commingling has been too great. As for Old Testament evidence, the facts already considered do not warrant the age-long popular assumption that there was but a single ethnic type of Yahu-worshippers.

Dr. S. Feist sketches some great historic periods of the infusion of Gentile blood into Jewish communities.[2] These "suffice as proof that of the Jews of later times it can not be considered that they are race-pure descendants of their forebears in Palestine. The rivulets of foreign blood which have flowed into the Jewish race in the course of centuries have here and there broadened into a river which has in many places forced the primitive stream out of its channel, and now takes its place." Dr. Feist desires to identify the original Israelite race, and repeats the error that the ancient monuments show us people that we can certainly call Jews. The historical data already shown in the Old Testament he does not carefully examine. He recognizes that the adherents of Judaism have been for two thousand years in constant motion, fixed to no particular land or district and incessantly in contact with various Caucasian races, as well as with Hamitic in Abyssinia, Mongolian in Asia, Dravidian in India, and Berber and negro in Africa. "The additions made to Judaism in all ages from the city populations where they reside at the time have brought into it also the shape of skull that is prevalent in that region." Despite this assimilation to the local peoples, Dr. Feist clings to the theory of a peculiar Jewish type, persisting everywhere.

Dr. Hans F. K. Gunther views the Jews not as a race, but as a people; yet he thinks that something more than religion holds them together. "The Mosaic kernel, if we may so style it, dwindles from year to year, and will soon vanish entirely if the Eastern European Jews (Polish, Russian, Galician) be brought into the

[2] *Stammes-Kunde der Juden,* Leipzig, 1925.

forms of West European life."[3] Yet with the complete vanishing of the "Mosaic kernel," the Jewish people would remain, held together by a sort of "natural selection" or class-consciousness, or "blood recognition." What these terms mean in the case proposed remains unexplained.

Peculiarly significant is the finding of the American ethnologist, Dr. Franz Boas. He examined South Italian immigrants of Mediterranean type; Central Europeans, of medium height, brachycephalous, and of fair complexion; northwest Europeans, tall, dolichocephalous, of fair complexion, and with blonde hair; and east Europeans, in some respects resembling Central Europeans. Children born in America of such parents take a distinctly different physical type. The difference shows in early youth, and is permanent throughout life. Every European type alters. Jews born in America have longer and smaller heads than those born in Europe; the face is smaller, the weight and size of body greater. Thus he finds that the notion of a constant or invariable Jewish physical type is contrary to the facts.[4]

Dr. Krause, of the University of Leipzig, reports like results from investigations in Germany. The assumption that certain so-called race-characteristics are permanent is one assumption of our present "science of races." Yet on every hand is evidence that this is not true. The conditions of life produce marked departures from the assumed race-characters. Krause shows that in Germany the place of birth has more to do with the shape of the head than inheritance. What these mysterious locus-influences may be is not yet known. But the Jew in Germany is affected like the non-Jew. The head measurements vary with the locality in the same degree. The notion of a permanent Jewish type of head and face does not accord with such findings.[5] Those who appeal to the evidence of ancient monuments have their one reliance swept away.

Modern ethnologists have critically considered the modern Jews in many lands, with the result that no one dominant ethnic type is found everywhere. Their studies have often seemed influenced by the conviction that according to Old Testament evidence such unique ethnos ought to be found. But the Old Testament does not really warrant the age-long assumption of such single ethnic type of Yahu-worshippers. The data already considered have made it clear that the historic factors in ancient

[3] *Rassenkunde des Deutschen Volkes,* 1924; cf. pp. 435 f.
[4] *Kultur und Rasse,* 1914; cf. pp. 61 f.
[5] Feist, p. 175.

Palestine should result in the ethnic minglings in Judaism which modern ethnology recognizes.

Ripley, ignoring all questions of history, and confining himself to anthropological methods, decided that there is no such thing as a Jewish race.[6] Everywhere he found proofs of the mingling of various races. In some cases, ethnology pointed plainly the road by which a given group—e.g., the Polish Jews—had reached their present home.[7] In endeavoring to account for some peculiarities of the Ghetto, he was of course in a field where history rather than anthropology must guide; and his conjectures were not all well founded. His speaking of the Jew as always landless needs the torch of ancient inscriptions, showing that ancient colonies of guards or merchants secured a large tract in which they lived according to their ancient conventions, refusing conformity to local laws. They had no notion that they were "landless." In modern times, the extra-territoriality clauses and foreign concessions in European relations with China and Japan have done the same thing. But these relations cannot last, and any little people that everywhere insists upon maintaining such nonconformity to state organization will pay a heavy price for the privilege.

Inasmuch as Ripley was professor in Harvard University, it is interesting to notice the conclusions twenty-five years later of Roland G. Dixon, Professor of Anthropology in Harvard University. In his book, *The Racial History of Man,* with its many photographs and maps of racial distribution, he nowhere recognizes a Jewish race or a special somatic type that can be called Jewish. In a chapter on "Jews and Gipsies," he writes that "the Jew generally approximates the character of the surrounding population, whatever that may be."—"North African Jews . . . are predominantly dolichocephalic." Ashkenazim or European Jews "are predominantly brachycephalic," and also leptorrhine, or "thin-nosed." The Judaization of Berber tribes in North Africa is acknowledged. "If we compare the North African Jews with their neighbors, we find in most respects a striking accord." The "Semitic nose" of popular fancy he finds frequent but not predominant in Mesopotamia and regions about Damascus (ancient Hurrian territory). It is less common among Ashkenazim, still rarer among Sephardim, very rare among Yemenites, Karaites, and Persian Jews. In Palestine the Jewish population shows a much smaller percentage with this so-called "Jewish nose" than does the non-Jew population. The population of Palestine be-

[6] *Races of Europe,* 1899. [7] *Op. cit.,* pp. 376 f., 398.

tween 2500 B.C. and 1500 B.C. was primarily of Mediterranean and Capsian peoples. The "nosey" Anatolians began crowding in from the north before the Israelite settlement in Palestine. (Archaeology had not definitely recovered the Hurrians when this was written.) Proselyting as a factor in commingling of races is a question of history, not to be included in the anthropologist's studies and methods.

Still more recent is the book *Race and History,* by Eugene Pittard, Professor of Anthropology in the University of Geneva. He devotes a compact special chapter to the Jews, presenting the conclusions of the most recent anthropological studies. All modern groups of Jews are considered, with the same result that Professor Dixon presents. The Jew nowhere shows us a separate race or a distinct somatic type. He is like the long-surrounding population.

R. N. Salaman observes that the claim of Jews to be pure Semites is not easily disproved.[8] But we have already seen a great body of historic evidence which ethnologists have not had before them, and we shall see much more. Dr. Salaman, an accomplished Jewish biologist, recognizes that no one racial type includes even a majority of the Jews to-day, and freely admits that in pre-exilic times there was general inter-marriage of the Abram-Israel clans with the older inhabitants of Palestine. That means that the segregate ethnic Israel of the lost tribes hunter was no Yahwist ideal of that period. He recognizes at least three different racial groups then: the native Palestinians, the Hittites, and the Amorites. It will be noted that he has failed to examine carefully the historic data, and does not know that the terms Hittite and Amorite cannot be taken as ethnographic. It has been shown that each one is topographical, and includes widely different peoples of different periods of migration. And his "native Palestinians" also remains historically undefined.

But in a later ethnological study, Dr. Salaman is much more definite.[9] Turning to the Hittites, Dr. Salaman, examining the Jews of Palestine to-day, reports the face of the Jew of popular American fancy and the comic papers to be the Hittite face. The tall, straight-nosed, pointed-chin type of the Arab or Syrian is much rarer. Then there is a slender Philistine type, comparable to the fair slight-featured European Jew. His observations indi-

[8] *Journal of Genetics,* Nov., 1911, pp. 273 ff.

[9] R. N. Salaman, "What Has Become of the Philistines?" in *Palestine Exploration Fund,* 1925, pp. 37-45.

cated that about one-half of the Jews studied were of the Hittite type, about one-fourth Philistine, and one-fourth Semites of all branches. The Aramaean type of the ancient monuments has practically disappeared.

But this puts before us the ancient Hurrian stock, which, as we saw in Chapter V, was the ethnic substratum of Assyria and Mitanni and the Hittite domain in El-Amarna days, and to have drifted largely into Palestine. Hrdlicka's announcement that the modern ethnologist finds this somatic type to have been an ancient one spread from central Asia Minor eastward across Persia into northern India will be remembered; also, that recent archaelogical discoveries confirm this conclusion: the Hurrian held Anatolian, Mesopotamian, and Persian sites far back in neolithic times. But if it is still the more numerous somatic type of Jew in Palestine and Asia Minor, was it always such? And was it the more numerous because Yahwism came from it, and not from any Semitic peoples? Sir Gardner Wilkinson seventy years ago noticed the prevalence of this somatic type in the Orient, and observed that such Jews were scorned as "outsiders, foreigners" by those of Philistine or Semitic type. The attitude proves only an immemorial antipathy: it does not prove that this Hurrian type was not the original Yahwist.

Von Luschan, in studies beginning over fifty years ago, decided that there was no uniform facial or cranial character among the Jews. The notion of a Jewish race with a definite somatic type is against all the ethnological evidence. The majority of Jews are decidedly brachycephalic, while the modern Semitic peoples are very dolichocephalic. Von Luschan's studies of what he called the Armenoid or Anatolian type of Asia Minor and his comparison of the photographs with the ancient Hittite reliefs—their self-portrayal—made it clear that this high-nosed, hypsicephalic stock has been in Asia Minor for several millenniums.[10] He wrote before the data afforded by the El-Amarna and Hittite inscriptions were available. The hypsicephalic Hittite type, as he later called it, he at first thought the original Jewish stock, and non-Semitic. He later found this peculiar somatic type all through Asia Minor, absorbed by successive immigrants, and especially identified with various heresies, or sectaries, and abandoned the theory that this non-Semitic stock was the original Israel. While recent discoveries corroborate all his conclusions as to the antiquity and ancient

[10] Von Luschan, "Early Inhabitants of Western Asia," in *Smithsonian Institute Annual,* 1914.

cultural activity of this (Hurrian) stock, the question of its priority in Yahwism remains open.

Judt is especially interesting, since he holds to the view that the Jew is a race, and has a dominant type, with many variations.[11] But the type is not Semitic, but Aryan-Anatolian: a conclusion certain to bring a stare and gasp from those Jews who devoutly believe that Aramaean Semites named Abram or Abraham and Jacob-Israel were the ancestors of all Jews. But the implications of Judt's opinion are revolutionary. Instead of proclaiming a Semitic stock as the producer of three great religions, as we have been doing, we should have to say that the Semite degraded and paganized a religion brought into Palestine by Hurrians, or what Judt calls Aryan-Anatolians; that Christianity undertook to eliminate some of the grosser features of Semitism; and that the Arabian Semite still further degraded the ancient non-Semitic religion when he twisted Judaism into Mohammedanism. The merits of Judt's view are not to be discussed here. The essential feature for the present point is that he agrees with other ethnologists that a purely Semitic Judaism does not exist, and never did. The Semitic element he finds to be so small, as Dr. Salaman above acknowledges, that he concludes the majority-types to represent an original Israel into which a small Semitic strain has been infused. But this is only another way of minimizing the amount of the racial mingling or intermarriage which Old Testament records and later history compel us to acknowledge.

This proposal, however, to recognize a low, squat-built, hypsicephalic, Aryan-Anatolian with a huge beak-nose—the Jew of American caricaturists—as "the original pure Jewish stock" should be compared with Dr. Feist's suggestion that the totally different Jewish Arab of Yemen is the original "pure Jewish race": dolichocephalic, swarthy, straight-nosed, below medium stature. Then Slouschz, defying his own published facts of incessant ethnic commingling, identifies a persistent "pure Jewish type in the Sahara," among the most dolichocephalic of all Jews. He cites Dr. Huguet's description of Jews of the Mzab oasis:

"The adult Jew is generally tall and sparely built, lean rather than slender. His face is long, with a high forehead, his eyes are small, the eyebrows are heavy, but regularly arched. The nose is straight, the mouth finely cut, and the cheekbones seldom protrusive. He has a long silken beard, as black as ebony and wears in addition two *peôt* or *sualef* [ritual fringes of hair]. For dress he wears

[11] *Die Juden als Rasse,* 1901.

the *serual (gandura)*, or the *bournous* and the *sheshia* of the Arab."

Slouschz adds, "This picture given by the French scholar of the Jews of Mzab holds good for nearly all the Jews of the Sahara, who living among dark or half-breed peoples, present some of the finest physical characteristics of the pure Jewish type."[12] It will be observed that these enthusiastic Jewish advocates of a pure Jewish type mutually nullify each other. It becomes more interesting when Ratzel sums up the conclusion of other ethnologists by saying that these slender, sidelock-wearing Mozabites of Slouschz and Huguet are really the oldest type of Algerian Hamitic Berber; while Reclus accepted a fact long ago pointed out: that among these Mozabî Berbers the cult of the ancient Berber sky-goddess, Tanit, the "Mother of Rain," has left many survivals.[13] Then in opposition to the above Hittite and Yemenite and Berber "pure Jews," some other modern Jewish scholars have proposed the Aneyzeh Beduin of the northeastern Arabian deserts as the hypothetical pure Jewish race, holding them to be Israelites who returned to nomad life. There is nowhere a physical type agreed upon by such Jewish ethnologists. Each sets up an imaginary type, and whenever he sees people physically approximating his imagined Jew, he announces specimens of "the pure Jewish race."

Renan long ago concluded that there was no such thing as a dominant ethnic type in Judaism. He recognized that an ecumenical survey of modern Jews compels us to recognize many widely differing ethnic types, whose religion was their only common bond. Fishberg, a preëminent Jewish ethnologist, is sure not only of general intermarriage of pre-exilic Israelites with the peoples about them, but is also sure that in the past two thousand years the Jew has mingled with all the races of Europe.[14] Ripley is also very sure of it. Salaman admits that the early Christians were Romans who had first been Judaized: a very limited conception of the historic range of Jewish proselyting activities.

Ratzel recognizes the negro tribe of Mavûmba, north of the Congo, to have Jewish antecedents. These negroes are renowned as potters and smiths, and are believed to be connected with a colony of Jews expelled from Portugal and settled at San Thomé. But is the connection a genealogical one? He has no doubt of a

[12] *Travels in North Africa*, pp. 352 f.

[13] Ratzel, *History of Mankind*, III, 245; Reclus, *Africa*, II, 310.

[14] *The Jews; A Study of Race and Environment*, Contemporary Science Series, 1911.

strong Jewish immigration to Abyssinia and South Arabia; but are the black Jews of these districts to-day to be explained as the effect of climate upon white Jews?

"The wide gap which separates our Jews of Europe to-day from their kindred the Syrians and Arabs certainly did not first arise in Europe. It has not been possible to remove something of a mulatto strain even from the blonde Jews. . . . The Polonized Tartars of Lithuania live to-day like the Jews among their neighbors, and the Crim-Tartar women have even laid aside the veil."

Are these Lithuanian Jews Tartars?[15]

Deniker, writing years before the publication of the researches of von Luschan, Fishberg, and Salaman, and clinging to the idea of a Jewish race, recognized an Arab type in the Orient, but an Assyroid (=Hurrian) type among Jews of Asia Minor, Bosnia, and Germany, with the addition of elements from among the populations amongst which they dwell. But an Arab type is not an Aramaean one. He knows of the Mongol Khazars being converted to Judaism. How many more such conversions of a race will historic inquiry discover? He knows of the Falashas or Black Jews of Abyssinia, and of the Black Cochin or Tamil Jews of India, and he denies that these physical characteristics can be the effect of climate upon white Jews. For side by side with these Black Jews in India are white Jews, whose forebears migrated thither from Europe three hundred to four hundred years ago, and there has been no apparent change in physical characteristics in that time. Can the blacks be descendants of white Jews or results of intermarriage? Or are they converts?[16]

Twenty years ago Keane observed that the physical characteristics of the Jews in Palestine are far from uniform. A distinctly red type is very common, with red hair, often frizzy. This he traced back to the Amorite or (supposed Libyan) "Red People." But he did not know that the Amorites were not Libyan peoples, and that the term is not ethnographic. Nor did he know that the Philistines were not Semitic but a Cretan people of Mediterranean type, and so he failed to recognize the surviving Philistines pointed out by later ethnologists. The various types of Jews elsewhere are not noticed.[17] Dr. Redcliffe N. Salaman in his "Notes on the Jewish Problem"[18] says that the modern Jewish

[15] Ratzel, *Early History of Mankind*, III, 134, 195, 548, 553.

[16] Deniker, *The Races of Man*, Contemporary Science Series, 1906, pp. 424, 115 f.

[17] Keane, *The World's Peoples*, 1908, pp. 326, 331.

[18] *Eugenics in Race and State*, Baltimore, 1923, II, 134-153.

community is a closed one, taking little or nothing from the outside, and is inbreeding.

"In former days inbreeding was doubtless the more close as the communication between the various communal centers was less. This fact has much bearing on all the biological phenomena of the Jews, for any hereditary quality, good or bad, will tend to exhibit itself to its utmost capacity when it exists as a character common to both parents, and the opportunity for such 'homozygosity' is obviously greater in a Jewish inbreeding community than in the outside world."

This begs the question for the whole field of history. Certainly the European Ghetto for some centuries is thus fairly described. But what of the pre-Ghetto period? What we have already examined shows a very different ancient community. Did it seek to annex members from all peoples with whom it came in contact? Dr. Salaman recognizes that the difference between Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews is due to the different races mingled in the two divisions.[19]

Similarly Joseph Jacobs, the noted Jewish scholar of London, agreeing with the foregoing findings, when speaking of Jewish stature, says, "It is the Ghetto which has produced the Jew and the (so-called) Jewish race: the Jew is a creation of the European middle ages: he is the artificial product of hostile legislation." Ripley makes this view his own and observes that wherever such Ghetto Jews prosper in modern times, with escape from Ghetto limitations, they quickly approximate the stature of the local Gentile community.[20] He observes that the stature of the northern Slavs is mediocre, the average being dragged down by the vast hordes of Jews resident among them: Poland being populated by the most stunted population north of the Alps. But this prompts the query, Has there been much proselyting of the ancient Polish population by Judaism? Then, as for the aristocratic Sephardim, Spain under the Moors had a million Jewish population, with no Ghetto system. Sephardic superiority was the product of a freedom that Christian Europe was not according the Jew.

Similarly, Popenoe and Johnson,[21] ignoring questions of history and the world-distribution of Judaism, say that "there can be no doubt that the Jewish race is an example of urban selection": a statement misleading to the popular reader who is accustomed to hear of the Jews as a "race." It will be recognized that "urban

[19] *Palestine Reclaimed,* 1920. [20] Ripley, pp. 377 ff.
[21] *Applied Eugenics,* p. 358.

selection" has not made the above-cited black Jews of various lands out of city-dwelling white Jews who no longer exist in those regions; nor made Sahara nomad Jews that look like Berbers out of city-dwelling European Jews; nor developed the Ghetto Jew into the tall sturdy broadfaced Jews of the Caucasus, who cling to their mountain fastnesses; nor into others that can pass for Chinese in China.[22]

It should be said here that just as there is no distinct type to be called a Jewish race, so there is no such thing as a Semitic race. We use the term Semitic to describe a type of language and a sort of culture which we can trace by means of that type of language through many millenniums past. But the differences between the dialects or languages that we call Hebrew, Aramaic, Phoenician, Arabic, Akkadian, etc., were well-defined six thousand years ago, among people who were unceasingly intermarrying with or assimilating other peoples. No such thing as a definite Semitic stock then existed. And we should have to go back twenty thousand years to reach a period when the various Semitic languages would meet in the ancient speech of a lost "pure race."[23]

Dr. Friedrich Hertz, reviewing the whole field of recent supposed ethnic antipathies, finds that there are none. There are violent prejudices resulting from the championship of different cultures or ideals. The anti-Semitic frenzies are not due to any inherent racial peculiarities. None of the popularly imagined racial characteristics have any real permanence, nor do they tell us anything of the probable ethical or cultural ideals of the possessor. All ethnic types may be found in Christianity, Mohammedanism, Judaism, or paganism. All may be found in a comparatively small geographical area, as in Asia Minor. We observe the persistence and competition of certain cultural ideals, or types of culture, that seek to mould many ethnic types. The organized culture has supreme significance, and is never explicable as an ethnical trait. J. M. Robertson, in an approving review of the translation of Dr. Hertz's book, writes: "The dogma of unchangeable mental differences in races was rejected alike by Herder and Alexander von

[22] See also Joseph Jacobs, "Appendix on Racial Characters of Modern Jews," Anthropological Institute, Feb. 1885; Judt, *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Jüdische Rasse,* Heft 5, 1905; Huxley, *ibid.,* Heft 6, 1906; Weissenberg, "Die süd-Russischen Juden," in *Archiv für Anthropologie,* XXIII.

[23] See Godbey, *Methodist Quarterly Review,* April, 1928; Hilary G. Richardson, "The Semites," in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature,* October, 1924.

Humboldt, Darwin and Huxley, Buckle and Spencer, De Tocqueville and Quatrefages, Waitz and Ratzel, Virchow and Reclus."[24]

It is with such a view of the Semitic past in mind that the Jewish scholar, Herbert Loewe, writes that religion to a Semite includes "more than a kinship on the basis of blood and language." A kinship "on any other than a religious tie is conceivable neither to the prophets of old nor to the Semitic ethnologist or historian of to-day."[25]

Dr. R. N. Salaman, in his above-cited article upon the "urban selection," says that the inbreeding resultant from the Ghetto community means that the Jew has really been applying through all the centuries principles of eugenics that are coming to be recognized in modern genetics. Is every Jewish *shatchen,* or marriage-broker, drilled in the principles of such modern eugenics, and directed by them in making matches? Ripley[26] justly observes that the stunted condition of Ghetto Jews is not due solely to Christian oppression. The custom of extremely early marriage is prevalent. It is not at all uncommon to find the combined ages of husband and wife, or even father and mother, among Russian Jews, to be less than thirty years. "The marriage-broker has undoubtedly been an enemy to the Jewish people within its own lines." This custom of very early marriage is not a Ghetto peculiarity. It is reported by modern Jewish observers in all lands, particularly in those regions where Judaism is of a most primitive type. Nahum Slouschz, who has spent many recent years in travel and research among the Jews of North Africa, writes of his host in a Tripoli oasis, whose married daughter was not fifteen, but had been married two years, and had a puny boy. In Sahara oases parents betroth children at four and five years of age, girls are often mothers at fourteen, and infant mortality is very high. In Debdu, mothers of twelve and thirteen are frequent. It is by no means rare in Morocco to encounter married couples aged seven and eight years. The parents in Morocco play the part of *shatchen* in pairing the young people. Among the very ancient Pilistin Jews of Demnat, on the west of the Great Atlas, "there are ten-year old husbands and wives, dressed in clouts of unrecognizable hue."[27]

[24] Hertz, *Rasse und Kultur,* Leipzig, 1915; volume 34 of the Philosophische-Sociologische Bücherei. Translation reviewed by Hon. J. M. Robertson, "The Illusion of Race," in *Contemporary Review,* July, 1928.

[25] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* VII, 607 b.

[26] *Op. cit.,* p. 382.

[27] Slouschz, *Travels in North Africa,* pp. 37, 354, 396, 432, 435, 455.

This is not a mere coincidence of custom in semi-savage peoples that have added Judaism to their ethical-social ideals. It is a direct result of the Jewish teaching found in ancient literature. Thus in the apocryphal gospels we read that no maiden might serve in the temple after twelve years of age, or fourteen years;[28] for it was the custom of the country to be married then. To-day in Palestine marriages of children eleven to thirteen years of age are known.[29] Philo of Alexandria wrote: "At seven a man is a logician and a grammarian. At fourteen, mature, because able to be the father of a being like himself; while at twenty-one growth and bloom are over!"[30] This last expression is rather damaging to the claim that unparalleled eugenic principles have always controlled Jewish marriages. "A son of five years is to read the scriptures aloud (in school)," said Juda ben Tema; "one of ten to give himself to the Mishna; of thirteen, to the Commandments; of fifteen, to the Talmud; of eighteen, to marriage."[31] Eighteen was the superior limit fixed by the rabbins. Any one unmarried after twenty is accursed of God. It will be recognized that this custom of early marriage is not to be called an ethnological trait.

Pursuing the curious suggestion that Judaism has been at work through the ages, applying those principles of reproduction that for the present are considered scientific eugenics, we may ask if it was the impulse of the eugenic ideal that produced the general intermarriage of Israelites with all contiguous peoples, a commingling which Dr. Salaman assures us is indisputable. If so, was the ancient Israelite endeavoring to improve the breed of the adjacent peoples, or trying to improve his own physical characteristics?

This effort to explain Jews and modern Judaism by physiological genetic principles begins by assuming a notoriously mixed people as its recent point of departure. If there was general intermarriage of the ancient Israelite with contiguous peoples, then the post-exilic Jew of pure Israelite blood never existed. Dr. Franz Boas has pointed out that if two stocks, A and B, are associated in equal numbers with no restrictions against intermarriage, not one person in ten thousand of the fourth generation will be of pure blood. Thus, in the first generation one-half the marriages will be mixed: one-fourth pure A, one-fourth pure B. In the second generation any pure-blood has only one chance in four of marrying

[28] Versions vary; cf. Ante-Nicene Fathers, VIII, pp. 371 f., 385.
[29] Burckhardt, *Travels,* p. 570.
[30] *Leg. Alleg.,* XIII-1.
[31] *Pirke Aboth* V, 21.

his own strain. So the marriages are seven-eighths mixed, one-sixteenth pure A, one-sixteenth pure B. In the third generation, 1/256 pure A, 1/256 pure B, 127/128 mixed. In the fourth 1/65,536 pure A; and the same pure B; and so on. Or, if one negro marry into a stock, and have six children, and these again marry with six children each, there are 36 mixed bloods possible in the next generation, 216 in the next, 1296 in the next; and so on.

Then if the eugenically-inclined Israelite intermarried with all sorts of pagans in pre-exilic times, in order to produce a satisfactory mixture or cross-bred type, how did he know when it had been produced? When and why did he cease the cross-breeding process and, adopting the policy of "community inbreeding" which Dr. Salaman thinks an essential feature of the Ghetto, begin to keep marriages within the limits of this new satisfactory cross-breed? And which one of the various ethnic types to-day is that satisfactory cross-breed?

Can this alleged eugenic principle of Judaism be anything more than the prejudice of any people against those suspected to be of another stock? In Chapter II we saw that the Orient still has nominal Israelites who are strongly antipathetic, refusing common worship and intermarriage. Is this eugenics gone mad? Careful modern observers have recorded the fact that various groups of Oriental Jews, whose lineaments are not "Semitic," insist on their genealogical purity and their orthodoxy, and scorn the big-nosed Hurrian Jew of our comic papers as a foreign proselyte: a situation which already appeared in Isaiah 56:3. Sir Gardner Wilkinson recorded such an attitude on the part of Oriental Jews in the middle of the last century. It is interesting when a black Jew of India, or Abyssinia, or West Africa keeps scornfully aloof from other Jews on the ground of the purity of his Israelite blood. To an American of the Old South it simply repeats the attitude of favored house-servants of the aristocratic families toward all "plantation niggers" and "po' white trash," and would be explained the same way.

As for the special prejudice of the Oriental Jew for the big-nosed western Jew as a foreigner: how old is that attitude? Does it reach back to the days when Rebekah is made to say, "These Hittite girls make me tired?"[32] Was there conflict between the Hittite and Aramaean converts to Yahwism, culminating in the

[32] Genesis 27:46; compare 26:34 f.; 28:8 f.; 36:2 f. Observe that Adah as mother of Eliphaz, grandmother of Kenaz (36:10 f.), gives the Caleb clan—"Kenezite," Numbers 32:12, Joshua 14:6-14—a Hittite strain.

Deuteronomist politicians demanding the massacre of all Hittites (Deuteronomy 20:16 f.)? Did these politicians, breathing out blood and slaughter in Deuteronomy 13, coin that speech for Rebekah in order to gain the seeming authority of ancestral tradition for their schemes? It does not savor of the Abram who was protégé and confederate of the Hittites at Hebron in Genesis 14 and 23. Or was this Abram really a Hittite prince (Genesis 23:6, 11), whom tradition has fused with an Aramaean from "Ur of the Chaldees"?

Or, since this Hurrian type seems to many Oriental Jews a type peculiar to the Gentile west, does its prominence in Judaism date from the time when the Greeks placed Jew-colonies in all their cities of Asia Minor, in the old Hittite territory? From there they came into Europe. Or did ancient Hurrians bring Yahwism to Israel?

Such are the ethnological data we have to face. The lost tribes hunter, with a prepossession as to the facial singularity of the Jew, has to acknowledge millions of Jews whom he would not take to be such from their lineaments. The effort to explain all types by clinging to a tradition of genealogical descent is seen to meet historic crag after crag upon which to be wrecked. We are compelled again to ask if there is historic evidence that Yahwism actually used the opportunities for propagandism which we have seen were so richly afforded it. To say that modern Judaism has not been a missionary religion is no answer. European governments in the past fifteen hundred years have taken strenuous precautions against such possibility. Does not that attitude suggest that active propagandism was characteristic of the Judaism of an earlier day? Christianity took over the Greek word *apostolos,* whose Latin equivalent is "missionary." But the early Church took this term from the Greek-speaking Jews. Was the Jewish *apostolos* or missionary essentially the same in functions as the Christian? If so, the many ethnical varieties in Judaism are explained; but the whole theory of a segregate ethnic pure-blooded Israel is wrecked again.

CHAPTER VIII

Asmonean Propagandism

As to the missionary activities of ancient post-exilic Judaism, Josephus tells us that Hyrcanus "converted" Idumea (southern Judea) at the point of the sword, compelling all who wished to remain in the country to accept circumcision.[1] This probably refers to the mingled ethnic elements that had not yet adopted circumcision: for Genesis 17:23 ff. wishes us to believe that circumcision was a general Ishmaelite or Beduin practice, while Jeremiah 9:25 f. declares, "The day is coming, saith Yahu, when I will punish all the circumcised who are uncircumcised in heart—Egypt, Judah, Edom, Ammon, Moab, together with the crop-haired nomads: all other nations are uncircumcised, and the house of Judah is all uncircumcised in heart." The migrations of centuries had mingled all these circumcising elements in southern Palestine. The uncircumcised among them must have been of other immigrant peoples.

Then Josephus tells us that Aristobulus similarly converted the Itureans.[2] These Itureans appear to be Beni-Jetur (Genesis 25:15), "Ishmaelite" marauders who had overrun northern Bashan and even crossed the Anti-Lebanon into the north of Galilee and the rich valley between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon, dominating much of the country south of Hermon, between Damascus and the seacoast. Though strong enough to dispossess peaceful settled peoples, they could not stay except upon terms dictated by the Jewish king, viz., accepting Judaism. Had pre-exilic invading immigrants into Palestine fared differently? But where then is the segregate pure-blooded "Israel," sole people of Yahu?

But these are but single cases of the whole Asmonean policy. Religious liberty, in our modern western sense, was not their ideal. They could convert by the sword, even as Antiochus had tried to do. No Assyrian king was more ambitious or more ruthless than Alexander Jannaeus, as Josephus pictures him. As the result of the Asmonean campaigns, Judaism was established in parts of Phoenicia, Syria, Idumea, Philistia, Samaria, the Jaulan, Moab, and ancient Edom, which was then Nabatean territory. Of the important towns, Josephus names Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, Rhinocolura, Adora, Marissa, Mount Carmel, Mt. Tabor, Bethshean, Gadara,

[1] *Antiquities,* XIII, ix, 1. [2] *Ibid.,* XIII, xi, 3.

Seleucia, Gabala, Heshbon, Medeba, Lemba, Oronas, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Celices, and Pella. Of this last he adds that it "was utterly destroyed because its inhabitants would not change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews!" St. Bartholomew did less. Then he gravely adds that other principal cities of Syria had been utterly destroyed, and became Jewish possessions.[3] Later he cites the decree of Caligula confirming them in the possession of Joppa and the cities of the maritime plain, which had belonged to the kings of Syria and Phoenicia.[4] Of the Nabatean territory Josephus again mentions Medaba, Naballo, Libias, Tharabasa, Agala, Athone, Zoar, Orone, Marissa, Rudda, Lussa, Oruba. These Hyrcanus II offered to restore to Aretas (Hareth), king of Petra, if he would support Hyrcanus in his efforts to secure the throne. We may be sure that the restoration was not on terms unfavorable to Jewish proselyting there.[5]

Josephus counts these converts won by Hyrcanus as Jews, and also "Idumeans."[6] They naturally form a faction and some Jews scorned them as not genuine Jews: the same persistence of ethnic antipathies that we have seen in so many places in the modern Orient. In his *Life,* 28, he records opposing views on the question of whether circumcision was necessary for those asking asylum at a sanctuary. But, with the Asmonean kings annexing to Judaism tens of thousands of Edomites, Philistines, Beduin, Phoenicians, Nabateans, and of the varied peoples grouped as Syrians, what becomes of the fancy of a purely ethnic Israel, everywhere identifiable by its lineaments? What is there for a lost tribes hunter to search for? It must be admitted that the immediate value of such propagandism by the sword is never great.

But this summary of Asmonean propagandism requires a closer scrutiny. Who are these Syrians and Idumeans? We have to remember that "Syria" is a Greek geographical expression, including the countries from the eastern Black Sea to Egypt. The ancient peoples of Asia Minor, including Hittites, Hurrians, Aryans of Mitanni, the remnants of Assyrian colonies, Haiks or Armenians, later Scythian or Iranic marauders, and Persian settlements, were generally speaking the Aramaic dialects of Damascus and of the petty states north of Palestine in Old Testament times. The large Indo-Germanic and Iranic elements in Syria, conspicuous for their fair complexion among the bronzed Semitic peoples, the Greek

[3] *Antiquities,* XIII, XV, 4.

[4] *Ibid.,* XIV, X, 6.

[5] *Ibid.,* XIV, i, 4.

[6] *Ibid.,* XV, vii, 9; *Wars,* II, iii, 1; IV, iv.

writers distinguished as "white Syrians." The Syrians that are converted by the Asmoneans are not pure Aramaeans; they are the mingled accumulations of centuries, generally speaking Aramaic. In the same way Josephus tells of the Macedonian troops two hundred years later which Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Commagene,—the Kummukh of the Assyrian inscriptions—brought to aid Titus against Jerusalem. Then he explains that these Macedonians are youths of Commagene, drilled in Macedonian tactics.[7] And the Jewish city-tribe of Alexandria were officially "Macedonians." A careful examination of Josephus' account of the levy of the army of Titus shows that he is at the head of a motley assemblage of the various peoples of the Orient, drilled in Roman tactics, with only a very small minority of actual Romans; for all the adjacent east is roused against the fanatic propagandists who would make their brand of Yahwism rule the world. The popular conception of a purely Roman army against a fanatic and strictly ethnic Israel has no shadow of justification.

Then the Idumea of Josephus means the whole south of Judah, as we popularly speak of it. In his narrative of Simon Geioras (The Proselyte) he tells of his marching all over Idumea, from Tekoah and Masadah, and seizing Hebron in Idumea. And the Roman Cerealis, marching south from Jerusalem, through upper Idumea, conquers two strongholds before he reaches Hebron.[8] Judas Maccabeus, attacking Gorgias with his Syrians and renegade Jews at Emmaus, pursues them to Gadara and the (coast) plains of Idumea, Ashdod, and Jamnia.[9] Later Judas assails the Idumeans, storms Hebron, burns its towers, destroys its fortifications, "burns the country of the foreigners and the city of Marissa" (the Moresheth of Micah 1:1), and plunders and wrecks Ashdod.[10] Thus we see that Idumea of the Asmoneans reached from the neighborhood of Bethlehem northwest to the Mediterranean. Josephus describes the ancient Simeon as "that part of Idumea that bordered upon Egypt and Arabia," while Judah was only "the upper part of Judea."[11] Idumea therefore reached northward from a little south of Beersheba—the old Amalekite country—and was dominantly pagan up to the Asmonean times. As noticed in Chapter V, in Ezekiel's time the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites flocked into this wasted region, while Josephus says that the region was Idumea in Zerubbabel's time.[12] In Jeremiah 40:11 f. we may recognize

[7] *Wars*, v, xi, 3.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII, 4, 9.
[9] *Antiquities*, XII, vii, 4.
[10] *Ibid.*, XII, viii, 6.
[11] *Ibid.*, v, i, 22.
[12] *Ibid.*, XI, iii, 8; Ezekiel 25; 33:24-29; 35; 36:17.

that Jews of the faction supported by Moab and Ammon and Edom would sooner or later bring friends with them. There is a Chaldean faction to which Gedaliah belongs; the Ammonite faction slays him.[13] Josephus also makes Philistia a part of his Idumea. The net result is that this Asmonean propagandism in Idumea gathers in Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, Beduin and any other Arab folk whom the Nabatean conquest of the country from Edom to Damascus may have driven into the former Judah. And it is of first importance that the Asmoneans ask no questions about genealogy. The restrictions in Deuteronomy 23:2 f., 7 f. do not stand in their way. Five thousand of these Idumean troops are in the Jerusalem garrison when Titus assails it, siding with the Zealots,[14] while of the various mixed peoples called Syrians many are in the garrison, with Syrians also a large element in the Roman army.[15] There is no notion whatever, in this great tragedy, of a purely Israelite Judaism.

Josephus tells of the rise of the Herods from this Edomite annexation. There is some reflection of the ancient paganism in the whole narrative. Herod nowhere appears dominated by the ideals of the Judaism of his time; and his effort to have his own statues worshipped with those of Augustus in the temples of Armenia reveals him as thinking like a Pharaoh or an Assyrian conqueror.[16] Josephus' narrative begins with a certain Antipas or Antipater, a prominent Idumean whom Alexander Jannaeus had made the "general" of Idumea. Antipater was a name already familiar in Greek: a form parallel to Antí-theos, "god-like," and should mean "like a father," or "instead of father," "father's successor."[17] The translation of names into a foreign equivalent was so common in the ancient Orient that this "father-like" name of Semitic idiom must mean Hellenization of a name containing *ab* or *'amm,* which appear in Moab, Ammon, Eli-'Amm, etc. The compound Pan-Bôl is in Palmyrene; Pan-Baal over and over in Phoenician. Pan-'Amm, "Before Amm," is possible, parallel to the Penê-El of the Old Testament, Genesis 32:30 f. This was at the northern border of Ammon. We may remember that 'Amm-names were familiar in the earlier historic period of Israel, as pic-

[13] Jer. 38:19; 40:5 ff.; 40:13-41.
[14] *Wars,* v, vi, 1, ix, 1; vi, ii, 6.
[15] *Ibid.,* v, xiii, 4, 5.
[16] *Moses of Chorene,* ii-xxvi; *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* viii, 702.
[17] Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* i, 15, notes. The idiom occurs more than fifty times in the Old Testament: e.g., Genesis 30:2, Leviticus 6:22; Job 33:6; 1 Kings 1:35.

tured in the Old Testament; e.g., Ammi-Shaddai, Ammi-Nadab, Ammi-El. The title suggests that this Antipater may have been of the ancient priest-hood of Ammon. His son Herod gave the same name to one of his own sons. The personal name "Before 'Amm," or "Instead of 'Amm," reminds us that 'Amm of the Ammonites, their Malk-Amm, is not yet forgotten. Antipater made a league with those Arabians and Gazites and Ascalonites that were of his own party. Herod the Great being his son, it became necessary for Herod to have a pedigree to satisfy those arrogant Babylonian Jews who claimed to be the genuine aristocracy; and so in time it was announced that Antipater was descended from some of the principal Jews that came out of Babylon into "Judea"—which we have just seen to be Idumea with the little strip about Jerusalem that was "Judah" in the time of Josephus. This shows how pedigrees could be promptly supplied to any proselyte to meet a critical situation.[18]

Moreover, the story of Kostobar illustrates the slight value of sword-propagandism. Those who have rank and power to gain by a lapse, or by leading a lapse, may watch for the first opportunity. Kostobar was a descendant of the priests of Koze: in which name we may recognize the Ka'ush of Edom, in the Edomite royal names Ka'ush-malaku, Ka'ush-gabri, of the Assyrian inscriptions. Ka'ush may be a dialectic form of the Kemosh of the related Moabites. The Nabateans had adopted the Edomite god, and still further slurred the name into Kos. A Greek inscription from Memphis gives the names Kosgeros, Kosmalachos, Kosbanos, Kosadoros; and Kosbarakos and Kosnatanos are also known.[19] Kostobar is a like Greek form, plainly Kos-tobar, "Kos is a refuge or hiding place."[20] It is a preëminently fitting title for the high priest of Kos. Herod makes Kostobar governor of Idumea and Gaza, in place of his uncle Joseph, who had recently been murdered. And Herod gives him his sister Salome as wife. The Asmonean politicians thus seem to be endeavoring to hold Edomite priestly families in line by giving them the highest possible honors. A hundred years have passed since the Judaization of Idumea by John Hyrcanus. Yet an official element is ready to join in a movement to

[18] *Antiquities*, XIV, i, 3.

[19] Wellhausen suggests that this god was the Arabian storm-god Kusah, whose bow was the rainbow, and that his name eventually became the word for "bow." Nöldeke does not accept this, or the identification with the Arabic goddess Kaish, Kaishā, Al-Kaish; cf. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, 1887, p. 714.

[20] Compare Psalm 46:1, 96:1.

oust Judaism and to restore the Edomite-Moabite cult of Kaush-Kamush. Thus as soon as Kostobar is brother-in-law of Herod, and considers himself coördinate in Judea, really governor of nine-tenths of it, he inaugurates a diplomatic intrigue to have Idumea freed from its nominal Judaism and to have the old leadership of the Kaush priests restored, claiming that he himself was the legitimate hereditary representative. Had he succeeded, he might have displaced Herod and tried to put his god Kaush in the temple at Jerusalem.[21] The incident parallels revulsions recorded in the Book of Kings, and assures us of like propagandist methods. And we are reminded that Aaronites from Mt. Hor, with their Edomite-made ark, had long before dominated Hebron, the capital of Edomite Caleb.

Highly significant again is the language which Josephus puts in the mouth of the Idumeans summoned to Jerusalem by the Zealot faction, and temporarily excluded by the opponents of the Zealots. This was two hundred years after their subjugation by John Hyrcanus. They speak of "our common metropolis": of those who "shut the gates of our common city to their own nation"—"will not intrust the guarding of our metropolis to their own kindred"—"shut the gates of the city against nations that are most nearly related to you"—should "those Idumeans now exclude you out of your own metropolis, whom you exclude from the sacred offices of your own country?" "We that are Idumeans will fight for our common country, and will oppose by war as well those that attack them from abroad as those that betray them from within." So spoke the honored Simon Bar-Kathla. When massacre of the asserted exclusionist party began, these begged the Idumeans "to remember the relation there was between them, and to have regard for their common temple."[22] We see that the ethnic consciousness of Moab-Ammon-Edom was still strong; that those opposing them and those favoring them alike recognized that they were the nations most nearly related to Israel: the Idumeans themselves claimed the relationship. And the Idumeans could not be stirred by the fact that the peoples north of them were losing their political liberty. But since the Idumeans and those of Peraea (the old Ammonite territory east of the Jordan) and the wild Galileans have long been regular attendants at the great feasts of Jerusalem,[23] all claimed rights in the sacred metropolis. It should be remembered that the passing of political independence with the

[21] *Antiquities*, XV, vii, 9.
[22] *Wars*, IV, iv, 1, 4; v, 1.
[23] *Antiquities*, XVII, x, 2.

advent of Persian and Nabatean did not mean the extinction of the Ammonite people. They were absorbed in the new political organizations. So Ammonites actually attended the Jerusalem festivals with no one to ask if they were permitted by Deuteronomy 23:6 f. The Idumeans were naturally infuriated by the suggestion that a priestly faction presumed to exclude them from the sacred offices and public festivals of the shrine which they considered that they held in common now with kindred nations. We may feel that this is the attitude of their ancestors toward those who endeavored to exclude them from Jerusalem in Josiah's time, destroying at the same time their cemetery-shrines on the Mount of Olives.[24] The propagandist methods of the two periods must have been essentially the same. On both was written the verdict that any people undertaking to put its exclusive ethnic stamp on the religion of Yahu would be ruined politically by the reaction.

The attitude of Kostobar and that of his Idumean fellows one hundred years after John Hyrcanus puts before us one of the weaknesses of compulsory conversion. Those conscious of the compulsion lapse at the first opportunity. But those of the second generation, and the tens of thousands of children seized as slaves and brought up as Jews could be considered a permanent acquisition, however supercilious an attitude their captors might maintain toward them. Josephus tells us that by many of their Jewish conquerors all Idumeans were scorned as being but "half Jews."[25] In fact, we have seen that this very attitude was one of the factors in bringing about the final catastrophe. Our modern observations of the perpetuation of ethnic antipathies make us suppose that the like spirit in Asmonean Judaism was strongest amongst the least spiritual and the least intelligent of each element. But as for the voluntary proselyte, Jesus said that such might be twice as fanatical as those who won them (Matthew 23:15). Tobiah the Ammonite and his associates were very zealous in Nehemiah's time, and the opposition to them was equally pronounced.

These notes on the conversion of Idumea suggest that a much worse condition resulted in the case of Itureans. For Iturea, reaching from the Dan-Banias-Caesarea Philippi sanctuary district to the upper slopes of Hermon, was a region of inaccessible mountain-fastnesses and intricate defiles which had ever sheltered the lawless. The north is

[24] Deuteronomy 23:3, 7 f.; 2 Kings 23:13.
[25] *Antiquities,* XIV, XV, 2.

"a wild region of jagged rocks heaped up in the uttermost confusion, or yawning in rents and chasms. The Itureans, fonder of plunder than industry, had, till Herod tamed them, an evil name, as mere robbers, issuing from their savage retreats to prey upon the caravans passing from Damascus to the Sea. The 'hills' says Strabo, 'are inhabited by Itureans and Arabs, who are mere hordes of robbers; the plains by a farming population, who are constantly plundered by the hill people and thus always need help from the outside.' Gathering in the recesses of Lebanon and Hermon, the mountain banditti organized raids as far as Sidon and Berytus on the coast, and to the gates of Damascus on the east. Famous as archers and bold riders, they were largely enrolled in the Roman army, in which their skill became proverbial; but the legions nevertheless looked askance at them as the worst set in the service. Their boundaries varied, like their fortune in war, and hence are seldom described alike."[26]

Now these are people whom Aristobulus had made into "good Jews." These "good Jews" are the robbers that Herod tamed by making their haunts a solitude. It will be recognized that their Judaism, imposed by Aristobulus, consisted in accepting Jewish rites and in directing their brigandage against other territory. The Asmonean propagandists simply annexed the worst rascals in their neighborhood as good Jewish proselytes; and when these outlaws began to assert themselves in the direction of affairs at Jerusalem, scholars and priests were despised, and there resulted the terrible situation pictured by Josephus as destroying Jerusalem. These Asmonean proselytes proved twofold more the children of hell than the Asmoneans themselves (Matthew 23:15). Southeast of Iturea lay Argob, or Trachonitis, which Josephus boasts that the Jewish adventurer Zamaris made safe for anyone who would live in Jewish fashion, as noticed in Chapter VI. But this vast ocean of basalt, twenty-two miles from north to south, and fourteen from east to west, and split into countless chasms, afforded impenetrable shelters for numerous outlaw bands. Herod's cure was to colonize three thousand Idumeans there.[27] Later, with Zamaris in charge, anyone who wished to live in Jewish fashion could stay there. Josephus acknowledges that there was no city, no houses, no arable lands; there were only holes and dens from which the outlaws raided the district of Damascus.[28] Thus sword-propagandism meant a vast infusion of new brigand blood and ideals into the existing body of Jews; and it also meant the in-

[26] Geikie, *Life of Christ,* I 319 f. [27] *Antiquities,* XVI, ix, 2.
[28] *Antiquities,* XVI, ix, I f.; XVII, ii, I.

fusion of a spirit of fierce lawless fanaticism that rent Judaism to fragments. But sword-propagandism always means that.

In marked contrast with this sword-propagandism of the Asmoneans and its aftermath of Judaized brigandage and lapses and persistence of ethnic prejudices and antagonisms is the story of the Assyrian queen Helena. It puts before us a missionary propagandism that was going on in the time of the Asmoneans, and the very different spirit upon the part of both Jewish community and proselyte when the proselyte is a *gêr tsedek,* "voluntarily pledged proselyte,"[29] as in Deuteronomy 18:6. Josephus gives us Helena's story: it occurred in the days of the Emperor Claudius, shortly after Herod Agrippa died.[30]

Helena had been married to her own brother, a fact which seems to have made no difference to Jewish sentiment of the time, so long as a royal convert and liberal largess were gained. She was Queen of Adiabene (Azab-ênê, "Land between the two Zab rivers"). A merchant, Ananias of Charax Spasini, the modern Mohammerah at the junction of the Karûn with the Euphrates, was an energetic missionary. Josephus calls him Jewish. But this may well be doubted, for it was a fundamental contention of Ananias that "one might worship God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely; which worship of God was of a superior nature to circumcision."[31] Such language suggests that he did not ask his converts to follow Jewish law. Resident at the commercial emporium of king Abennerig (Abî-Nergal or ben-Nergal), he won many women of high position. One was Samacha, daughter of Abî-Nergal. She was married to Izates, a younger son of Monobaz and Helena, who had been sent to Abî-Nergal for protection from his older brothers; and she then brought Ananias to Izates. The prince was converted about 18 A.D. He was summoned home by his dying father, and was made king about 22 A.D. Meanwhile his mother Helena had come under "Jewish" influence, "and had gone over to them." So Izates decided to Judaize fully; his mother and Ananias opposed, as circumcision would make him unpopular with his subjects. But a Jew named Eleazar of Galilee came and insisted that circumcision was the principal law, and that it was the

[29] The English translation "proselyte of righteousness" misses the point. As previously noticed, the original idea in *tsadak, tsaddîk,* is that of faithfulness to plighted troth; "keeping tryst" in case of man and woman.

[30] *Antiquities,* XIX, viii, 2; XX, ii, v, 2; *Acts* 12:20 f.

[31] *Antiquities,* XX, ii, 4. H. G. Enelow, in *Jewish Encyclopedia,* I, 557, suggests that Ananias may have been a Hellenist, or Greek proselyte. I suspect that he was a Sea-Lander; this will be noticed again.

greatest impiety to neglect it. So Izates was immediately circumcised, and announced himself a full Jew. Then Monobazus, the king's brother, and other relatives became Jews. Certain Assyrian grandees, unable to make this an occasion of revolt by the Assyrians, invited invasion by the neighboring Arabs, and then by the Parthians. But both attacks upon Izates failed. He had the populace with him. They had publicly approved or ratified his father's nomination of him as successor to the throne, and they now staunchly stood by him, refusing to be controlled by the grandees; who were probably priests of the ancient oracle of Ishtar of Arbela, famous in letters of the Sargonid period. For Arbela was the capital of Adiabene then. We probably see the last gasps of a dying cult in this futile effort to overthrow Izates. The Assyrian populace stood by him twenty-four years, and accepted his Judaized brother Monobazus as his successor. Is this the beginning of the Judaizing of Assyria? It must be the culmination. For long before this the cuneiform script was rated as a sacred language in Babylonian Judaism; a fact which we shall consider further. Such view would be impossible to a Jew of Nahum's time or memories. It is explicable only by recognizing that Judaism had absorbed so large a number of those schooled in the cuneiform literature that their sentiments could shape in some respects rabbinical views. We have to think that the Assyrian populace was generally Jewish. Josephus expresses the same conclusion. His Aramaic history of the *Wars of the Jews,* for the benefit of all Jews in the far east, beyond the Euphrates, includes the Adiabeni with them.[32] And in his report of Agrippa's address against the proposed war, he makes Agrippa speak of "those of your nation that dwell in Adiabene."[33]

Dr. A. Mingana, the Syriac scholar and Orientalist, expresses the same conclusion, without noticing the important details cited here.[34] He thinks that the Jewish population of Arbela "forced on this part of the old Assyrian Empire a reigning dynasty of Jewish blood"—an erroneous method of statement. As far away as Mosul, in sight of ruined Nineveh, the Assyrian Jews had a fort known as *hisna 'Ebraya,* "the Hebrew fortress," which stood till the time of the Saracen conquest. And one of the most romantic touches in this great achievement is the fact that Shemaiah and Abtalion, who according to Gittin 57b were descendants of the

[32] *Wars,* Preface, 2. [33] *Wars,* II, xvii, 4.

[34] See Mingana, "Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* July, 1925, p. 6.

great king Sennacherib, became mighty doctors of Jewish law. One was president of the Sanhedrin, the other head of the supreme court.

The rapid absorption of Jewish proselytes by the early Christian church requires us to see in the strength of early Christianity in Assyria some evidence of the still earlier strength of Judaism. Under the Persian Sapor II, a terrible persecution of Christians and Jews arose. It began when Jewish physicians attending Sapor's queen charged that she was the victim of the witchcraft of two high-born Christian ladies of the Persian court. It is a suggestion of the struggle for dominance between the two religious parties. The ladies were tied to stakes and chopped to pieces, and Sapor's queen was led through the reeking remains in the hope that the evil spirits would leave her for the dainty repast provided. In the succeeding massacres, tens of thousands perished. The diptychs of the Persian Church preserve the names of sixteen thousand clergy, monks, and nuns, nearly all of whom were in the province of Adiabene. The number of the laity that perished in this outbreak of 343 A.D. is not known.[35]

The popular reader should remember that the Assyrian people were not destroyed by the collapse of their empire at the fall of Nineveh. Assyrian art during the next century has been found in tombs in southern Russia, and Assyroid faces are still to be observed in Asia Minor. We shall see that Jewish Scriptures were in circulation in the cuneiform character long before Josephus wrote. So the great body of Assyrian Christians above are definitely before us as of Jewish antecedents, and as being persecuted as apostates from Judaism. The early histories of the church tell us that Thaddeus-Addai received Assyria as part of his mission-field, was welcomed by the king, and gained many Jewish converts.[36] In his preaching he pointed out that "born Hebrews" were now preaching the gospel in all languages.[37] This suggests that many languages were current in the Assyria of his time. Parthians and Persians and Aramaeans and Jews and Elamites and Greeks and Armenians we actually know to have been mingled with the earlier Assyrian population.

The statement that born Hebrews were now preaching the gospel in all languages has been construed to mean that the Hebrews were miraculously provided with the gift of tongues. But since

[35] Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, pp. 299 f.
[36] Ante-Nicene Fathers, VIII, 656, 661, 665, 671.
[37] *Ibid.*, VIII, 658.

there is Jewish evidence that their own sacred books had long been translated into the principal languages of the East, the statement of Thaddeus simply means that Hebraized or Judaized peoples of Assyria were the immediate agents for spreading the gospel, and that some born of Hebraized ancestry were now preaching Christianity. The Nestorian liturgy was but one of three in use among the Christian Assyrians. We have noticed in the preceding chapter that the Assyroid face is now prominent among Jews of Asia Minor, Bosnia, and Germany.[38] But when the devoted missionary-physician, Asahel Grant, penetrated the Assyrian-Kurdish mountains ninety years ago, he promptly brought out a book on *The Nestorians; or The Lost Tribes.* He found a persistence of Semitic customs among the Jews there, and the same among Christians; and of Amadieh he wrote, "There are about one hundred families of Jews in the place who cannot be distinguished in appearance or language from the Nestorians" (p. 61). With such identity confronting him everywhere the good doctor was fully satisfied that all these Assyrian mountaineers were descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. The reverse possibility, that the Jews he saw might be the descendants of converts won by Judaism from the ancient Assyrian mountaineers, never occurred to him. He was obsessed by the long-proclaimed error of modern Protestantism, that Judaism was not a missionary religion. Nor did any one then know what the cuneiform records have since revealed: that mercantile colonies of proselyting-worshippers, and military garrisons of them, had been spread through the ancient world for ages before the Christian era.

This one case illustrates scores. The worthlessness of all discoveries of "lost tribes" based on physical resemblances to some neighboring group of Jews should be apparent to all. And the missionary activity of ancient Judaism again puts out of court the assumption of a pure ethnic "Israel," segregate, unmixed with other stocks.

Turning from this proselyting activity related by Josephus, we may glance at the stories told by Benjamin of Tudela of the intimate relations of certain groups of Jews in eastern Persia with marauding peoples of the Turkestan frontier, and their combined opposition to certain Persian kings. Accepting the stories, we would expect the same result already observed; some Turkoman proselytes to Judaism, and some Jews becoming Turkoman tribesmen, a fact which Dr. Wolff did not think of when he sought for

[38] Deniker, p. 424 note. This type we now know to be the ancient Hurrian.

lost tribes among the Bokhara Jews with their Assyroid and Persian and Tartar and occasional Turkish lineaments. His imagined purely ethnic Israel could not be proved there. And nearly nineteen hundred years earlier than Benjamin of Tudela we have seen Jewish garrisons at Elephantiné, in Upper Egypt. Such militant Yahwism would certainly bring up captives as Jews, win proselytes, and leave traditions of Jewish ancestry in the region. They are still there in Persian times, and their complaints of open war between them and old Egyptian cults are before us in the Aramaic papyri from Elephantiné. But all this means locally the same ethnical result; a pure ethnic Yahwist-Israel in that region would be in contradiction to the facts.

But this militant Yahwism in Upper Egypt as early as the fall of Samaria[39] makes us ask: Is there any difference at all between the policy and methods of the Asmonean kings and those of the pre-exilic kings? Did not the Old Testament wars involve the same peoples, the same psychology, the same impelling ideals? Is the incorporation of thirty-two thousand Beduin girls into "Israel" in Numbers 31 in any wise different from the Asmonean annexation of hordes of Arabs, Syrians, Idumeans and Ammonites? "I will get me honor over all the gods of Egypt"—"Against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment"—"The fear and terror of Ashur my lord I spread over them" (Assyrian)—"I slew all the people of Ataroth, a spectacle for Kemosh and Moab"—"I took Nebo, and slew all, 7000 men, boys (?) women and girls, for I had devoted it to Athtar-Kemosh."[40] "Come, all ye nations . . . Yahu hath a great sacrifice in Bozrah, a great slaughter in the land of Idumea" (Isaiah 34). Do not all these phrasings reflect the emotions and impulsions of the Maccabean age? Recall the incorporation of captives into Israel in Deuteronomy 21:10-15. We seem compelled to deny any propagandism in Asmonean times, or to admit that Israel had always acted in that way when it had the political power to do so.

But this means that there was never any thought in pre-exilic Palestine of keeping Yahwism within the limits of a pure-blooded ethnic Israel, that could be identified, when deported in a mass, by its physiognomy. But the long conflicts with Damascus, with North-Syrian Aramaean states, with Moab and Ammon and Edom, counted as Aramaean kinsmen of "Israel," had steadily enlarged

[39] Cf. Isaiah 11:11, 15; 27:13; and the diplomatic conferences with Nubia, "buzzing with insects," Isaiah 18, 19:18-25.

[40] From the Moabite Stele of King Mesha.

the Aramaean element in Palestine and put Aramaean shrines on the Mount of Olives under royal patronage as principal cultus-centers.[41] Various Aramaean rivals "protected" Palestine (1 Kings 11:14-25), as the Allies protected Poland, till they tore her limb from limb, and the later Aramaean-speaking court-circle (2 Kings 18:26) boldly demanded the extermination of some non-Aramaean elements in Palestine. "The Torah, *and* tribute, or the sword" had been the slogan of kings of the Hyrcanus-Aristobulus type; but these Deuteronomist Aramaisers (Deuteronomy 26:5) offer nothing but the sword to some ancient Palestinians. Had they succeeded, old Hebrew literature would have been rewritten into Aramaean. But all this ruthless compulsory assimilation annihilates the segregate ethnic Israel of the lost tribes hunter. "The foreigner within thy gates" is to be accepted and assimilated,—not wholly benevolently.[42] But the term does not clearly include the older Palestinian peoples.

With the fact before us that a vigorous propagandism was an essential feature of Yahwism in pre-exilic Palestine, as well as of later Judaism, we may next observe some cases where propagandism is the only satisfactory explanation of the ethnological phenomena.

[41] 2 Kings 23:13, 1 Kings 11:1-8, 33; Ezekiel 8:16.

[42] Exodus 12:48 f.; Leviticus 19:33 f.; 22:18; 24:10-16, 22; Numbers 9:14, 15, 29 f.; Deuteronomy 14:29; 16:11.

CHAPTER IX

Yemen Jews and Falashas

The Jews of Yemen, southwest Arabia, have various traditions of their derivation. Different traditions do not mean contradictions. Some scholarly writing has been vitiated by the assumption that all such traditions should agree, and that a single origin must be sought for. But the supposition that only once in three thousand years could Israelite influence have reached any given region has all of our newer knowledge of the ancient world against it. We have seen mercantile posts and foreign-guard colonies to be a matter of record in the cuneiform literature as early as 3000 B.C. Articles from excavations in the Euphratean lowlands, as at Nippur, prove commerce with India and Greece as early as 4000 B.C. Egyptian royal steles prove that Egypt controlled the Phoenician coast and reached up into the Hittite country at the same time that the Assyrians had trade-colonies there at Kanish and the neighboring towns. So with great trade-routes well established for more than two thousand years before the Israelite appears, we have to remember always that he did not reach Yemen or India or Abyssinia as a pioneer or explorer, but as a new traveller following very old mercantile routes.

There is further the question of mere Israelite migration. Palestine could never support for any long period the natural increase of any people that controlled it. In Chapter V was presented the Old Testament evidence that Jerusalem's later commercial outlook upon the world was always in the direction of Arabia; that Dedan, the modern El 'Ola, several marches north of Medina, was the northernmost oasis station of the Sabaean traders; that "Sheba" in the Old Testament meant the whole Arabian west coast from Dedan to the mouth of the Red Sea, and that regular traffic between Palestine and the extreme southwest of Arabia, with some interchange of population, existed long before the Israelite kingdom. The Tyrians and Sidonians claimed to have come from the lower Persian Gulf to Palestine nearly two thousand years before Solomon's time. Intimate trade-colony connections of Solomon and Sheba being admitted, there are still possible Israelite conquests in Arabia or migrations thither to consider. In Chapter V it was shown that the Old Testament records but few of the known cataclysmic invasions of Palestine. Counter-movements of Palestinians are equally ignored. And any recorded

migration requires consideration of the stage of Israelite religious development: was it likely to leave any trace of Yahwism in Arabia?

In the narratives of the Israelite conquest of Palestine, the occupation of Bashan is put in Moses' time, and Og, apparently a "Red-skin" desert adventurer, is named as its previous political master. In Joshua 17:14 ff., the Joseph clans are represented as finding their region too small; and they were told to cut down the forests of the western highlands, thereafter known as "Mount Ephraim." In Judges 12:4 the Josephite lordship of Gilead is asserted: "You Gileadites are simply fugitives and vagabonds from Ephraim!" In the Joshua stories, the Israelites are represented as seizing central Palestine: then two and one half tribes return and settle east of the Jordan. In Judges 10:3 ff., the conquest of a Gileadite region (northeast Bashan?) is attributed to Jair. In 1 Chronicles 5:11 ff., eleven chieftains of Gad hold Gilead and part of Bashan, in the days of King Jotham. In Saul's time Reubenites hold much of Gilead and the Hagar country (1 Chronicles 5:1-10). In 1 Chronicles 5:18 ff., all these Israelite adventurers war with the Hagar tribes, and Itureans and Nephish and Nodab; regions later annexed by the Asmoneans. And they were occupying their land when Samaria fell. Six of the northern chieftains hold part of Bashan, up to Mt. Hermon. They fuse with the conquered peoples and worship their gods, and are involved in the deportations made by Tiglath-pileser. Whether these narratives duplicate or overlap is immaterial here. The final fact is that Israelites from their earliest times are represented as repeatedly moving into northwestern Arabia and fusing in some measure with the local tribes.

But we are not warranted in expecting any traces of Yahwism from such early settlements in northern Arabia. For the Old Testament prophets insist that Palestine remained dominantly pagan till the fall of Jerusalem: a different baal in every city (Jeremiah 2:28) or even in each street (Ezekiel 16:31). And there is the insistence that Israel was pagan ere entering Palestine: "ye extolled Sakkut (NIN. IB) as your King, and Kaiwan (Saturn): your images of star-gods which ye made for yourselves" (Amos 5:26). Such were the pagans whom Hoshea (Numbers 13:16) led across the Jordan (Joshua 24:2, 14, 23). The corroborative evidence of personal names was long ago pointed out by Professor Gray. The several hundred names of the pre-kingdom period are uniformly pagan, or non-Yahwist. They show

no knowledge of Yahu as the popular god; no notion of a covenant with Yahu, either national or personal. Names compounded with the name Yahu begin to appear with the kingdom, but are not very numerous till its last days. And no evidence has ever been produced to show that Yahu was an ancient popular god of any nomad or Arabian people. The net result is that the above-cited nomad movements into Arabia could not have carried much Yahwism thither. The emigrants could not have differed widely in religion from the nomads with whom they fused. Migrations before the days of the reformer-prophets had small chance of leaving any profound impression upon desert-folk. Modern Jewish scholars who see ancient Israelites in some present North Arabian tribes are justified when they answer critics by saying that they are not required to prove any survivals of Yahwism among them.

To the southward, we have in 1 Chronicles 4:21 the assertion that certain of the Shela clans of Judah held from very ancient times a district in Moab. It may have been from the time that a district in northern Moab was wrested from the marauder Sihon. We have no certain information. Or it may have been from the time when many in Judah fled from Nebuchadrezzar and settled in Edom and Ammon and Moab (Jeremiah 40:11). In either case, Israelite settlements on the main Arabian caravan route from north to south are very old.

This assertion of the Chronicler that the Moab colony was an old one puts directly before us the question of literary remains. There are many groups of nomad Jews to-day who have no books, no literature. Some have not even a tradition that their forebears had any. This tells us succinctly that such migrations as we have reviewed may have been during a stage when local liturgy was a matter of tradition rather than of a written priestly code. The present lack of inscriptional evidence for these Israelite comminglings with Arabia constitutes no objection to the records.

Then we have to reckon with the evidence of inscriptions from Kataban, in southeastern Arabia, perhaps a thousand years later than the time of Josiah. As already stated, Margoliouth points out some linguistic identities between Hebrew and Katabanian and Lihyan. If the god 'Amm long remains in Hebrew in names like Ammi-Shaddai, Rehobo-'Amm, etc., we have the familiar Phoenician-Hebrew *Shofet,* "judge," occurring in Katabanian as an equivalent of "Sheikh." The Hebrew *goî,* a foreign nation in later Old Testament stories, and the *Kahal* or "congregation, assembly," also appear in these South Arabian inscriptions. They have not

been found in North Arabia. But these few special terms do not necessarily suggest the transformation of old South Arabian speech into Hebrew. Coastal commerce along those shores was ages older than the Israelite. And the Phoenician-Hebrew language is far older than the settlement of Israel in Palestine. The Pharaoh Sneferu had his commercial navy on the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden near 3000 B.C. Palestinian merchant colonies in South Arabia were possible at that early date. Pioneers from the Elamite highlands, following the South Arabian coast, reached the region of Egypt's future Thebaid before 5000 B.C. So Margoliouth's data do not prove the derivation of Hebrew and Phoenician terms from Kataban. They may rather be considered evidence of Palestinian trade-communities in Kataban and Lihyan. Such trading-posts could preserve an internal autonomy, terminology, and community-cultus, as we have seen Assyrian and Akkadian trading-posts do in the Hittite country a thousand years before Israel was in Palestine. The patriarch Kainan in Genesis 5:10 ff. is a Katabanian god. But scholars who regard Kainan as the Semitic translation of the name of a Sumerian legendary hero will see evidence that these Hebrew terms reached Kataban by way of the Persian Gulf in Babylonian exile times. Gad also appears as a god, as in Isaiah 65:11 ("that troop"). The name Yahu appears in some Katabanian personal names. This does not prove a remote Semitic antiquity for the name, with Hebrew and Katabanian and Lihyan descendants. It cannot prove more than the settlement of some Yahu-worshippers in Kataban or Lihyan. Solomon's coast-traders were but a few of many possible coastal expeditions in the passing centuries. But the immediate fact is that some Yahwist influence is on that South Arabian coast in exilic and early Christian times.

Then we have another notable migration, with which a tribe of Israel seems to disappear from Palestinian history. In Chapter V was noticed the fact that in 714 B.C. Sargon brought the remnants of some Arab tribes—the Hayappa, Tamudi, Ibadidi, and Marsimani—and settled them in Samarian territory. Two of these are well known. The Hayappa are the modern 'Wafa, the Biblical 'Ephah (Genesis 25:4). The Tamûd folk appear frequently in the classic geographers, and in the Koran traditions. The region extends from Midian, or Madian, near the mouth of the Gulf of Akabah, down the Red Sea highlands for a hundred miles or more. The modern 'Wafa or Rwafa was probably their central sanctuary.[1] Now in 1 Chronicles 4:39-43, several clans of

[1] Musil, *The Northern Hedjaz,* p. 311.

Simeon migrate to a place from which Gedor could be reached, seeking pastures as far east as the east side of the *gai,* or valley; and this being close to Seir (ash-Shera') they send five hundred men and destroy an Amalekite clan there and seize that grazing land. The whole narrative points to the Kedhur and the modern al-Gi at Petra, and the oasis of Ma'an, seventeen miles east of it. Uzziah's raids in 2 Chronicles 26:7 on Gur-Baal (Kur-bal, "region of crags") and Me'un some fifty years earlier had the same object as Sargon's: control of the caravan-routes. As Musil suggests, southern Palestine certainly knew when Sargon cleared the caravan routes of raiding Arabs; and the migration of Simeonites to seize the land must have been with Sargon's approval.[2] Kushite or Hamite traders formerly had stations in this region seized by the Simeonites.[3] But the net result is that as early as 700 B.C. much of the region east of the Red Sea, for a hundred and fifty miles south from Petra, was seized by nomadic Hebrews. The Israelite trading-stations in Dedan would have been two or three hundred miles further south. The permanence of such Hebrew tenure is a question. But thirteen hundred years before Mohammed's time the dominance of Hebrew emigrants in parts of Arabia north of Medina is thus a matter of record. It prepares us to accept any evidence of Israelite survivals or of the Judaizing of Arabs. Migrations like those in the days of Hezekiah, Uzziah, and Jeremiah, were certain again in the days of Titus and Bar-Cocheba.

As for the Judaizing of the Arabs in that region, modern scholarship recognizes that to have been very extensive. The whole district centering at the later Moslem Medina was known before as Yathreb. A number of powerful Judaized Arab clans were there, each maintaining itself as an independent artisan mercantile community, in the fashion of the Assyrian trading-posts in Cappadocia three thousand years before. It suggests persistence of old Israelite artisan communities of the Dedan post-exilic days. Their great superiority to nomad and pagan Arabs in all mechanical arts made them necessary to the nomads, as the Sabeans had been, centuries before. By 500 A.D. nearly all Yathreb had professed Judaism. About fifty-nine Jewish hill forts were distributed through the Yathreb territory. But they seem to have lacked the genius for organization and empire. Strife and competition among themselves and with pagan Arabs, and the consequent migrations, greatly diminished their power during the sixth cen-

[2] Musil, pp. 244-47. [3] Musil, p. 287.

tury. By Mohammed's time they were a minor element in the population: the protection of heathen patrons was becoming necessary.[4] Mohammed confiscated the property of the Bainu Kainuka'a and expelled them from Medina, 624 A.D. The next year the Bainu Nadir were driven to Kheibar. The Kuraidza at first aided Mohammed in repelling an attack of the Kuraish. But when Mohammed learned of secret negotiations, he offered the Kuraidza the choice of Islam or death. Over six hundred men marched to their open grave and died, and their women and children were sold as slaves. In 629, the Arab Jews of Kheibar were subdued. Omar later removed them to Syria and to Kufa.[5] But the Judaism of Kheibar has been asserted over and over through the centuries, from the fifty thousand reported to Benjamin of Tudela to modern travellers like Niebuhr and Wolff and Doughty and Blunt. Their Judaism was not Talmudic. It has been suggested that Kheibar is a metathesis of Rekhab,—the Rechabites of Jeremiah 35. More plausible is the identification with "Kheber (AV Heber) the smith (Kenite)," Judges 1:16; 4:17. Was Kheibar-Yathreb an industrial district in pre-Israelite times? In Mohammed's time the Kheibar Jews had seven strongholds.[6] Judaism does not seem to have ever been extinct among the tribes of Arabia. Did much of the reform in Arab paganism usually credited to Mohammed begin long before through the spread of Judaism? The earliest Israelite migrations into northern Arabia did not carry a high type of Yahwism: fusion with Arab paganism seemed easy, according to the Old Testament. The name Yahu was not in popular use in pre-kingdom times. But for more than a thousand years before Mohammed there was spread through western Arabia a great body of reformed Yahwism which we call Judaism. Travellers report that Moslems of eastern Arabia are much nearer paganism than those of the Red Sea coast, where Judaism wrought so long.

Now it is important that modern Jewish scholars insist that some, if not all, of these reported Israelite migrations into northern Arabia must certainly have survivors in the present nomad population. In particular the Aneyzeh Beduin have been viewed as such. The relative segregation resulting from nomadic conditions has impelled some scholars, as noticed in Chapter VII, to suggest that they probably most nearly preserve the hypothetical

[4] *Cambridge Mediaeval History,* II, 312; Feist, p. 73.
[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 319-23; Milman's Gibbon, V, 133 f.
[6] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* III, 480 f.

"pure Jewish physical type." Perhaps this opinion has urged some to connect the Aneyzeh with the earliest periods of the Israelite monarchy. Those viewing them as the vanished multitudes of Kheibar have urged that Kheibar Yahwism must have dated from the days when "Gad is a troop of plunderers! They will certainly plunder, and their betrayer will be plundered!" (Genesis 49:20), and they followed the outlaw David (1 Chronicles 12:8-15). Those who connect with "Kheber the Kenite" reach an earlier point of departure. For our inquiry, it does not matter which ancient migration into northern Arabia was the origin of such Judaism as prevailed at Kheibar. The essential point is that the Old Testament records several infusions of an ancient type of Yahwism into the North Arabian nomad population, and that some modern Jewish scholars think there is still living evidence of the fact. But they raise the question, Was the earliest popular Yahwism any better than the religion prevalent among the Aneyzeh to-day? Then the Melkite Christians southwest of Damascus, whose Christianity dates from the fourth century, are known to be the descendants of Arabs who drifted northward from Yemen and Nedjed and the Hedjaz long before the Christian era. How many of these were Judaized Arabs? Scholars who see in the Aneyzeh survivors of Israelite nomads of the above-cited Old Testament migrations must recognize that the unceasing drift of the nomad into the Fertile Crescent eventually landed many such Israelites in the early Christian Church.

From the Old Testament notes of early and later migrations and their certain Arab-Judaizing possibilities, we may turn to the particular question of Israelite trade-colonies established at points on the long road by sea or by land to the Indian Ocean and the land of Punt, the modern Somaliland of East Africa. Efforts to control the northern gulf-terminus and the adjacent caravan-road must mean posts further south on the Red Sea line. Anywhere between the head of the Gulf of Akabah and the Indian Ocean, important trade could have been diverted to overland routes to Damascus or northern Palestine, or at Mussel Harbor might have been sent to the Egyptian Thebaid. And piracy was possible. It was absolutely useless for Jerusalem to guard a few miles of the northern terminal gulf if she was not a member of a commercial alliance that was able to protect its own trade all the way down the fifteen hundred miles of the Red Sea route to Punt. Perhaps Ahaziah smashed the ships of his vassal Jehoshaphat, when the latter tried to assert his independence in Red Sea trade (1 Kings

22:47 ff.). We must see in Jerusalem's efforts to control the northern gulf terminus, and in any long-continued success in the effort, a proof that she had her trading-posts at some Red Sea points, and that she was also making it profitable for other traders to come past Jerusalem.

Now 2 Samuel 8:14 pictures David as in complete control of the roads through Edom, while 1 Kings 9:26 has Solomon planning to utilize the sea-route rather than the caravan road down the Arabian coast. Perhaps Hadad (1 Kings 11:22) controlled that. Edom still appears tributary, without a king, under Asa, while Jehoshaphat controls the Gulf of Akabah and has Minoan mariners (p. 102) build a fleet there (1 Kings 22:47-49); but in 2 Kings 3:7 ff., he has allowed Edom a king, and used his land as a highway through which to attack Moab. With this evidence of Israelite control of the trade-route past the Gulf of Akabah for several generations, there is no *a priori* ground for ignoring any local legend of Israelite activity at that point since the days of David or Solomon. At the same time such local tradition would not prove any descent from such early Israelite traders. Many times in three thousand years have Jewish adventurers sailed the Red Sea. A curious feature of the legends reaching to Solomon's time, for both Yemen and Abyssinia, is that the early Jewish kings on either side the lower Red Sea, bore the title *Bahr Negash* or "Sea Kings,"[7] which suggests that the early Israel adventurers there were not overland traders. This should be correlated with the fact that the early Greek kings of Axum did not attempt to trade through Nubia. They conquered a path west to the Nile and east to Adulis on the Red Sea, reaching Ptolemaic Egypt by way of the sea and extending their trade-control to the opposite Arabian shore. The later Himyarite kings also controlled both sides of the sea.[8] Philostorgius, about 400 A.D., wrote that there was still a colony of "Syrians" between Axum and the sea, speaking the "Syrian" language, and that they were placed there by Alexander the Great to collect spices. The whole evidence shows continued realization of the fact that success in trade through the lower Red Sea necessitated control of both shores.

It should be said that piracy and rivalry in trade and religious persecution were never unrelated in the ancient Arab world. The modern world has seen massacres of Jews and Armenians for

[7] Harris, *Adventures in Africa,* chap. XCI.
[8] Dillman, "Anfänge des Axumitisches Reiches," *Abhandlungen der Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Berlin, 1878.

being too prosperous. So when the successful Himyarite kings changed their religion, they added the motive of religious fanaticism to the reasons for assailing their rivals. Himyar and Raidan are combined against the Habash, Sheba, and Hadramaut, about 500 B.C. Their rivalries brought the Roman fleet into action in the Arabian Gulf about 1 B.C. to seize the port of Aden.[9] This time of Roman control was peculiarly favorable to the spread of Jewish trader-colonies in the regions in question. Strabo says that under the "Roman peace" one hundred and twenty great vessels sailed every year from the Egyptian port of Mussel Harbor for India and the headlands of Ethiopia.[10] It was inevitable that Arabian traders should find a certain advantage in being identified with the Jewish coastal colonies. So with the decline of the Roman power there appear Jewish kings in Sheba, Hadramaut, and Yemen, maintaining the old inter-kingdom rivalries in trade. Their struggles between 325-525 A.D. must have originated the already mentioned Abyssinian traditions of Jewish kings of the sea. Professor Hartmann has seen in this struggle the efforts of petty kings to establish an empire: and the local baalism of the pagan Arabians was opposed to this centralization. Thus the would-be despots sought the aid of Jewish finance, and found the Jewish traders ready to support imperial schemes, with the result that some of these rival kings became nominally Jews.

There has been some hesitancy among modern scholars in admitting any Judaism in South Arabia at this time, because in some traditions there is only one Jewish king, Dhu Nuwas; in others, Abu Karib; in others, several such kings. That one line of tradition may preserve the doings of but one king in no wise conflicts with the actual existence of several. Contemporary writers know that Jews, pagans, and Christians were mixed in Himyarite Arabia. Philostorgius (A.D. 400-425) says the Abrahamic rite was familiar in Himyar along with the cult of sun and moon and local baalim. Theophilus (A.D. 349-361) was sent by the Emperor Constantius to introduce Christianity, and founded three churches.[11] Theodorus Lector in the sixth century tells us that the Himyarites, originally pagans, had been Judaized by a queen of Saba—not necessarily the one of Solomon's time—a fact overlooked by nearly

[9] Pliny, *Natural History,* II, 168.

[10] This point was emphasized by M. P. Charlesworth in *Classical Quarterly,* April, 1928.

[11] Cited by Margoliouth, *op. cit.,* pp. 62 f.

all writers. Relapsing to paganism, they turned to Christianity in the time of Anastasius (491-518).[12]

Moslem writers say that there were several kings, of whom they claim Abu Karib as the first: dated about 525 A.D. by some modern Jewish authorities. But an inscription of his son, published by Glaser, tells of the repairing the mound of Marib in 450 A.D. The conversion of Abu Karib through the agency of Jews of Meccah and Yathreb must be dated near 425. His son was a worshipper of *ba'al shamayîn wa'ardîn,* "lord of heaven and earth" —which Margoliouth thinks indicates monotheism. But the same title, *ba'al shamayîm* was venerated in North Syria and at Carthage thirteen hundred years earlier, and has not been claimed as proving monotheism. And it is in use now among the pagan Nubas in Africa. As for the story of a massacre of Christians at Najran, about 524 A.D., the Jewish king Dhu Nuwas has been given the credit. The sum of it all is that we must admit the stories of struggles between Judaism and paganism and with Christianity among the Arabs of Himyar to be well founded; and proof that some Judaized kings turned their armies against the Christians has recently been recovered. The story that an Abyssinian king Kaleb was brought to aid the persecuted Christians against the Jewish king of Himyar proves true. But the Jewish king is not Abu Kariba, nor Dhu Nuwas, but Masruk. The time of the intervention is about a hundred years after the Judaizing of Abu Kariba: the Jewish king is Masruk, about 525 A.D. It is really the old coalition of Habash and Sheba-Yemen against Himyar and its allies. Forty-nine mutilated leaves of an ancient Syriac manuscript of liturgies found in a private collection in Sweden have proved to be a remnant of the story of the persecution of the Christians by the Judaized Himyarites led by King Masruk. Professor Axel Moberly decides that it is a document of first-rate historical importance. The historical data, the South Arabian names of persons and places, and the whole local color show that the document was composed shortly after the second Abyssinian expedition of King Kaleb in 525 A.D. for the relief of the Christians, and was compiled from oral records or statements of persons who came from Yemen and claimed to be eye-witnesses of the events.[13] Our immediate interest is in the fact that Judaism was politically powerful

[12] Margoliouth, *loc. cit.,* thinks this shows no knowledge of Jews in Himyar in the writer's time. He assumes that there could have been only one Queen of Saba.

[13] Review by J. A. Montgomery, in *Jewish Quarterly Review,* October, 1927, pp. 151 f. Dhu Nuwas is probably a nickname of Masruk.

in Yemen at the same time that it was dominant in Yathreb-Medina, and equally bent upon trade-monopoly. The eventual fall of each was probably due to like causes.

Since different little groups of adventurers have come to South Arabia at different times, unscientific wrangles about the one assumed date are to be expected; and likewise wrangles over genealogy, the descendants of later arrivals being jealous of the longer pedigrees exhibited by the descendants of older colonists. Denials of the genuineness or purity of some other line may sometimes have no other basis than this. Dr. Joseph Wolff found at Mocha that a curious dispute had arisen sixty years before among the Jews of the district. They thought they could ascertain their genealogies, and that they were in possession of ancient documents to prove them. So the dispute had arisen as to precedence: who was to be the greatest? But Shalom ben Ahron, the Nassî, and Rabbi Yahyah Salekh, their Ab-beth-Dîn at Sana'a, had advised them to burn their genealogies. The whole congregation arose as one man, and burnt their genealogies, exclaiming "Peace! peace forever in Israel!"[14]

Thus we have scraps of tradition—claims of origin ranging from the days of Solomon down to the days of Titus—all probably with some element of fact, yet none with proof of Jewish genealogical ancestry for the present claimants. But the action of Ezra, 9, 10, has left the strongest impression. This, however, would not prove migration to Yemen at that time; it might mean that later Israelites, scorning them, had cited this action and roused their anger. The *Jewish Encyclopedia,* prepared before any one knew the facts now shown by archaeological researches about ancient trade-routes and colonies, does not include the foregoing suggestions, and seems to think of a single migration to Yemen, somewhere near the time of the Asmonean kings.

To-day the Yemen Jews number about forty thousand. Those of Sana'a claim an origin forty-two years before the destruction of Solomon's temple in 586 B.C. That would mean that they migrated in the time when the terrible Scythian raids were beginning, and three years before Jeremiah began preaching. But since they speak of being led by the prophet Jeremiah, this may be a reminiscence of another group from the refugees who took Jeremiah with them into Egypt. They speak of seventy-five thousand such refugees, which may mean seventy-five *alaphim* (families), or

[14] Wolff, *Researches and Missionary Labors,* p. 325; *Mission to Bokhara,* p. 27. Compare Ezra, 2:59-63; Titus 3:9; 1 Timothy 1:4.

may be a reminiscence of their gaining great strength in earlier days. Then they have another tradition that they were summoned by the prophet Ezra to "return" and that they refused; wherefore he pronounced them banned, and they will not use the name Ezra in their families. It clearly marks their consciousness that they are not of the segregate ethnic type Ezra insisted upon. Dr. Wolff, always a little imaginative in etymology, thought their Beni-Arhab clan were the Rechabites of Jeremiah 35. He estimated fifteen thousand at Sana'a about one hundred years ago), and two hundred thousand in the high broken table-land where they dwelt.[15] He knew eighteen synagogues at Sana'a and found polygamy still practiced. Feist thinks the polygamy is only in case the first wife bears no sons. Burchardt in 1905 estimated the total number as forty thousand with only six thousand to eight thousand in Sana'a,—many being expelled by persecution every year.

It is thought that despite prosperity from 100-500 A.D. that their numbers were never large. Though occasionally Jewish kings ruled Sheba, Raidan, Hadramaut, and Yemen between 325 and 525 A.D., the average Jewish population is supposed to have been about thirty thousand.[16] That means no natural increase; and continual loss through intermarriage with neighbors or heavy migration.

But recent ethnological investigations by Burchardt, Maltzan, and Weissenberg show that they are simply Judaized Arabs: short, very dark, with jet black hair and eyes, and that they are exceptionally dolichocephalic, widely differing from European Jews. They are now distinctly Arab, whatever the original apostles of Judaism may have been.[17] Feist, because their bodies are larger and their color averages lighter than that of the Beduin, wishes to see in them the purest type remaining from ancient Israel.[18] Kreppel, in his compendium of present day Judaism, barely notices them, saying that they are a type to themselves, entirely distinct from European Jews: a frank admission that they are Arab proselytes, and that the author approves Indo-European Judaism rather than the more primitive Semitic type.[19] An Arab said to Burchardt, "They are no Beni-Israel! They are only Arabs who have accepted Judaism!" Yet to these Judaized Arabs of Yemen we find distant colonies of proselytes to Judaism in other lands

[15] *Researches and Missionary Labors,* pp. 369 ff., 390.
[16] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* XII, 592.
[17] Fishberg, *The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment,* pp. 124 ff.
[18] Feist, *op. cit.,* p. 79.
[19] Kreppel, *Juden und Judentum von Heute,* p. 790.

tracing their own origin. And Yemen Jews themselves recognize the racial difference between their own people and visiting Jews from Europe. These for the sake of distinction are styled "Yehudî Nasrânî" in South Arabia, i.e., Nazarene or Christian Jews.[20] A similar distinction is found among some Judaized Berbers of North Africa. A Jew who is also thought a Nasrânî may meet a hostile reception.

We have previously glanced at the Falashas of Abyssinia, with their evident independence of rabbinical Judaism. As a moot point in past discussions has been whether their Judaism came by way of Arabia or Egypt, a clear statement of their outstanding distinctions will make decision of that question easier. They know no Hebrew: they never had any. Their worship is in their native Agau language, or in the dialect of the Abyssinian province in which they may be dwelling. Their Torah is the Ethiopic version current among the Christian Abyssinians. It includes the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. They have none of the set priestly ritual phraseology current in modern rabbinical Judaism. In contrast with it they have priests and consider it impossible to hold a religious service without the leadership of a priest. They have no notion of centralized worship or authority. A sanctuary may be erected wherever it is economically possible to maintain it. Every such *mesqîd* or place of worship has a stone altar for sacrifices. These are not in the late Levitical form. Their liturgy is not written: it is handed down by oral tradition, and their sacrificial procedure follows verbal tradition instead of the present written Pentateuch. Neither the Passover nor the Day of Atonement ceremonies follow the rabbinical forms. The Day of Atonement is a species of All Souls' Day, with personal reconciliations, and is called *Asterio* or *Isterio*,—apparently Ishtar's Day. The great reformer prophets have left no stamp upon Falasha liturgy and thought. Their numerous sacrifices are not at regular times, save those for the Sabbath.[21] Yet Sanbat (Sabbath) is to them a person, a feminine divinity in whose honor the day is observed. She is an angel of God, to whom they pray as mediator and intercessor. "Maria is the Christian's mediator, Sanbat is ours," they said to d'Abbadie in 1845. This must be compared with Amos 8:14, denouncing those who swear by Ashimat of Samaria, and with the Ashima(t) of Hamath in 2 Kings 17:30, found also in modern excavations elsewhere in Aramaean regions. And it must

[20] Landberg I, 273.
[21] Stern, *Wanderings among the Falashas*, pp. 188 f.

be considered also in connection with the *Shambat-El,* "Shambat is god," found in the Aramaic papyri of the recently discovered Jewish garrison at Elephantiné, Upper Egypt.

As to priests, they have no notion of a high-priest for the whole people, or for all Judaism, as late post-exilic Judaism had. Each district or province has its own chief priest. Eight high-priests make their Guraba, or Great Synagogue, their supreme council, for which they have great respect. They have exorcists who summon or banish hail and rain, as Elijah's competitors were supposed to do. In their Asterio mourning-rituals they close with a stately dance, the two sexes dancing separately as described in the mourning for Dodo (Adad?) in Zechariah 12:10-14: Jacob mourns for his "only" son Joseph. Chrysostom, in his *Contra Judaeos,* speaks of such a Jewish dance at Antioch in the fourth century. And R. Simon ben-Gamaliel mentions such in Ta'anit 36b. They have nazirites or nezirîm, who are self-mortifying ascetics,—to be regarded as the prototype of the Christian hermits—living in the lonely gorges in the Elijah fashion.[22] They claim to date from Aaron's time, and to be a part of the Aaronic organization. Priesthood is not hereditary. Any one may become a priest.

The Falashas have no Chanuka festival, to commemorate the purging of the second temple by Judas Maccabeus. Nor have they the Purim festival. Persian residence, Babylonian experiences, Maccabean struggles, the Titus cataclysm have left no mark upon them. The Seleucid and Babylonian-Jewish calendars and the Moslem calendar are not theirs. They seem never to have had any religious literature in their native Agau speech. The first-born are often dedicated to the priesthood.[23] They have a festival at the Feast of Tabernacles season, but build no booths, and make no pilgrimages to some preëminent sanctuary. There seem numerous marks of ancient Egyptian domination of the country.

Whether a relatively primitive Israelite religion came into Abyssinia in ancient times by way of Egypt, or whether a rabbinical type came in from southern Arabia more than a thousand years later and has since lost vastly is then the question raised by the facts reviewed. Earlier scholarly discussions lacked much im-

[22] Stern, pp. 307 f.

[23] Stern, *passim;* Feist, pp. 83 ff.; Faitlovitch, *Les Falachas d'apres les explorateurs;* Rathjens, *Die Juden in Abessinien;* A. d'Abbadie, *Rapports sur les Falachas,* in 1846, *passim;* Halévy, "Excursion chez les Falachas en Abessinie," in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris,* 1869, pp. 270-94.

portant information concerning the ancient world that recent years have brought us. Such early speculations need not be detailed nor sharply criticised. They systematically discredited all Christian or Falasha traditions of very ancient local Israelite activity. It now seems certain that evidences of at least a thousand years of Yahwist missionary activity have been regularly thrown into the critical waste-basket.

For illustration, the ancient communication between Jewish traders of Yemen, Hadramaut, and Abyssinia produced the theory that the Judaism of Abyssinia came from Yemen. Unfortunately the theory acknowledged Judaism in Yemen as early as the Persian period, yet assumed that it required a thousand years to cross the straits at Aden into Abyssinia in the days of the Himyarite Jewish kings, about 500 A.D. The theory failed to explain why Yemen Judaism should plant itself in Abyssinia at the time when Abyssinian kings were making open war upon the Judaism in Yemen. And it fails to explain why the Christian church, admitted to have been established in Abyssinia two hundred years earlier, remains saturated with survivals of Judaism. Halévy sixty years ago ignored all this and supposed that the Judaized Arabs of Yemen held their place on the African coast till Moslem times, and were then driven from their trade-controlling position by King Kaleb. Halévy conjectured that these Jewish Arabs thereupon took refuge in the mountain region south and west of the Settitê-Takazze, the eastern branch of the Atbara river (the Astaboras of the Greek writers), and became the ancestors of the Falashas. But the theory is wrecked upon the fact that the Falashas are Hamite, not Arab. And the assumption that the Judaized Arabs necessary to the theory did not exist in Arabia till about 600-650 A.D. ignores all that we have seen of the immense spread of Judaism in western Arabia, beginning more than a thousand years earlier. It ignores Asmonean Judaizing of vast numbers of the northwestern Arabs, and the fact that Arabian proselytes are among those mentioned as present at Jerusalem in Acts 2:11. Still sharper is the evidence from Josephus. The wars that ended in the destruction of Jerusalem were of such vital significance to all Jews, in his opinion, that he wrote an account in Aramaic for all the eastern Jewish world. This included "Parthians and Babylonians and the remotest Arabians."[24] That at least includes the remotest of the Arabia familiar since Solomon's

[24] *Wars,* Preface, 2.

day—Sheba and beyond. How much more we do not certainly know at present.

It should be said, however, that the existence of the Egyptian frontier garrison of Jews at Elephantiné before 500 B.C. was unknown when Halévy wrote, and the absence of all evidence of the influence of Babylonian Judaism among the Falashas is hard to explain, if this Himyarite origin be accepted. For it places their origin more than a thousand years after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, and in a region where the influence of Babylonian Judaism was in some measure known. But when we consider Elephantiné, we find that the ancient Egyptian inscriptions show that the convoying of trading caravans into the Upper Nile regions was a chief business of the lords of Elephantiné vicinity as early as 3000 B.C., and that later commercial exigencies compelled the Egyptian conquest of Nubia, immediately south of it.[25] We have Isaiah 27:11 saying that some of the outcasts of Judah are in the land of Egypt; in chapter 18 he denounces the ambassadors from Nubia, "buzzing with insects," and asserts that they will yet bring gifts to Yahu; in 19:17 f. he is sure that five Egyptian cities will accept Yahu and the speech of Canaan. The land of the Israelites shall be an object of reverence among the Egyptians because of the purpose of Yahu of Hosts concerning her. And of the five cities, one shall be called *Ir hatsedek,* "the asylum-city," "the fully-proselyted city" (AV wrongly, "city of destruction"). The LXX has *tsedek* instead of the Hebrew *Heres,* "Sun," which recent translators have accepted. A *gêr tsedek* is a fully-Judaized convert; Isaiah's "city tsedek" is parallel. But as the sacred or *zakku* cities were asylum-cities, we have to translate both ways to bring out Isaiah's point. Since a Jewish temple and colony actually stood at On-Heliopolis later, the Hebrew scribes have put its name, "City of the Sun," in the present Hebrew text. The actual date of the founding of the Onias temple is uncertain, in Josephus.[26] Isaiah clearly thinks Judah will gain such colony-rights as one result of the existing international complications, when Egypt is defeated. We have seen that such trade-colony concessions were an immemorial feature of international relations in the ancient world. In each period of cordial relations between Egypt and Israel, there were certainly similar Israelite stations in Egypt.

Then in chapter 11:11, Isaiah knows of Israelite exiles in Mizraim, or Lower Egypt, in Pathros (Egyptian Pa-to-ris, "Land of

[25] Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians,* pp. 124, 104 f.

[26] *Antiquities,* XII, iii, 3; *Wars,* VII, x, 3.

the South") which is the Thebaid; and in Cush, or Nubia, far above Elephantiné, two hundred years earlier than the date of the Elephantiné papyri. If Isaiah is to be credited when he tells us that tall sleek ambassadors from the Upper Nile visit Jerusalem, he must have been in communication with the Israelite colonies in the Thebaid and Nubia. In fact, it is possible that these very colonies had suggested the Nubian embassy to Jerusalem. Consider Jeremiah 29: the deportees in Babylonia are trying to shape Jerusalem politics. Then seventy years after Isaiah we have Zephaniah 3:9-12, saying that "the Daughter of My dispersed" in Nubia is winning converts.

Now we have no reason whatever for questioning the historicity of these statements, after what we have seen of the antiquity of foreign-guard colonies. Shishak's raid of a hundred and fifty-three towns in Palestine and western Syria (1 Kings 14:25 ff.) gave him thousands of captives, some of whom could have been sent into Nubia as early as Rehoboam's time, though demonstrative records are still lacking. But Taharka or Tirhaka, the Egyptian Pharaoh, of Isaiah 37:9 is from this "Ethiopian" region, and Isaiah surely knew the facts when he spoke of Israelite exiles in Tirhakah's country at that time. And Zephaniah, who knows that "the Daughter of My dispersed" is winning converts beyond the rivers of Nubia, is a contemporary of Psamtik I, who is declared to have placed Jewish garrisons in the Nubian territory. The historic references seem decisive. The actual question is as to the vitality of the religion of these Israelite colonies. As for any Jewish garrisons placed at Elephantiné, we have seen that convoy-duty, journeying into the heart of Abyssinia, or into the Soudan, would be a chief function. Some of the "Hallets," or caravan-stations, in the region above the mouth of the Atbara and Khartoum bear Hebraic names, and might be ancient Jewish convoy-posts. Then the modern Nubas of Kordofan shows evidence of ancient contact with Palestine. Ritual emblems maintain the shape and style of those portrayed thousands of years ago in the temples and tombs of Egypt. Nuba traditions declare that their ancestors once lived in lower Nubia, Dongola, and the extreme Upper Egypt, and the tradition is supported by linguistic evidence. Baalism of the old Palestinian type is the basis of social organization. Each fortress-hill is a community with its own chief or Mek (contraction of Melek); each community has its guardian ancestors; and each of these petty guardians has his priest or sometimes a priestess through whom he announces his will, often by means of a

trance-communication. All these guardian ancestors are considered appointed by a supreme god Baal, who resides in the heavens (a Baal Shamayim), to direct the destinies of each tribe or community. The priests are the adjudicatory powers, and advise the Mek in all important matters. The Mek and chief priest are sometimes the same person. The law of sanctuary is strenuously maintained, and a peaceful community may be forced into war to protect some criminal who has taken refuge with them; two families, total strangers to each other, may go to war over an acknowledged criminal. In various customs suggestions of Egypt, Christianity, and ancient Palestine appear. Each community has its own fortress-hill in the hereafter, under its own departed chiefs; and all expect to be gathered to their own fathers. The Nuba country begins about two hundred miles southwest of Khartoum. The area of their mountain-dotted territory is about thirty-four thousand and six hundred square miles. They are seven hundred miles south of the modern Wady Nuba, their ancient abode on the Nile, between the first and second cataracts. This region is the Wawat of the ancient Egyptian inscriptions. These Nubas are descendants of the powerful "Nubians" or "Ethiopians" who ruled Egypt in Isaiah's time, and whose King Taharka (Tirhakah of 2 Kings 19:9, Isaiah 37:9) defeated Esarhaddon in 673 B.C. He was later driven back to his capital Napata, on the S-bend of the Nile, below the fourth cataract, 447 miles up the river from Halfa. The Greeks called the capital Meroë: the modern Arab, Merawi. The great royal necropolis was on the east side of the river, a little further up, at the modern El Kur'uw. The Nubas are not negroid: they are a tall dark Hamitic people. Isaiah 18:1 f. calls them "tall and sleek-skinned": their land was "buzzing with insects." The Wawat region came under Egyptian dominance as early as the time of Mernere, 2570 B.C. Egyptian garrisons and temples taught the Nubas to write in Egyptian hieroglyphics, and use Egyptian cultus-equipment. Egyptian architecture and art prevailed. About 900 B.C. there was an invasion of the fairer Temehu Libyans, and one of the most remarkable family dynasties in history was established. There must have been much intermarriage with the princely families of the dark Hamites, for Taharka looks like them. After a period of independence of Egypt, the new dynasty became masters of Egypt: "the Nubian period" of our current histories, beginning about 720 B.C. But the knowledge and use of the Egyptian writing and language rapidly declined with the passing of Egyptian dominance, and by 300 B.C. the

Nubas were ready to begin writing in Greek letters. Some papyrus fragments of their Christian literature written in Greek characters have been recovered, and a beginning made in recovering the lost Nubian language.[27] So the Nubas among whom Yahwist deportee colonies existed in Isaiah's time, as they retreated up the Nile in the following 2500 years, carried some Yahwism with them. To-day, if any of them write at all, it is only a little Arabic. But the remnants among them of the worship of the "Baal of the Heavens" and the remnants of Christianity with their Egyptian sacred utensils and symbols leave us no doubt of the route by which ancient Yahwism and Egyptian cultus-equipment reached northern Abyssinia, southeast of the ancient Nuba capital of Napata.

Since the above paragraphs were first written, substantiating evidence has come to hand. An old disused Egyptian tomb, about two hundred miles from the northeastern frontier of Egypt, was reoccupied by an Israelite colony. Long Aramaic inscriptions cover its walls. These are much defaced, and a complete translation may not be achieved. But the record shows the names of Tirhakah, Nekau I, and Psamtik I. Thus the colony is shown to have existed in Isaiah's time, two hundred years before the earliest documents of the Elephantiné papyri. The tombs are in the desert, opposite Oxyrynchus: about one hundred and thirty-five miles south of Cairo.

Petrie also reports that on a tomb at Hermopolis, a little south of this colony, the hieroglyphic Egyptian inscription reads,

"Good is the way of the man who obeys God: happy is he whose heart strives to follow him. . . . I will have you informed of the will of God; I will have you advance in the knowledge of His spirit. All the night the spirit of God is in my soul, and I rise in the morning to do that which He loves. . . . I have not agreed with those who know not the spirit of God, but I lean on those who act according to His will. . . . Happy is he who loves God and comes to his grave without sin."

[27] For the modern Nubas, see C. W. Domville-Fife, *Savage Life in the Black Sudan* (1927), pp. 203-271. For the recovery of the record of this great dynasty—the most important historical achievement of this century (?) —see report of the excavator, Dr. George Andrew Reisner, "The Lost History of Ethiopia" in *The Illustrated London News*, January 27, 1923, pp. 126-131, 142 and February 10, 1923; splendidly illustrated. Compare James H. Breasted, "Recovery and Decipherment of the Monuments of Ethiopia," in *The Biblical World*, December 1908, pp. 376-385; and George A. Reisner, "Recent Discoveries in Ethiopia" in *Harvard Theological Review*, January, 1920, pp. 23-44.

How nearly this repeats the phraseology of the Psalms is apparent to any one. Was the author an Egyptian-speaking Israelite? Should not his quotations then have been more literal? It seems that the language is that of a proselyted Egyptian. That the proverbs of Amenope of Solomon's time are reproduced in Proverbs 22:17-23:11 is already familiar. But international reciprocity means that Palestine was also voicing itself in Egypt in some measure, as Isaiah said it was.

Petrie's announcement that the sculptor of one stele of Rameses II was Yahu-nam, "Yahu-saith," also presses upon us another question: did all Yahwists leave Egypt at the Exodus? The multitude of social and official relationships, like those of Moses and Joseph, certainly suggests that many preferred to remain in Egypt.

M. Nahoum, who visited the Falashas some twenty years ago, agrees that Judaism reached Abyssinia by this route; but not weighing the above historic data, he suggested that it was probably in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, 247-222 B.C. He might have remembered that Alexander placed Israelite garrisons in the Thebaid a hundred years before, and that Ptolemy Soter had placed many Israelite garrisons in Egypt ten or fifteen years later. He did not appreciate the antiquity of the ancient Nile trade-route. In fact, the Aramaic papyri from Elephantiné, which Sayce and Cowley published, show that the Jewish garrison-temple was there before 500 B.C. Other papyri of the community published later[28] show that the Jews had a garrison-temple there before the Persian conquest. Then demotic Egyptian papyri recovered at Elephantiné by the Royal Museum at Berlin[29] put the garrison-politics and its convoy duty before us. One letter from Parandata (Pherendates), the Persian satrap of Egypt, diplomatically "permits" the priests of Khnum at Elephantiné to elect their priestly officials. It appears that the satrap thus refuses to confirm (as a Pharaoh should) some they have already elected. "He who serves another man" is not acceptable to the Persian government. It appears that some of the priestly nominees have been active in a recent rebellion. About four months later the priests write that they have set aside their "Lesonis" priest and elected another. This was in the thirtieth year of Darius I, 490 B.C. A third letter from Khnum-em-akhet to Parandata reveals the recent revolt. Khnum-em-akhet

[28] Cowley, *Jewish Documents of the Time of Ezra,* nos. 21, 30-33; Sachau, *Aramäische Papyri aus Elephantiné.*

[29] This expedition was conducted by Otto Rubensohn. A large number of demotic papyri were recovered, of the period 700 B.C.-200 A.D., indicating that a period of Elephantiné's special importance began near 700 B.C.

had the task of transporting grain from a ruined magazine to another one. But the rebels of "the deserts of the south" controlled the roads and were even attacking Syene (on the east bank of the Nile) in broad daylight. The priest asked that Artaban, who was probably the Persian commandant at Elephantiné, be instructed to furnish military protection for the transport-train and the new magazine.[30] Thus the Elephantiné garrison is shown charged with convoy-duty through "the deserts of the south": the Egyptian government has grain magazines along its trade route there; and Egyptian priestcraft may have incited the raids by desert marauders in order to get the Jewish garrison out of Elephantiné into the caravan stations in the desert. It was bad politics, for in case of some native Egyptian success against the Persians, the Jewish convoy-stations would muster the desert rovers against the Egyptians.

But what we have seen of ancient trade-colonies in Chapters IV and VI makes it probable that any important and fairly permanent Israelite convoy-station on that trade route also had its sanctuary and was a propagandist center. Evidence of propagandism in Elephantiné will be considered in Chapter XXII. The actual papyrus records carry us so near to Zephaniah's time that we must accord his allusions full value; and the more numerous remarks of Isaiah a century earlier are as easily accepted. Yahwism was in the Upper Nile country twenty-six hundred years ago. The Greek Ptolemies merely succeeded to traffic lines that had been in operation thousands of years. The assumption that Israelites could not have come to Abyssinia till the Ptolemies made it possible is without justification. Furthermore, theories of Falasha origin in Ptolemaic times are wrecked upon the fact of the lack of any Babylonian influence, or of any traditions of the long conflict between the Jewish and Samaritan sects. Ezra has left them no bitter memory. They call themselves Beita Israel, "House of Israel." *Aihûd,* "Jew," is familiar enough among Christian and Moslem, but the term is hardly ever heard among themselves. To these facts must be added the statement of Dr. Enno Littman, the distinguished Ethiopic scholar. He finds that the vocabulary of Abyssinian Christianity is well sprinkled with Aramaic terms for important religious ideas and institutions; and that these terms are not taken from the Christian Syriac, but from the Jewish Aramaic.[31] But the Jewish Aramaic did not enter Abyssinia from

[30] W. Spiegelberg, in *Forschungen und Fortschritte,* November 10, 1928.
[31] Compare *Jewish Encyclopedia,* v, 327, with Littman's article in Abyssinia in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.*

Yemen. It came in from Egypt, up the Nile tributaries. And the linguistic fact indicates that the time of the Jewish-Aramaic Elephantiné garrison was particularly influential in shaping the Agau Judaism of Abyssinia. And some of the results of that influence survive in the Abyssinian church. They have no notion that "Jew" was once a boasted distinction.

The claims of Isaiah and Zephaniah of proselyting in the land beyond the rivers of Nubia are strengthened by other incidental references to the region. Deuteronomy 17:15 f. in Jeremiah's time denounces the practice of the kings of Judah of establishing colonies in Egypt to increase their herds of horses; and foreign kings of Judah are indicated. This may refer to Solomon's position as a mere vassal of the Libyan Pharaohs[32] and to their practice of setting up their steles at various points to be worshipped as the real lords of the land. The University of Chicago has found the stele of Sheshonk (Shishak) at Megiddo. He would certainly have placed one at Jerusalem.

Further, Deuteronomy 23:7 must certainly be read in the present tense: "You shall not abhor an Egyptian, because you yourselves are enjoying *gêr*-rights in his land." It cannot possibly refer to relations of a thousand years before, when there had been revolution after revolution, with many kings of the political attitude of the one that "knew not Joseph." Deuteronomy is put forth following the long oppression by Assyria and the success of Psamtik I in turning the Scythian hordes back from Palestine. Political sentiment in Judah was too strongly in favor of Egypt to be checked by Jeremiah. The passage in question reminds every one that there were Israelite *gêr*-colonies in Egypt, and corroborates both what Isaiah said some seventy-five years earlier, and what Zephaniah said of proselyting in Nubia, as the Scythians approached. Then Nahum 3:9 knows that men of Kush were the strength of the Egyptian armies in the preceding generation, and that the troops of Put or Somaliland were important auxiliaries Jeremiah 46:9 knows that Necho's army as it passed through Palestine had a multitude of horses, with "mighty men of Kush and Put that handle the shield."[33] We must suppose that Israelites were as familiar figures in the lands of the Atbara and Blue Nile as the people of these lands were in Palestine. That the white Kushite traders long had their stations in the oases of the Sabaean trade routes has already been noticed.[34]

[32] I Kings 11:1; 10:28; 9:16, 24.

[33] Compare Mazoi, Mazoyu, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* IV, 177b.

[34] Musil, pp. 247, 287.

Moreover, the existence of Judaism in this Nubian area is later evidenced by Acts 8:27 ff. The eunuch is treasurer of Kandakê. Now Kandak proves to be the official title of each queen-mother of the Nubian kings of the period. All the Nile Valley south of Assuan in that century was ruled by native kings subject to the Romans. The queen-mother of each took precedence of the queen or royal wife.[35] That the Kandak's treasurer was a Jew suggests much Judaism in Nubian official circles. That should have been a natural result of the incessant convoy activity of the Jewish garrison at Elephantiné.

It is important that the Falashas do not say that their whole strength was the result of a single colony. Claiming that the first migration was in the days when Solomon's temple was in its glory, and an ark with inscribed law-tablets was a necessary adjunct of a sanctuary, a more specific tradition is that this colony came in the days of Rehoboam. French scholars report a tradition that a colony came there fleeing from Nebuchadrezzar:[36] which is just what we should expect, when Jeremiah 44 tells all refugees in Lower Egypt, and in the Thebaid too, that they are not safe from Nebuchadrezzar where they are. They would naturally seek the company of their fellows already in the Upper Nile country, immortalized by the popular songs of Isaiah and Zephaniah. Either that or the Sahara would seem the alternatives to them. So while the Falashas hold a tradition that a certain Askaris (Zachariah?) ben-Zadok, with a group of learned elders, was among their pioneers and taught their first (Agau) king, naming him "David," they claim that their numbers were augmented at various times by others expelled from Palestine and Arabia.[37] This also is what we should expect. That only one band of Israelites in three thousand years travelled that trade route from an Egypt which at times swarmed with Jews, asks much credulity.

Greek records tell of Ptolemy Euergetes conquering Aksum, and this is confirmed by an ancient inscription. Six hundred years later a Greek Aizenas is king, when Christianity is introduced by Frumentius;[38] but this Christianity copied or took over Jewish organization. The church is a *makdas* (mikdash); it has an outer court, Holy Place, and Holy of Holies. Each worshipper must cantillate the Trisagion of Isaiah 6:3 as he enters. The Jewish city of refuge is still the dominant institution. Christianity did

[35] A. Wiedemann, "L'Éthiopie au Temps de Tiberie," *Museon*, 1884.
[36] G. Bertin, *La Grande Encyclopédie, s.v.* Abyssinie.
[37] Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 233 f., American Edition.
[38] Bertin, *loc. cit.*

not win all Jewish proselytes easily. In the ninth century the kings of Aksum were Jewish, and ruled Yemen, says Bertin. A temple of Yehâ (Aramaic Yehô=Yahu) still remains at Aksum. Ancient kings were crowned in the adjacent court. To-day a Hédar Sîôn festival is held before the Ptolemy obelisk. It is a strictly local festival, not included in the more than thirteen hundred saint commemorations listed in the Ethiopic Synaxary or calendar of saints. All the people of the vicinity come, decked in their finest array, with dancing and floral gifts. They do not know that they are repeating a custom of the Jewish past of their faith, nor do they know the meaning of Hédar Sîôn.[39] But Hédar is the Hebrew *hadar,* "to decorate, honor"—"Worship Yahu in holy array!"[40] "Sîôn" is *tsiyyûn,* the "inscribed monument" of 2 Kings 23:17 ("Mount Zion" was "Monument Hill"). So the Hédar Sîôn around the old Ptolemy obelisk is the festival of the "decoration or worship of the monument." The bitter complaint of the Elephantiné Jews about the destruction of their temple includes the smashing of their cherished obelisks.[41] And thus the high-place heroes and Yahu-shrines were linked, as in Ezekiel 43:7-9.

J. T. Bent, with regard to the claim that Aksum was the place to which Menelik I, the legendary son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, brought the tablets of the law stolen from the temple at Jerusalem, records that the same claim is made for a similar older and ruder temple at the village of Yehâ, about twenty-five miles northeast of Aksum: fifteen miles northeast of the Portuguese settlement of Adowa. It is only twelve miles south of the Mareb branch of the Nile: a natural point of settlement for traders coming to northern Abyssinia by the Nile route. It is about one hundred miles by caravan road from the ancient port of Adulis, at the mouth of the Red Sea. The modern village of Yehâ is upon the site of an extensive ancient ruin. The temple has been preserved because of a Christian church built within it later, and now abandoned, though still in use when the Portuguese reached the place four centuries ago. The temple is a quadrangle, 60 x 48 feet, and fifty feet high without windows. There are fifty-two courses

[39] Jean d'Esme, "Deux grandes Cités Ethiopiennes" in *L'Illustration,* February 11, 1928, with illustrations of the Ptolemy obelisk and court; also Maurice de Coppet (former Minister of France at Addis Abêba), "Sanctuaires et Pèlerinages Chrétiens d'Éthiopie," in *L'Illustration,* May 31, 1924, with picture of the Yehâ temple at Axum.

[40] So *haderath kodesh,* Psalm 29:2; J. M. P. Smith. Cf. Psalm 96:9; 1 Chron. 16:29; 2 Chron. 20:21. It means the festal-worship before a sanctuary, says Gesenius-Buhl.

[41] Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible,* p. 448, 1925 edition.

of large limestone blocks laid without cement. There is a large door on the west, sixteen feet wide, and remains of monoliths and altars in front, while fragments of columns outside the enclosure indicate that the sanctuary was an extensive one, modelled after the Egyptian. By contrast, M. de Coppet says that the Yehâ temple at Aksum is built of polished limestone in the best style of Karnak or Luxor: incontestably Egyptian. Bent recognized that the ruins at the village of Yehâ were of a much older and ruder type than those at Aksum. It did not occur to him that the name Yehâ might be a Falasha adaptation of the Aramaic Yeho=Yahu. De Coppet records the present claim that the Ptolemies accepted Aksum as their capital because it was already the Holy Place of Abyssinia. But with the like claim made for the older and ruder Yehâ temple, twenty-five miles away, it is probable that the Ptolemies at first recognized this older sanctuary, but soon removed the capital to a new site: the palladium-stones of the Law being taken to the new Yehâ shrine. That would parallel what we know of the ancient Palestinian practice of carrying sacred megaliths from one site to another. M. de Coppet, relative to the claim that the modern Hédar Sîôn festival commemorates the arrival of the stones of the Law and also the establishment of the worship of the Virgin, observes that the Judaic past of their faith is obscured. But completely lost is the memory of ancient Palestinian dancing before the sacred megalith in such temple courts as that excavated at Beth-shean.[42]

The struggle with Christianity began more than a thousand years after Isaiah spoke comfort for Israelites beyond the rivers of Nubia, a thousand years after Zephaniah spoke of the conversions there through the agency of the "Daughter of My dispersed." Meropius, a merchant of Tyre, in 330 A.D. was murdered on the Abyssinian coast, while on his way to India. His two sons became slaves to the "emperor" and one of them, Frumentius, so impressed the royal household that he made converts and built a church. Visiting Alexandria years after, with the story of his

[42] Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians,* London, 1896; and "Ancient Trade Routes Across Ethiopia," in *The Geographical Journal,* August, 1893. Bent did not know the language, nor of the Jewish shrines in Egypt, since discovered, and consequently indulged in worthless speculations about a Sabaean astrological cult, from Arabia. He was then anxious to demonstrate a Himyaritic Abyssinia. D. H. Müller thought he read "his house Awa" in one inscription, from the Yehâ village, and compared a Baal-Awa in South Arabia and the town-name Awa in a Ptolemaic inscription. But it appears that Yehâ was not originally the town-name. The temple-name has survived the destruction of the ancient capital. See Bibliography, below, *s. v.* Garson.

achievements, he was joyfully honored, and sent back about 360 A.D. as the first *Abouna* or Patriarch, and consecrated as Bishop of Axum.[43] Gradually Judaism lost ground. But in 925 A.D. a Jewess princess, Sague, trapped and murdered all the seed royal in Athaliah-fashion; slew five hundred, so traditions declare; and announced herself queen under the name of Esther.[44] This kingdom lasted till 1255 A.D. The kings were "Gideons"; the queens were usually named Judith. Then the monk Tekla Haïmanût ("Flower of the Faith") persuaded the feeble descendant of Esther to abdicate in favor of Yekweno Amlak, or Yohannes Amlak, king of Shoa, and all the royal Jewish family took refuge there, some three hundred and fifty miles south of Axum.[45] The subsequent wars between combined Jews and Moslems and the Christians need not be detailed. A shadowy claim of Jewish empire continued among the mountain Falashas of the province of Semien for nearly eight hundred years.

Instead of explaining the present Falashas then as the survivors of a Jewish people from the Arabian coasts in modern times who have been driven into the mountains; instead of thinking of them as the original propagators of Judaism in Abyssinia, we have to think of them as the last survivors of an early type of Israelite religion that once spread widely in Abyssinia. It was there when the Habesh, "Gatherers," or Itiopyavan,[46] "Incense gatherers," were still in the south of Arabia, east of Hadramaut and Kataban.[47] About 75 B.C. the Habesh king was allied with Saba. Himyar soon overthrew Saba. Habesh refugees settled among the Agau, with their capital at Aksum. This alliance of Habesh from Saba with Agau, who had centuries of "Solomonic" Yahwism, resulted in the legend that the Habesh king Menelik I was a "son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba." The northern terminus of the ancient Abyssinia-to-Egypt caravan line had become the center of the Yahwists. We see why the Christianity dominant among the Amharas and Tigré Abyssinians who came in from southwest Arabia is saturated with a previously-accepted Yahwism.

The ever-operating element of ethnic antipathies has determined the issue between Yahwism and Christianity. As the Habesh grew stronger, conquering the earlier population of the Agau nomads, Gallas, etc., the struggle between Yahwism and Christianity came to be also a struggle between the invaders and

[43] Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 255 f.
[44] Bertin, *loc. cit.;* Harris, p. 234.
[45] Bertin, *loc. cit.*
[46] Hence *Ethiopian.*
[47] Cf. Schoff, *Periplus,* 61 ff.

the older peoples. The wars to establish the kingdom of Gideon and Judith were in some measure a struggle for racial supremacy.

Herbert Loewe[48] argues that the Jews of the Elephantiné garrison were the descendants of the northern Israelites, and that they represent more especially the so-called Samaritan community, since they appeal to the Jewish authorities at Samaria. But the fact that the Persian governor is there is a sufficient explanation. Loewe's explanation must reach a little farther back, and accept Isaiah's statements as historic. As already stated, the Falashas have no trace of Babylonian Judaism. Nor have they any of the prejudices growing out of the revolutions introduced by Ezra. The bitter hatred of Solomon's innovations that centered in Jeroboam ben-Nebat do not appear among them. On the contrary, Solomon and Solomon's temple are their traditional authority. They have not the great literary prophets. Their expected Messiah is a great priest, not a Davidic militarist. This ideal remains with the Abyssinian Christians, though they turn this "Gift of God," Theodore, into a military despot. The distinctive features of Falasha religion point to a pre-exilic time, when Solomon's temple was in high repute.

The struggle between the older Judaized peoples and the Amharic parvenus, using religion as a *casus belli,* has meant a retaliatory propagandism by Christian and Moslem neighbors, so that from dominating northern Abyssinia for a time the Falashas have shrunk greatly. Stern estimated them at two hundred and fifty thousand with not a merchant among them.[49] Later estimates put them at one hundred thousand, but forced conversion has reduced them to a much smaller number.

The essential fact for us, however, is that while clinging to the Jewish tradition of pure blood and no mixed marriages with any other tribe or creed, these Falashas are shown by their dark skins, thick lips, prognathous jaws, and frizzy hair to be a mingling of Hamitic and negroid stocks. They are simply Judaized Agau, in no physical features differing from the nomad pagan Agau. M. de Castro, of the Italian legation at Addis Abêba, says that the Falashas have all the characteristics of the native population to such a degree that they may be mistaken for them.[50] They are darker and more corpulent than the ruling Amhara stock, though their one-time mastery of some Amharas is evidenced in occasional Am-

[48] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* VII, 582, and *Jewish Literary Annual,* London, 1908, pp. 146 ff.

[49] *Wanderings among the Falashas,* p. 194.

[50] Fishberg, pp. 147 f.

haric lineaments among them, while Abyssinian Christianity is itself saturated with traditions of descent from Israel of the Solomonic age. But again we have the notion of a purely ethnic Yahwist Israel shown to be baseless, and again we see that such must have been the militant Yahwism of pre-exilic kings in Palestine; a policy sure to bring political and spiritual ruin, but leaving its damning dream of a military "messiah," which inspired Mohammed.

This consideration of the Falashas should not omit the Tabibân and the Kamants. The term Tabibân simply means "smiths." Till recent times the Falashas were the handicraftsmen of Abyssinia, the only skilful smiths, masons, potters, and leather-workers. Royal necessities moved a considerable colony of Falasha smiths to Shoa, and forced upon them a nominal Christianity. They are essentially secret Falashas. They have a headman, a *resh galûta*, of their own; they continue circumcision, the offering of sacrifices, and the holding of secret meetings for worship in the mountain gorges where their mining and smelting and manufacturing are done.

The Kamants may be called the "Canaanites" of Abyssinian Judaism. They have traditions of ancient immigration, like the Falashas, but keep aloof from the Falashas, Christians, and other pagans. They have their own priesthood and headman, their own sacrifices and practically secret worship, since they strongly object to the presence of strangers at their religious assemblies. They have no buildings for worship, but meet under certain great trees, calling such places *Desht*. They honor Moses and some Old Testament heroes, and "the Book." But they know very little of it. Their cultus is all a verbal tradition. Sanbat, the Sabbath goddess, is honored and the day is strictly observed. The Christian Sunday is unknown. The Yôm Kippûr and feasts for the dead are essentially the same as the Falasha procedure. They are divided into two castes: the Keberti (*Kabur*, "honored") from whom priests are chosen, and Yetanti (*Yektan*, "lesser folk"?), the common people. The two castes do not intermarry. Polygamy is general, dissolution of marriage is easy. On the whole, they strongly remind us of the Palestinians who worshipped "on every high hill and under every evergreen tree," and who were inevitably involved in any extensive deportation or colonization of their Israelite overlords.

About thirteen hundred miles south of the Falasha country is the district of Usambara, north of the Pangani River, inland from Mombasa. Low ranges of mountains parallel the coast. The

dominant Wakalindi are on the fourth range, some sixty miles inland. The Wasambara are on the three ridges nearer the coast, Wabondeis or "lowlanders" occupying the coastal plain, some thirty miles wide, with Wambugu in a plains district north of the mountains. The Wasambara seem to be of the Wachaga stock, lacking the usual negroid characteristics. Varying in color from light brown to deep black, with satiny skin and high foreheads, they appear to be mainly Hamitic, with some Arab infusion. The ruling Wakalindi style themselves "Sons of Mkandé," a famous hunter a few generations ago, north of the Chaga country. The various local or subordinate chiefs are Akidas.[51] This is evidently the Arab term *akîd* or *agîd,* the chief religious functionary of a Beduin tribe. Scanty notices of the Judaism surviving among the Wasambara suggest that they are not connected with Agau, of whom the Falashas are one division. Dr. Otto Hellwig, noticing the institution of asylum among them, reports that the graves of noted chiefs are asyla. This is essentially the Arab institution of asylum at the tomb of any holy man, or *welî.* But this cannot be credited to the influence of pagan and Moslem Arab traders that have exploited this coast for more than two thousand years, probably for more than four thousand. For the asylum institution has taken on the special form of the Levitical city, not characteristic of nomad Arabia. Four holy "cities" have been established. In these all the official magicians of the Wasambara dwell, and all criminals of the Wasambara and of their subject peoples find asylum in them. It does not appear that alien criminals are accepted.[52] Taken with the sacrifices, whatever Judaism is acknowledged there must have been introduced by Yemenite or Himyaritic Jewish traders in very ancient times.

To this southward extension of Arabian Judaism must be added also the traces of it among the Sakalavas of Madagascar. Each family, clan, and *sept* had its "fad" or taboo to be rigorously respected. There was an established system of lucky and unlucky days. Nothing could be ventured without a meticulous consultation of "fate" by the game of hazard called *sikili.* Since it is familiar in southern Arabia, Grandidier considered it introduced by Jewish adventurers or refugees from Arabia. But they must have been of a very early and inferior type of Judaism. The institution of child-sacrifice was dominant. But instead of the first-born, the

[51] Rev. J. P. Farler, "The Usambara Country in East Africa," in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society,* February, 1879.

[52] Reclus, *Africa,* IV, 355.

babes born on unlucky days had to be thrown to the crocodiles or buried alive. Two modifying factors appeared. The adventurer Beniovski demanded that all doomed children be turned over to him to enlarge his colony. And among the Vezas infants were formally exposed, as required, but were promptly taken over by a near kinsman who stood ready.[53] To this should be added the facts given in greater detail at the end of Chapter XIII below. In other parts of Madagascar claims of Jewish ancestry survived, and books used only for incantations were extant down to the time of the general idol burning. Some Koran pages were recovered, copied by persons ignorant of Arabic, and used only for magical formulae. But the absence of the Arab or the Judeo-Babylonian calendar again points to a pre-exilic type of Judaism. There is no present evidence that it was able to elevate ancient Malagasy morals. Such evidence of Judaism as there is may be fairly correlated with that from Usambara.

[53] Reclus, *Africa,* IV, 451.

CHAPTER X

Berber, Moorish, and Negro Jews

To deal with the spread of ancient Yahwism and later Judaism in North Africa in terms of the modern Barbary States is a method historically impossible. The terms Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, correspond to no ancient political, ethnical, or religious distinctions. They are convenient for cyclopaedic or year-book statements concerning present-day Judaism, but we have to begin with a time nearly two thousand years before these Moslem states or provinces were politically defined. The ancient populations of each of these regions were not racially distinct, nor locally settled and immobile. Nor was there a certain assimilating and unifying power of Islam to consider.

For the earlier period of our study, we have but two civilizing or assimilating outside peoples to consider, the Egyptians and the Phoenicians. The Minoan culture has left the memory of its long supremacy on the North African coast in the name Tarshish (see p. 102), and is still represented by Pelishtîn communities of the interior. Egypt was supreme as far west as the oasis called that of "Jupiter Ammon" by the Romans, about four hundred miles west of the Delta. And this valuable oasis was occupied as a station for trading with Libyan or Berber peoples farther west. As a result, when Greeks established the Cyrenian colonies in the seventh century B.C., these usually appealed to Egypt for aid in critical times. The Pharaoh was sometimes a Libyan himself. Thus Egyptian influence was usually paramount for nearly a thousand miles west of Cairo. West of that the Hebrew-Phoenician influence prevailed.

Sallust, himself a governor of the Roman province of Africa of his time, says that "Africa" begins with the Catabathmos on the east, where the population was highly mingled, active, and hardy, the Gaetuli and Libyans being the aborigines, with no settled communities: each petty kinglet was for himself against all others. This nomad population depended upon game and flocks; there was no settled agricultural life for them.[1] Sallust thus includes Cyrenaica in his Roman province of Africa, since the Catabathmos, or "Descent," is the sudden drop from the elevated Libyan tableland with its cliff-shores to the sandy lowlands extending to the Nile. This Descent is about three hundred and

[1] Sallust, *Jugurtha,* xvii, xviii.

fifty miles west of Alexandria. A line from El-Sellum on the Gulf of Salum runing nearly south to the present oasis of Siwa approximates the boundary between ancient Libya and Egypt. Roman Africa included Cyrenaica, up to the Catabathmos, and the territory west of it, wrested from Carthaginian control, and ended in eastern Algeria. But the Phoenician influence had extended to the Atlantic. The region immediately west of their Africa the Romans called Numidia, while Mauritania roughly approximated the modern Morocco. It will be noticed that a thousand years since Solomon's time had not altered the nomad mode of life; and as for the settled population, it was active, hardy, and very much mixed. Its ethnic and religious elements do not interest Sallust. As a Roman, political organizations and conflicts are his theme.

But the ethnic and religious comminglings are our only concern. And here two notable defects of much Jewish writing about North Africa are to be kept in mind. One is the assumption that Hebrew was the language of the Aramaean Israelite patriarchs, and that all culture expressed in the Hebrew language is to be credited to the Israelite. The other—one result of the pretension to have always been a segregate, secluded, historically aloof people—is a continual discounting of Old Testament indications of early Israelite commercial travels and a general disregard of the notices of Israelite colonies and garrisons placed in Africa as early as the seventh century B.C.

In contrast with these assumptions we have always to remember what was pointed out in Chapter IV: that the language which we call Hebrew or Phoenician was spoken in Palestine and northward for a thousand years or more before there was any "Israel" in Palestine; that the Aramaeans called "Israel" lost their Aramaic speech and were wholly absorbed by the Hebrew-speakers. These Hebrew-Phoenician traders then had more than a thousand years in which to spread along Mediterranean coasts before there were any Israelites to venture about with them. That Isaiah calls the speech where colonization was going on in Egypt "the language of Canaan" (Isaiah 19:18) is of especial importance when we remember that the language current in Phoenician North Africa during the early Christian centuries was also known to Greek writers as "Canaanitish" *(Chananaiôs)*, and till well into the fifth century much Christian literature was produced in this coastland *lingua franca*. This fact is recognized by the Jewish scholar Heinrich

Löwe.[2] Then we have Christian writers like St. Augustine, who lived among them and worked for them, calling the people of the North African coast-colonies "Canaanites." Procopius quotes an Armenian writer of the fifth century who said that the Canaanites still lived in Africa and spoke the Phoenician language. The Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin 91a) says that the Canaanites in Africa asked Alexander the Great to restore to them the lands wrested from them by Joshua ben-Nun. One or two early Christian fathers note that the people spoke Hebrew. The identity of Hebrew, Phoenician, and Canaanite will be observed. But the term Canaanite for the coastland language and traditions eventually had the preference.

Now such terminology could have come only from the people in question. The Canaanite or Palestine tradition is still widespread among Berber peoples, and some Palestine hero-sagas are localized in Morocco. But this does not prove that any Berber ancestors of these people were ever in Palestine. We simply have evidence of the methods and assimilative power of this ancient Semitic culture, which is spoken of as Hebrew or Phoenician or Canaanite.[3] The savage or semi-savage aborigines who became part of this powerful Hebrew-Phoenician coastland culture accepted their masters' historic traditions and now narrate them as those of their own ancestry. It is a parallel to the Israelite adopting old Sumerian creation and flood tales, when in Babylonian exile, and then inventing a genealogical scheme to make these tales appear to be experiences of the immediate ancestors of the Israelites.

It is to be repeated that the presence of these Palestinian traditions in Berber folk-lore is testimony to the assimilative energy of the Hebrew-Phoenician culture in North Africa. It appears that its methods were essentially those that the Israelite has made memorable. The alien had to become one of the Phoenician group, accept its ethnic traditions, and claim its ancestors as his own. It thus gathered in the Carthaginian state proselytes from various races and cults. No one knows of what race or tribe Hannibal was. We merely know that he was one of the powerful state created by the spread of what we have called Phoenician culture. The original Phoenicians may have long been extinct.[4] We do

[2] *Die Spräche der Juden,* Cologne, 1911.

[3] It is possible that as used by the Hebrew-Phoenicians in North Africa the term Canaanite originally referred only to their culture along the African coast, and that the identification with the coastland of Palestine is a blunder made by later Jews and Christians.

[4] See Richardson, "The Semites," in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature,* October, 1924: *"There never was any such thing as*

know from the Punic inscriptions recovered that the Carthaginians were so largely composed of Libyans or Berber peoples that some inscriptions are untranslateable, because of the predominance of non-Semitic words. The same inscriptions show us Tanit as a principal divinity linked with Baal, as Ashtart and any *ba'al* were linked with Yahu in the popular worship of the Hebrew-Phoenician populace of Palestine, a fact repeatedly thrust upon our notice in the Old Testament. And we know that this goddess Ta-Nit, "Lady of Heaven"[5] (?) Neit or Nut was the great Libyan sky-numen and war-goddess, popularized in the western Delta. Her insignia were two crossed arrows on a shield. Ta-Nit, from the Tuareg idiom cited, would be "Lady Neit." Survivals of her cult among the Mzabî Berbers make her the "Mother of Rain." She was the supreme female divinity in the Carthaginian area as she was in Saitic or Libyan Egypt. And we shall see the same goddess dominant in the intervening region. It is absolutely certain then that Israelites addicted to the worship of the Queen of Heaven, Anat,[6] would find no difficulty in accepting her Libyan name, if they accompanied Hebrew-Phoenician merchants to Carthage. We saw their Anat-cult continued in the Elephantiné colony.

But with the beginnings of Hebrew-Phoenician-Canaanite activity in the Mediterranean lying more than a thousand years before Solomon's time, the old assumption that the parvenu Israelites of his day could not have travelled so far with the enterprising peoples who had culturally assimilated them is without justification.

Now to the thousand years or more of pre-Israelite Phoenician activity upon the North African coast, we have to add the specifically Israelite or Jewish guard-colonies mentioned in Chapter VI. It seems that both Psamtik I and Psamtik II used Israelite garrisons on the Egyptian frontiers: Aristeas tells of one hundred thousand deported from Palestine by Ptolemy Soter, many being placed in garrisons; and another one hundred thousand were said to have

a Semitic race. . . . We are dealing with many races, each of which was very much mixed, alike in nothing except the languages which they spoke, and certain customs, habits, myths and religions and other practices which they inherited along with language."

[5] Literally "She of the Sky"? A prefixed *t* makes a feminine noun in modern Tuareg. *Zarif* is a pale gray animal; *tezarif,* a pale gray female; *ourak,* a pale fawn male; *towrak,* a pale fawn female. See Angus Buchanan, "A Land that is Dead," in *Asia,* May, 1926, p. 397.

[6] See Shamgar ben-Anat, Judges 3:31; the stele for Anat, Queen of Heaven, found at Beth-Shean recently; Jeremiah's residence at Anat-ot ("The Anats"?) and his denunciations of the worship of the Queen of Heaven, chapters 7, 44.

been placed in the Libyan area about Cyrene. Persian use of such Israelites is also acknowledged.[7] When Cyrene revolted from Darius, the satrap of Egypt stormed and destroyed its chief city Barca, deporting survivors to lower Babylonia and Afghanistan as colonists. New garrison colonies were placed in Cyrene. With this we must correlate what Sallust wrote nearly five centuries later. The region west of Roman Africa had been occupied in ancient times by Medes and Persians and Armenians. They used overturned boats for shelter, being ignorant of the trade-language of the coast and of Spain, and hence unable to purchase timber from Spain, though financially able to do so. They gradually intermarried with the nomad Gaetuli (Kabyles?), and the Libyans joined themselves to these Medes and Armenians (Hurrians of the Psamtik colonies?); and in Sallust's time this coast-region culture reached beyond the Straits of Gibraltar down the west coast of Africa. It is not necessary to review the ridicule heaped upon Sallust by various modern historians, not one of whom has considered Darius's reduction of the Cyrenian revolt. Refugees would not find Phoenician North African colonies hospitable with Darius controlling all eastern Mediterranean coasts and using Phoenician fleets. They would go beyond: nomad Berbers would travel the inland roads. The books of King Hiempsal (*Jugurtha,* xvii) certainly gave Sallust some facts, though in his time these refugees from revolted Cyrene may have been of exaggerated importance in popular tradition. But we must add them to the tens of thousands of Israelite colonists and guardsmen in estimating Sallust's "highly mixed and very active population."

We must also scrutinize Cyrenaica, which began to be Hellenized about the time Psamtik I was planting Israelite garrisons on the frontiers of Egypt. A persistence of the Berber and Berber institutions will appear. The Greek colony of Cyrene began more than two hundred years after the founding of Carthage; and Carthage was far younger than Cadiz. Greek trader-adventurers from Thera and Crete settled on the island of Platae, now Bomba, about 631 B.C. They brought no women with them, but intermarried with Libyan women. Getting on friendly terms with Libyans of the vicinity, they removed in a few years to the mainland, about fifteen miles west, and founded Cyrene. (This was after Psamtik II of Egypt had begun using Israelite refugee colonies.) Here also the intermarriage with Libyans went on, the Libyan name for king, "Battus," became the title of the Cyrenian ruler, and Libyan

[7] Josephus, *Antiquities,* XII, ii, 5; Aristeas 12-14, 36.

personal and *sept*-names became a prominent feature. Between 593 and 588 Psamtik II of Egypt was campaigning in Nubia, and is credited with using Israelite garrisons there, and among the Libyans. Near 570 B.C. a general invitation was issued to all Greeks to come and share the neighboring unallotted Berber lands. Many came from Peloponnesus, Crete, and neighboring islands. Dispossessed Berbers were angered, but the estrangement soon passed. They allied themselves with the earlier Greek-Berbers and intermarriage and assimilation of Berbers went on. Quarrels among the colonists led to the foundation of the new colony of Barca; evidently meaning more self-assertion on the part of the Berber element in the colony. Barca in turn expanded, sending out a few years later the colony of Euhesperides, now Benghazi. Then Taucherra (Tokrah) was founded, near the mouth of the Gulf of Sydra (Syrtis Major). Thus the Helleno-Berber colony was stretched along nearly three hundred miles of coast-line, with a rich interior as a base for a large population. In the quarrel between Barca and Cyrene, the native Libyans sided with Barca, for the Libyan strain had become stronger in Barca than in Cyrene. One feature in the quarrel—that the Cyrene women would eat no cow's flesh, and the Barca women would eat no pork—suggests a contest between those for whom Ta-Nit, the sky-lady, was Hat-Hor, the Egyptian sky-cow, and those who had adopted some Jewish customs. The Greeks have turned Ta-Nit into Athene. In the quarrel between Helleno-Berber colonists and the nomad Berbers of the interior, Egypt, not Greece, is recognized as the arbiter. Apries, the Hophra of Jeremiah 44:30, sends an army to aid the inland Libyans, or Berbers, and is worsted by the colonists. Ahmose II overthrows him, 568 B.C., sides with the Helleno-Berbers of Cyrene, and encourages the development of the Greek city Naukratis, in Egypt. And Egypt remained the recognized lord of Cyrene down to the time of Persian domination.[8]

But with the Berber always the predominant ethnic element in Graeco-Roman-Phoenician North Africa, it is time to emphasize the very mingled character of the population called Berber or Kabyle. The term Kabyle is Arabic: *Kabilet,* plural *Kabaïl,* are terms for petty clans or subdivisions of a tribe in Arab Africa. *Kbaïla,* all the petty clans together, is approximately a federal league. There is no ethnic connotation. The term merely expresses the fact that the many petty clans are but clans with no centralized government, nor any unifying ideal. And "berber"

[8] *Cambridge Ancient History,* IV, 109 f.

or "barbar" (whence our "barbarian"), is the term Greeks applied to all who did not speak Greek. It suggests no particular race or people. But centuries of European scholarly usage have made it the customary designation of the North African people who were in ancient times called "Libyan."

But this Libyan-Berber population was highly mixed before the infusion of Phoenician, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman elements into it. The ancient Egyptian reliefs show dark brown, Hamitic peoples with black hair and eyes, and yellow-haired, blue-eyed white peoples called by the same geographic term, Tehennu, "oasis people." The historic evidence is that the dark Hamitic peoples once held all North Africa, and that they have been slowly driven southeast, into the regions of the Middle Nile, Lower Red Sea, and Somaliland, by a blonde people who seem to have entered Africa by the Straits of Gibraltar. The two struggling stocks intermarried much.[9]

Before the Hebrew-Phoenician element began to spread in the Mediterranean the Minoan culture in Crete had a busy North African trade, with a consequent infusion of Philistine and other Aegaean elements into the coastal settlements. Roman authors call the mingled Berber-Hamitic-Negro population south of Tunis the "Garamantes." At the present day the negroid element is most prominent. They are devoted to agriculture, and are variously known as Tedas, Tebus, or Tibesti.

The interior population south of the Atlas Mountains to the Niger, and from the Garamantes to the Atlantic, the Romans called Gaetuli. But they recognized that there were many different tribes, all widely different from the negro peoples south of them, but much darker than the coastal tribes. This suggests a predominant Hamitic element. They recognized that there was much intermarriage with the negroes in the far South, and that the nomads had an important trade with the interior of Africa.[10] It is to be remembered that these Greek and Roman notices are three thousand years later than the appearance of Libyan invaders in the records of Egypt. The North African Berbers were a highly-mixed population before the Greek colony of Cyrene was founded among them. They were highly-mixed when Hebrew-Phoenicians began to bring Yahwism among them.

[9] Möller, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft,* 1924, pp. 43 ff.

[10] Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography,* I, 925.

The modern Berbers show five well-defined physical types, owing probably to the character and amount of intermingling. The one considered aboriginal and purest is the Mozabi Hamitic Berber described in Chapter VII above, claimed by Huguet and Slouschz as "purest Jewish type." By far the commonest type is the short oval face, flattened at the cheek bones, with short, blunt nose, often concave, and small eyes and round chin.[11] Jews among such are of the same physical type. The hair varies from black to blonde, and is sometimes red.

To this statement of the ethnical mixture in which ancient Yahwism was planted in North Africa may be added the infusions of the last fifteen hundred years. Syrians or Anatolians, Vandals, Circassians, Albanians, Spaniards, Balearics, Italians, Provençals, tens of thousands of enslaved Europeans, with Gipsies, and Hamitic Haussas, Bambarras, Fulahs; then the Arabs and the Turks—such is the roster. And more than half of those called Arabs by modern writers are Berbers of much mixed blood.[12] But the center of interest in the present consideration is the last thousand years before the Christian era.

The three hundred miles of Cyrenaic coast did not include all Greek-Berber settlements. Herodotus describes the whole more westerly section of the North African coast as held by various Berber tribes, all more or less aping Greek culture. As to fertility, the Berber population assured the newcomers that there was a "hole in the sky" in one region—water for agriculture came down in abundance. It seems that this was the fertile Cinyps valley, nearer to Tripoli than to the border of the Roman province called Cyrene. Pliny mentions the coast towns of Oea, Cinyps, Neapolis, Graphara, Abrotonum, Leptis Magna (originally a great Sidonian colony), between the two Syrtes.[13] The whole district abounds with Berber trilithic stone structures, with evidences of Greek and Roman occupation throughout Tripoli, and also with influences of Phoenicia apparent in the cultus-structures. "Sallust tells us that the inhabitants of Leptis Magna by intermarriages with the Numidians had changed their language, although they had not changed their Sidonian laws and customs." The thoughtful Semitist would consider Sallust's statement ethnologically inexact. He would not say that the Phoenician-Hebrew, able to give his law, culture, and institutions to resident Berbers, was not able to keep his own lan-

[11] Ratzel, *History of Mankind,* III, 134.
[12] Reclus, *Africa,* II, 236.
[13] See Cowper, *The Hill of the Graces,* pp. 109-302.

guage; but rather that the Berber proselytes who thronged to this trading-post in Sallust's time had become the immense majority of the population.[14] It is to be emphasized here that the perpetuation of some Palestinian traditions, customs, legend, and law by peoples purely Berber remains one of the facts of North Africa. It proves powerful Hebrew-Phoenician influence: it does not prove genealogical descent.

The Sidonian Leptis was older than Carthage, and second only to Carthage and Utica in its importance for North Africa.[15] And Sidon was the ally of Israel under the Omri dynasty (1 Kings 16:31), and as certainly promoted the establishment of Israelite trade in Leptis as Solomon's alliance with Tyre did in Tyrian colonies. Leptis Magna, now Lebda, without question had Israelite traders still earlier, in the days when Solomon thought it necessary to enshrine the Ashtart of Sidon on the Mount of Olives (1 Kings 11:5; 2 Kings 23:13).

The term "Cyrene" then is for us a Roman provincial designation. Three famous trade-cities west of it resulted in the administrative province of Tripolitana, the modern Tripoli. But the mingling of the older Hebrew Phoenician and the later Greek and Roman cultures with the native Berber population all the way from Egypt to Carthage was in about the same proportions in each district. We cannot think of Judaism in what we now call Tunis as being distinct in ancient times in its ethnical elements, traditions, and superstitions from the Judaism elsewhere on the North African coast. The Berber remained everywhere the dominant ethnical element, and Phoenician and Greek and Roman names were often borne by persons of unmixed Berber blood.

Thus upon the face of the oldest records we possess we are compelled to recognize an enormous infusion of Palestinian peoples and institutions into North African coast-regions, and to recognize that they attracted and assimilated a very large proportion of the Berber population. We have to admit that hundreds of thousands of nominal Israelites are part of this ancient Semitic culture infusion. We have to recognize that so far as the Israelite is concerned such infusion probably began as early as the days when "Dan was a protégé on alien ships" when pressed by hinterland enemies, and "Asher clung to the seacoast, and dwelt in his harbours" (Judges 5:17). The extent of this early movement we

[14] How many of Sallust's "Sidonians" were Israelites? He was not an ethnologist.

[15] Cowper, p. 219.

may never know. But this Deborah-taunt comes from a time when the priestly and monarchical organizations did not exist. "In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (Judges 17:6; 18:1; 19:1; 21:25).

But this fact of infusion of Israelites in various stages of religious development, from 1200 B.C. down to the Greek period, means that an early Yahwism would certainly be a Berberized Yahwism. It would require a strong clerical and educational organization to prevent such a result: and such an organization is directly antagonized by nomad conditions and impulses. Any tendency in that direction has always caused Berber hostility. All pre-exilic Israelite infusions were necessarily of pre-Deuteronomic types. But there was a wide difference between the popular Yahwism of Deborah's day and that of Elisha's time, and that which had been moulded by the succession of reformer Prophets.

We have also to remember the different conditions under which Israelite colonies were planted. Those that resulted from Solomon's trade relations with the Phoenicians would naturally perpetuate trade-Ghetto ideals, institutions, and traditions. Later settlements might be from districts mad with the militarism that eventually wrecked both Israel and Judah, and might show similar insurgent tendencies in their African home. In modern America, Appalachian mountaineers with their ancient Highlander clan and feud antecedents have been known, when migrating in a body, to give some western town their peculiar cultural characteristics for three or four generations. A parallel type of Israelite religion, without the educational organization that enabled post-exilic Babylonian Judaism to triumph, would attract the nomad Berbers, especially if these found some political advantage in becoming Yahwists. Mommsen admits relative to Cyrene that every Jewish privileged community induced a great number of non-Jewish Orientals and half-Greeks to attach themselves to the Jewish organization, as nonburgesses, without citizenship,[16] for the sake of the privileges and exemptions of various sorts. But if these semi-proselyte adventurers added to a Cyrenian "Jewish" city-tribe were men whose tradition was war and feudalism and brigandage, there would inevitably result a fanatic Judaism always able to find a pretext for declaring war or justifying a massacre, and such eventual frenzies as the outbreak of Cyrenian Judaism under Tra-

[16] Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire,* pp. 180 f. He is not aware, however, of the origin of the privileged community in the ancient *zakku* institution.

jan would be inevitable. But just such adventurers were the nomad Berbers, as contrasted with agricultural communities.

"Each group is a power to itself and looks upon neighbors as feudal enemies. Though there may be fights within the group for local power or favored pastures it is with everyone outside that traditional hostility exists. It is this state of affairs that leads to ferment along the highways and byways of the Sahara and opens the door to lawlessness and brigandage. In camp or caravan, they talk constantly of raids and raiders, and every man is a disciplined soldier, surpassingly cunning and skilled in wily intrigue."[17]

And such Berber folk, if won by a militaristic Judaism, and without schools and a trained ministry, might persist as superficially Judaized nomads in Sahara oases, yet lose their Judaism when in close contact with organized Islam.

Now a militaristic Yahwism of this kind, with its educational short-comings, is just the type that dominated Cyrene first. In considering garrison-colonies, we noticed the statement of Aristeas, that of the tens of thousands of colonists and captives of Psamtik and Ptolemy Soter, many thousands were picked soldiers placed in Libyan garrisons on especially favorable terms. Such garrison duty put them on frontiers, ready to encounter Berber raiders at any time upon their own ground. Such frontier garrisons would become adjusted in some measure to nomad conditions. Many soldiers might eventually desert to the nomads. But as Mommsen recognized in the case of the Jewish city tribes, large numbers of half-starved Libyan raiders would envy the well-fed prosperity of a Jewish frontier post, and would seek like exemptions and advantages by becoming members of the garrison. So each Israelite post was a powerful proselyting agency. But was a Yahwism thus spread worth as much as that spread five centuries later by the Asmonean sword among the brigands on the frontiers of Judea and Galilee?

We may recognize in the Israelite garrisons drawn from the turbulent Palestine of Psamtik times a chief reason why fanatical Sicarii were able to rally part of Cyrene to their cause.[18] Seven centuries had not brought the Berber nomad to settled life, and to the ideals that make for the permanence of a peaceful community. Yahwism or Judaism gave them a new set of pretexts for their immemorial raidings. The tremendous outbreak under Trajan,

[17] Angus Buchanan, "Veiled Men of The Sahara," in *Asia*, June, 1926, p. 527.

[18] Josephus, *Wars*, VII, xi.

when the Jewish soldiery were credited with the massacre of two hundred and twenty thousand "Roman citizens," revealed the untamed savage. The historians record that all Egypt—Alexandria, Thebaica, and Cyrene—rose at once. After some initial Jewish successes, the Greeks drove a multitude of Jews into Alexandria and massacred them. Then the maddened Cyrene Jews swept over all Lower Egypt, reached the Thebaid, and even further south. They tied captured rulers between boards and sawed them through lengthwise; they flayed other captives alive and dressed themselves in the skins; they twisted human entrails into girdles; they anointed themselves with the blood of the slain, and feasted on portions of the bodies in some cases, and forced other captives to fight as gladiators till all perished. The furor spread to Cyprus, where under the leadership of Artemio two hundred and forty thousand were massacred.[19] The Jews claim six hundred thousand of their own number fell in this Africa-Cyprus uprising. The measureless brutality has been hard to credit.

But consider the testimony of the prophets as to the practices popular among Palestinian Yahwists in the days when large bodies of the so-called Israelites were being employed by the Egyptian monarchs as garrisons for their territories. Children were sacrificed, burned, in the name of Yahu.[20] Ezekiel (16:20; 23:37) adds the charge of cannibalism in connection with such sacrifices: "to be eaten." It is certain that deportations would include many such savage Yahwists. Ezekiel 36:20 ff. must be credited when it asserts that Yahu was libeled or profaned by the deportees in many lands by what they practiced in his name. The spread of pre-exilic Yahwism meant much evil as well as much good. The extinction of some ancient Yahwist deported communities may have been due to the fury aroused by the practices the prophets condemn. Other communities, equally evil, would gather as proselytes peoples addicted to like savagery. Add the testimony of Tertullian, three-quarters of a century after the Cyrenian outbreak. In his *Apology* (chapter ix) he tells us that the sacrifices of children to the Berber-Phoenician "Saturn" continued openly to his own times. The Roman proconsul Tiberius endeavored to stop the practice by crucifying the priests of this cannibalistic cult upon the trees about their own temple. The soldiers who executed the sentence were still living and able to testify to the facts. "Yet even now that sacred crime still continues to be done

[19] Milman, *History of the Jews*, III, 94 ff.
[20] Jeremiah 7:30 f.; 32:35; 19:5 f.; Ezekiel 20:31; 16:21; Micah 6:7.

in secret." Tertullian gives point to his epithet of "Saturn" by reminding the reader that Saturn devoured his own children. Excavations at Carthage have discovered the necropolis of a vast number of children thus sacrificed, as at the Jerusalem Tophet. With Tertullian's picture of what the Semitized Berber continued to do under the impulsions of religious fanaticism, what these long-chafing Yahwist savages actually did when invading Egypt in the name of Yahu is quite credible.

With abundant testimony to a very long-continued infusion of ancient Yahwism into North Africa, and a vivid picture of the primitive or degraded type of it that persisted into the Christian era, Jewish evidence of the extent of its spread should be considered. Philo of Alexandria tells of Agrippa's appeal to the crazy Caligula, in behalf of the Jews outraged at Alexandria:

"Knowing that the city (Alexandria) had two classes of inhabitants, our own nation and the people of the land, and that the whole of Egypt was inhabited in the same manner, and that the Jews who inhabited Alexandria and the rest of the country from the Catabathmos on the side of Libya to the boundaries of Ethiopia were not less than a million men."

And the local mischief done by Caius' setting up images would extend from Egypt all over the east,

"and from the frontiers of the land and in the other direction, even from the Mareotic district which is the frontier of Libya toward the setting sun and the western nations. For no one country can contain the whole Jewish nation . . . they account those regions which have been occupied by their fathers, and grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, and still more remote ancestors in which they have been born and brought up, as their country. And there are even some regions to which they came the very moment that they were originally settled, sending a colony of their people to do a pleasure to the founders of the colony."[21]

Observe that Philo claims a million Jews between the Libyan or Cyrenian Catabathmos and the Nubian frontiers, but he leaves us uncertain which boundaries of Nubia he means: whether he includes Nubia or not. West of Egypt, everything is Libya, clear to the sunset. And it is a region which has had a Jewish or Judaized population for many generations: they call that, not Palestine, their native land. And the aboriginal or earliest population of some districts he declares to be Jewish: it has been Juda-

[21] *Against Flaccus,* VI, VII; Yonge's translation, IV, 70.

ized. In some cases Judaized peoples were selected by the founders of new colonies as the pioneers. Would that he had given more details. Schürer long ago wrote that the ancient Judaism was already traceable by its inscriptions from the Egyptian frontier westward through Libya clear across North Africa to the extreme west of Mauretania, as far as Volubilis.[22] Jerome in his letter to Dardanus wrote that the Jews in his time, about 400 A.D., were spread from the extreme west of Mauretania-Morocco to India, and that they did not speak Hebrew; which suggests that local proselytes were the main body of the Jews he wrote of.

As for the spread of Judaism in Cyrene in seven centuries after its founding, Josephus asserts that in his time one-fourth was the Jewish privileged tribe, one-fourth was the native (Berber) peasantry, one-fourth Greek (intermarried with Berbers), and one-fourth mixed foreigners. Herodotus (IV, 161), telling of the early tribal organization of the city Cyrene, says that the Theraean Greek islanders, who had married Libyan women, and the Libyans dispossessed by the new-comer Peloponnesians and Cretans, formed one tribe; the Greek new-comers, the second tribe; and all the Libyan islanders the third tribe. With the Berber ethnically the dominant element from the beginning, we may recognize that in Josephus's time, seven hundred years later, the mingled populace was ethnically more than half Berber. This, as above stated, partially explains the savagery of the Cyrenian revolt. Josephus says that the Jew tribe and the Greek were citizens there on equal terms. This he attributed to a special decree of Alexander, never recognizing the historic origin of ancient *zakku* guards and the favorable terms of Psamtik and the Persians. And he quotes Strabo approvingly concerning the province of Cyrene, with its mingled ethnic elements.

> "Now these Jews are already gotten into all cities, and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by it; and it has come to pass that Egypt and Cyrene, as having the same governors, and a great many other nations imitate their way of living, maintain great bodies of these Jews in a peculiar manner (privileged status), and grow up to greater prosperity with them and make use of the same laws with that nation also."[23]

Some may think that Strabo exaggerates the extent of Gentile conversion to Jewish law and custom in Egypt and Cyrene and

[22] *History of the Jewish People,* III, xix, 26.
[23] *Antiquities,* XIV, vi, 2.

the western tribes, but Josephus wants us to believe that there was a great deal of it, and he quotes later a decree of Marcus Agrippa that the religious activities of Judaism in Cyrene shall not be interfered with.[24] Strabo's statement pictures Isaiah's ideal: "In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing, in the midst of the land, whom Yahu of hosts shall bless, saying 'Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of mine hands, and Israel mine inheritance.' "[25] We are compelled to accept the general fact of an enormous accession to Judaism from the mingled Libyan or Berber tribes of North Africa, and probably from other Gentiles also in the Libyan area. On the general question the modern Jewish scholar Theodore Reinach says:

"The enormous growth of the Jewish nation in Egypt, Cyprus and Cyrene cannot be accounted for without supposing an abundant infusion of Gentile blood. Proselytism swayed alike the upper and lower classes of society. The great number of Jews passing through the state of slavery must of course have catechised their comrades rather than their masters."[26]

As for the persistence of this ancient proselyting fervor, the fanatic Christian clergy of Spain incited the Visigothic king Sisibot to expel the Jews as dangerous competitors of the "Christian" missions. This began in 612 A.D., and the persecution continued till 711. The Spanish Jews generally fled to North Africa, and turned their attention to powerful Berber tribes not reached before. They converted many of them, and intermarried with them. The Saracen conquest brought Arab Jews from Yemen, who made their activity felt. Distinct from this Visigoth-promoted proselyting was Justinian's furious persecution of the Jews in his coastal territories in Africa. It drove the Jews "to take refuge with Berbers in the lofty mountains of the desert, so that when the Arabs arrived on the scene a number of the Berber tribes were more or less attached to Judaism, particularly in Tripoli . . . and the Sahara."[27]

[24] *Antiquities,* XVI, vi, 5.

[25] Isaiah 19:24 f.; cf. vv. 18 ff. and Onias' temple at Heliopolis.

[26] But compare 2 Kings 5:2 ff., and Philippians 1:12 ff.; Acts 28:30 f. Feist's valuable compilation, *Stammes-Kunde der Juden,* ignores all the data thus far considered, and begins with the dispersion through North Africa produced by the suppression of the Cyrenian rebellion. That certainly weakens his ethnological findings. Ethnology and history should not be divorced.

[27] *Revue des Études Juives,* XLIV, 22.

Without reviewing the oft-told story of the shattering of ancient North African Judaism by the Moslem conquests, and the frequent infusion of European Judaism into it later, as European governments persecuted or expelled Jews from their dominions, we may glance at the net results as seen by the ethnologists. The Jews of modern North Africa are of ethnical types widely distinct from those of Europe; and they also are very different from the Asiatics portrayed upon the ancient monuments. A claim that they are the pure-blooded descendants of Aramaean ancestors has the whole of ethnology and anthropology against it, just as we have seen the whole of their past history against it. Modern ethnologists admit that we are dealing with Judaized Moors and Berbers, with a notable negroid admixture. More minutely, in each region the Jew is somatically and ethnically the same as the Moslem of that region. Fishberg writes that he

"was unable to distinguish a Jew from a Mohammedan while passing along the streets of Algiers, Constantine, and Tunis. It is remarkable that among the non-Jewish natives there are seen many Jews of negroid type, showing a decided negro infusion." Similarly, "the nomad Daggatuns or Berber Jews of the Sahara resemble in all respects the Tuaregs and other tribes among whom they live, and physically are hardly distinguishable from their Mohammedan neighbors, save in being somewhat fairer."

This last may point to an ancient infusion of blood of a fairer people. In marked contrast with the Caucasus Jews, they are extremely dolichocephalic. Reclus records the ethnological conclusion that they are of the aboriginal population of the Sahara, the Gaetuli traders of Roman writers. As for their tradition that they were driven out of the Tamentit oases, whose chief town is Tuat, Reclus reports that the population of the Tamentit group was once largely Judaized, but is now fanatic Tabiya Moslem; but ethnically it is a mixture of Berber and negro.[28] Especially notable are the Jews of the M'zab oasis, south of Algeria, isolated for centuries from all other Jews, and hardly distinguishable from the Berber M'zabites and Arabs among whom they dwell. Their cephalic index, 72.9, is the most dolichocephalic of all Jews measured hitherto.[29]

Slouschz, who practically defies both history and ethnology by clinging to the ancient Jewish hobby of a peculiar pure-blooded

[28] Reclus, *Africa,* II, 234 f., 461. [29] *Fishberg,* pp. 140-45.

Jewish race, explains the situation by claiming that pure-blooded Jews have in many cases adopted Arab customs. These he calls Judeo-Arabs; and when the same pure Jewish type appears in a Berber tribe, he calls them "Judeo-Berbers." Of the Berbers of Demnat, in the southwestern Atlas, he writes that they are pure white Berbers, and Moslems. The Jews among them can be distinguished only by their shaving their heads and leaving a crown-lock; at Dades, they leave a forehead-lock instead. Slouschz does not know that this is a distinctive feature of certain white Libyans or Tehennu pictured in old Egyptian reliefs, just as long *peot* or temple-locks are regular in their portrayal of other fair Libyans. He further observes that the Jews among these Moslem Berbers dress like them. He does not recognize that he is describing the persistence of some ancient Berber tribal distinctions. The explanation that the shaven heads with various scalp-locks are mourning for the destruction of Jerusalem will not be accepted by anthropologists or ethnologists. He further confuses the popular reader at times by saying "Arab" when he means "nomad." As already cited from Reclus, more than half the Arabs of superficial observers in North Africa are not of Arabian origin; they are nomad Berbers with much mixed blood.[30] Against Slouschz's lost tribes hunting may also be cited René Basset, the outstanding authority in recent times on all that pertains to Berber life and customs and religious institutions. He announces that apart from some relatively modern immigration of European Judaism into the coast regions, the great body of Judaism in North Africa consists of semi-proselyted Berbers, with no admixture of anything that could be described as Israelite blood.

One result of Slouschz's disregard of the ethnical history and ethnical survivals in North Africa is that the reader can only guess with regard to any mingled community, what Slouschz considers the "pure Jewish type" there. And as he reports these everywhere intermarried with others where is the racial purity? As for the actual fact of different somatic types of Jews, "even before I learned the exact origin of the Jews of Tripoli, I had ventured the opinion that physically they differ from the two great groups of (European) Jews. There is something of the desert and the Bedouin in their flashing eyes, in the play of their muscles, in their sternly chiseled features."[31] Of Msellata Jewish types,

[30] Slouschz, *Travels in North Africa,* pp. 223, 369, 453, 467, 483; Reclus, *Africa,* II, 236. But Slouschz's collection of observations is the largest and most recent for the popular reader.

[31] Slouschz, p. 6.

"I wondered whether they were the effect of life in the desert, or whether they were due to an admixture of Arab blood."[32] Contrasting Tunisian Jews with those in the coast-towns who are of Italian and Spanish origin, he says, "They are of African origin, as is evident from their type, their customs and their ethnic names; they come from the South or the Sahara."[33] Of nomad and troglodyte Jews who venture into some town, the town-Jews call them Bahûtsîm—"outsiders." "They are considered to be different from the mass of the Jewish people, and are somewhat looked down upon, being classed with the Berbers."[34] When he visited a group of these Bahûtsîm in their wilderness homes in Tunis, the two chieftains explained that they called themselves Yehûd el-Ahras: that their ancestors had always been nomads; they looked on Moslem Berbers as their enemies, but were on good terms with Arab neighbors.[35] Of the city of Morocco, "There is more of Berber than of Arab in the population, with a strong admixture of negro blood: here one feels the real South, the real Mauretania." Of its Jewish quarter, "the bulk of the population are natives of Morocco, but among them are also several thousand who come from the mountain regions or the southern Berber country."[36] One main result is that where several Jewish groups live in one town, "every group has its own synagogue—each tribe or clan has its own place of prayer and its own traditions: thus these groups have lived for centuries in a state of continuous social antagonism."[37] There is no community spirit, no sense of the solidarity of Israel.

A moment's digression by way of explanatory comment may be permitted. This peculiarity of separating into petty groups upon genealogical pretensions is found among Asiatic and African Jews everywhere. The explanation is that it is unmitigated baalism. The social significance of baalism is that each *ba'al* is interested in his own descendant tribe; and each tribe or family worships as a tribe or family its own *ba'al.* The Phoenician Marseilles offering-tablet says (16 f.), "Every clan, every family, and each god-fraternity,—all groups who sacrifice—such pay the rate fixed for the sacrifice by an individual, according to what is established in this writing."[38] In this there is no sense of community or solidarity in worship: no feeling of "the communion of all saints." Each

[32] *Travels in North Africa,* p. 62.
[33] *Ibid.,* p. 236.
[34] *Ibid.,* p. 297.
[35] *Ibid.,* p. 301 f.
[36] *Ibid.,* p. 441 f.
[37] *Ibid.,* p. 393.
[38] Berger, *Le Temple du Maktar,* p. 17. Cf. the provision that ten men sacrifice one passover lamb; Josephus, *Wars,* VI, ix, 3.

petty modern genealogical subdivision in backward Oriental Judaism has its explanation in a pagan past.

Pages of similar testimony might be added from observant modern travellers. They record the general inability to distinguish the Jew of a given district from the non-Jew, save by peculiarities of costume. But we should not ignore the Jewish ethnologist, Dr. Feist, who declares that in mode of life, dress, customs, and morals the North African Jews are as the Berbers, Arabs, or Moors and Tuaregs about them. Physically they are undistinguishable from the local Moslems, save by their side-locks, and an occasional lighter complexion. Negro blood is often apparent—which makes the good doctor wonder if that taint came from the ancient sojourn in Egypt.[39]

To this ethnological view should be added a brief statement of the historic assertions and the traditions of the conversion of various Berber tribes. In the mountains of Tunis the nomad tribes of Zaghwan, Testur, and Benî-Zit have been Judaized. The Moslem tribes of Drid, Henansha, and Khumir have traditions that Judaism existed among their ancestors. Arab historians of Algeria and Tunis tell of the conversion of the tribes of Nafusa, Fandalawah, Fazaz, Madiunah, Bahlula, Ghayyathah, and the very powerful tribes of Jarua and Aurês. Though the Idriside Moslem dynasty undertook to stamp out Judaism among these Berbers, plain survivals of it are acknowledged, and especially the pastoral Henansha of South Constantine have clans that still observe Judaism. But the Judaism of the Henansha is affirmed also by the Jews of Tunis, and by Arab historians of the Cyrenian area, already noticed. From this it would appear that these Judaized pastoral Berbers moved hundreds of miles westward into Algeria in consequence of the Jewish insurrection under Trajan. We should hardly expect anything else of nomad peoples.

In Morocco, the Jewish Berber tribes are numerous. The Aït Moussa, or Benî-Moussa, "Sons of Moses," is one of the more notable tribes. But they are not Uled Moussa, "Descendants of Moses." Most of the oases in the desert contain remnants of a Berber Judaism. Leo Africanus, a converted Jew (d. 1526), wrote that Jewish artisans and traders and jewellers were on all the caravan roads from Fez to Timbuktu. Possibly this refers to the Daggatuns, about eight thousand of whom still exist in the Sahara oases, usually on the road from Timbuktu eastward to the Soudan, attached to some Berber community. South of Morocco

[39] *Stammes-kunde der Juden*, pp. 105-10.

there was a powerful Jewish Arab tribe on the Soudan frontier. The Moorish Emir Mohammed Tarsina Lemtuni fell in battle with them near Teklessin. The historian Edrisî (1099-1165) tells of a powerful Jewish aggregation in Lamlam, western Soudan, warring with Barisa, Silla, Takrur (Tûrûr?) and Shana. Lamlam is two hundred miles west of Timbuktu; several caravan routes converge near by. Tûrûr is two hundred miles southwest on the Upper Senegal frontier. The Jewish traders were then controlling the caravan traffic that is now centered at the modern Timbuktu. The coast is seven hundred miles west of Lamlam, whose importance is gone. A reminiscence of the mediaeval struggle survives in the prohibition of known Jews from entering Timbuktu. The region is generally Moslem.

Then there was a mediaeval Jewish kingdom called Kamnuria or Kanuria, north of the Senegal River, and reaching eastward to the Nizar desert, with two cities called Kamnuri and Naghira. But the sixteenth century African Jew, Leo Africanus, says that this southwest Sahara aggregation had disappeared by his time. It is to be noted that they are credited with not penetrating the desert. It seems certain that the people still known as Kanuri are meant. These are a mingling of Nigritian or Hamitic, Arab, and Berber stocks, the negroid generally predominating, and devoted to agriculture. The same mingled elements make the Tedas or Tebus, the Garamantes of the classics. But these are nomadic pastoral peoples, with the usual streak of pillaging. A large area east of the Aïr highlands is called Tibesti, from these Tebu nomads. Beginning some five hundred miles south of Tripoli, their domain extends southward beyond Lake Tchad to Lake Adamawa, and some hundreds of miles east and west. The similar agricultural Kanuri are settled here and there among them. The Tebus were not converted to Mohammedanism till the seventeenth century, and are still more than half fetichist. The disappearance of Kanuri from the Sahara north of the Senegal is due to the advance of the desert and to the westward migration of the Fulas or Fulbe, called Fellata by the Kanuri. This reddish or light-brown mixture of Hamitic people with Arab, Tuareg, and negro, originating in Darfûr, has pushed westward twenty-five hundred miles into Senegal and southern Mauritania, not reaching the Atlantic. They have in modern times begun to move east again. Given exclusively to stock-breeding and war, they share their desert haunts with no peaceful agriculturalists.[40] Thus the mediaeval record of Jewish

[40] Keane, *The World's Peoples,* p. 323; Deniker, *The Races of Mankind,* pp. 443 ff., 446.

Kanuri north of the Senegal tells of proselytes from a commingling of Arab, Berber, and negroid peoples.

Slouschz, who has spent some years in gathering traditions of the great Jewish period of pre-Moslem times, reports Jewish groups among the Smul and Za'uria, of Tripoli. They seem remnants of large Jewish Berber tribes, now Islamized. Such are

> "found everywhere, among the Weshfana, the Brami, the Ghariani in Tripoli: you will meet with them among the nomads of Algeria, the Masmata, the Smul, the Hanansha, the Kabyles, the Muajerîn, the Tuat, as well as in the west among the Uled Nun of the Moroccan Sahara, and among the great tribe of the Daggatuns who dominate the routes to the Soudan, and even further. Non-Jewish by faith, but conscious of their ethnic origin!"[41]

The Bu-Slama of the Gharian are another tribe, now wholly Islamized. Jewish Berber tribes mentioned by Maimonides as wholly ignorant have since been lost to Islam.[42] Near Nedroma in Morocco are Berbers of the Trara group. Several tribes of these once professed Judaism: the Benî-Daud, Benî-Ichu, Benî-Arun, Benî-Chuaban are named. Though Moslem now, they still have some Jewish customs and Jewish names; and Arabs assert that were Jews to recapture the famous local sanctuary, these tribes would immediately become Jews again. The Jews of Tozeur are mentioned in a Roman text. The Matmata troglodytes of southern Tunisia were an entirely Jewish tribe: now few hold to Judaism. Wargla had a Jewish populace down to the sixteenth century. The city of Fez stands on ground once held by two warring tribes, the Benî-Bhorgos and Benî-Khiar: many of each were Jews: but the tribes have disappeared.[43] The country simply swarms with traditions and ruins and place-names telling of an immense Judaized aboriginal population in ancient times. There are Moslem memories of large districts that were entirely Jewish; there are historic records of Judaized Berber kingdoms that long held out against Byzantine and Moslem assaults. There are about three hundred thousand Jews in all North Africa now. Certainly there were many times that number when Philo wrote, and also when Islam arrived, though the Vandal hordes had in the interim destroyed many. The historic considerations with which this chapter

[41] *Travels in North Africa*, p. 111. It is a vice of Slouschz's valuable work that, in spite of his own acknowledgments of immemorial and tremendous proselyting and intermarriage, he continually speaks of various peoples as "Jews by race" instead of by conversion.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 179.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 339, 341, 345 f., 365.

began gave *a priori* grounds for expecting such Judaized multitudes. Those ancient historic factors and the present memories and survivals are necessary corroborative complements of each other.

Slouschz estimates that there are now about fifteen thousand Jews in the Sahara oases. A note of their distribution, and of the two special factors affecting their numbers, is necessary. In the Wargla oasis of Algeria, 350 miles from the Mediterranean, is a colony of Jews "as black as negroes—but of Jewish type" one enthusiast adds. The Biskra Jews of Algeria are 125 miles from the Mediterranean; Tuggurt, more than 250 miles; Sidi Okba, 125 miles; the Beni M'zab, 300 miles; the Tuat oases, 600 miles; Gurrara, 500 miles. The Tidikelt archipelago is 650 miles from the Mediterranean, and about 1000 miles east of Cape Bojador. Tamentit is a little further south, as is Takhfit also. The "Pilistin" of the Great Atlas have a settlement at Demnat, about 175 miles south of the Mediterranean coast. Others are in the Hadjaj, a little further east in the mountains. The Tafilelt archipelago is 325 miles east of Mogador. Daggatuns or nomad Judaized Berber traders are at Tebelbelt, 1300 miles east of Cape Bojador, 650 miles south of the Mediterranean coast. Others are in the Hadjaj, 100 miles further south. They are 1000 miles southeast of their former haunts in the old Berber Tafilelt-Tementit archipelago, and range as far as 700 miles east of Timbuktu among the Awelimmed Berbers. The Pilistin of Ghat are about 1000 miles from the Mediterranean, 2000 west of the Nile, near 2000 from the Atlantic. A few Jews are in the Alhammeda oasis, 250 miles from the Atlantic, south of the Tafilelt group. In the Sus region, 400 miles from the Atlantic and 700 from the Mediterranean, some of the 3000 population are still Jews. About 8000 Moslems in the Tamentit archipelago say that their ancestors were all Jews till recently. Some oasis Jews are about 2000 miles west of the Nile, 1000 south of the Mediterranean. René Basset[44] observes that some acknowledged Jews can be found in almost every Berber *kasr,* or "fortress oasis," in the desert, and in every Berber mountain stronghold.[45]

Now two important factors to consider are that though persecution has often driven Judaism from the coast into the interior, the Sahara has steadily and relentlessly driven it out again. For the Sahara is slowly drying up. Palaeolithic men have left their artifacts on the surface of what is now desert at various points

[44] *Origines Berbères,* pp. 406 ff.

[45] So many maps do not show these tiny islets in the sand, that I have included these notes of distance from seacoast points for the inquiring reader.

from the Nile to the Mediterranean. Petrified trees and ancient watercourses are familiar in the Libyan deserts. Vast regions that had much wild animal life only a hundred years ago now have none. Immemorial halting-places for caravans have disappeared in the same time. Great oases have vanished, leaving deep wells with rope-grooved rims, dug sixty or seventy feet through the solid rock, to tell of an ancient resident population that had the ability and the incentive to dig them. Now no living thing can exist in the sand that stretches for miles around.[46] Captain Riley a hundred years ago was given the tragic tale of the destruction of a great caravan of two thousand. It reached an accustomed watering-place and found that the supply no longer existed.[47] Old trade-trails have pictures of oxcarts: no such transportation has been possible for ages. So, if we ask what became of the mediaeval Judaized state of Kamnuria, north of the Senegal River, it has vanished before the drought. Its lost cities might yet be identified among the many sand-buried ruins, should any archaeologist think it worth the peril. Angus Buchanan estimates the whole Sahara oasis population to-day at thirty thousand, in a region of over two million square miles.

It is clear that two thousand years ago the habitable area was surely many times as great as now. We may, then, better appreciate the total disappearance of the Jewish-Berber population after the failure of the Cyrenian revolt. "All Libya" was so depopulated by the Romans that new colonists had to be brought in. But the depopulation of the province did not mean the extermination or captivity of all the populace. The beaten Judaized peoples simply migrated, perhaps ousting weaker peoples as they did so. Tribes in Cyrene in early Arab histories appear a thousand miles away in later ones. Interior regions were then able to support a vast population.

In this connection special mention should be made of the very curious troglodyte colonies of the Gharian, two days' journey south of Tripoli, and in the Nefoussa ranges, extending two hundred miles westward from the Gharian into southern Tunisia, and in the Matmata and neighboring Tunisian plateaus.[48] These trog-

[46] Angus Buchanan, "The Doom-Fraught Sahara," in *Asia,* July, 1926; "The Great Salt-Train of the Sahara," in *Asia,* August, 1926, and Dr. John Ball, "Problems of the Libyan Deserts" in *Geographical Journal,* July, August, and September, 1927.

[47] Riley's *Narrative.*

[48] For a popular English account, see Slouschz, *Travels in North Africa,* pp. 115 ff.

lodyte districts were once completely Judaized. They were known to ancient Greek writers as the abodes of people who practiced circumcision. Such interior strongholds and way-stations were available for a people retreating from the Cyrenian area. Thus H. S. Cowper[49] records that the Jews of the modern city of Tripoli claim they came from the Jebel Gharian, where their ancestors lived in underground houses and had subterranean synagogues. Such abodes in southern Tunisia shelter a population of at least thirty thousand.[50] Punic and Roman remains are in evidence. Slouschz and Hesse-Wartegg visited many Jewish troglodytes in these rocky fastnesses; their cavern-homes are three and four stories underground. Hesse-Wartegg visited their cities of Benî-Abbas, Jebel Nefussa, Yehûd Abbas, Tigrena, Jebel Iffren. Homes and shops, schools and synagogues were all underground, opening into crater-like depressions. Hesse-Wartegg thought he found there a pronounced older Jewish type as distinguished from the blond Berber Jews that he examined in Morocco.[51]

But Cowper found no Jews in such dwellings now, in the parts of Tarhuna (the Ta-hennu of the Egyptian inscriptions?) and Gharian that he traversed. The name Tarhuna he compares with the Egyptian Ta-hennu, Thehen. No one seems to have suspected that Herodotus' mystifying "Hill of the Graces," *Kharitôn*, is simply a Greek metathesis of *tarkhûn*: as accurate an interpretation as a sailor's "Billy Ruffian" for "Bellerophon."[52] Slouschz pays no attention to the multitude of *senams* or trilithon cultus-structures of the ancient Berber population, which Cowper studied. They seem ancient tomb-doorways, arranged around a central court, as the doors of the modern burrow-dweller often open upon a central pit. The possibility that many might have been erected by Judaized Berbers does not occur to Slouschz. But he spent much time with the surviving Jewish cave-dwellers. But the Jews of Tripoli in 1895 assured Cowper that their local synagogue was two hundred and thirty years old, and was erected upon the site of a more ancient one. They claimed to have come to the coasts

[49] *The Hill of the Graces*, pp. 28 f.

[50] Horace D. Ashton, in *Asia*, December, 1924; Vivian, *Tunisia*, pp. 59-63.

[51] "Die Jüdischen Hohlenbewohner der Nordafrikanischen Sahara," in *Ost und West*, 1910, pp. 225-36.

[52] Barth, writing before our knowledge of ancient Egypt, observed that *tarhuna* is a modern local name for a mill, and conjectured that the whole region got its name from an old mill on one of the hills. Müller's explanation that the Egyptian Ta-hennu simply meant "oasis-people" has already been noticed: *ZDMG*, 1924, pp. 43 ff. Did Egyptians sometimes drop a medial *r* in a foreign name? Does *A'amu* mean *Aramu*?

from their hill-strongholds seven hundred years before, and they showed a marble memorial-stone from Yefria which they claimed to be of that date. All this simply illustrates the fact that any surviving population unsettled by the Jewish revolt in Cyrene would simply migrate to inland strongholds, and descendants of such might be reasonably expected in many interior districts still. The claims of Berber Judaism to a much greater antiquity we have seen to be supported by *a priori* considerations.

The mass of traditions concerning the great antiquity of some communities need not be detailed here. Dr. C. G. Kelly, missionary of the American Board in Tunis, says of the baseball-club which he organized for the boys that its Jewish members trace their ancestry in an unbroken line back to the days of the dominance of Tyre and Sidon.[53] The presence of devotees of Yahu in the Carthage of those far-off days is proved by the inscriptions. A temple of Baal-Shamaïm was there, beside the temple of Tanit. Not much can be inferred ethically or religiously from this fact, for this "Lord of the Heavens" is supreme god of the Aramaean king of Hamath, about 850 B.C.[54] He was then a principal divinity in the valley of the Orontes when Carthage was founded, and his temple and priesthood were in Carthage from the beginning. His priests are *cohanîm* in the Carthaginian inscriptions. Had they been of Aramaean antecedents, they would have been known as *kemarîm* or *kemaryâ*. Similarly the Judaized Aramaeans of Elephantiné, three centuries later, use *cohanîm* for the priests of "The Heaven" or of "the God of Heaven" and their native Aramaic *kemaryâ* they apply only to the priests of the rival Egyptian divinities. It would appear then that the Baal-Shamaïm and his priesthood originated in the old Palestinian culture and spread thence through Aramaean peoples. The name is found in various north-Semitic inscriptions during the last few centuries B.C.[55] But as ancient Oriental cosmology had a succession of heavens or sky-domes, with a different god in each, one lord for all of the heavens was cosmologically the same as "Yahu of the Hosts" of the heavens. In the Elephantiné papyri we find "the god Yahu who is in Yeb" also called "the God of the heavens" in two or three passages, but not "Yahu of Hosts." This was even before the Persian period. In the preceding chapter it was pointed out that the Nubas of Kordofan, once resident within the sphere of influ-

[53] *Literary Digest,* May 12, 1928, p. 27.
[54] Pognon, *Inscriptions Semitiques,* pp. 150 ff.
[55] Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris,* I, 242-60; *Balsamêm.*

ence of this Elephantiné community, still consider a "Baal of the heavens" the supreme god; but no moral inspiration results from the idea. A "lord of the heavens" at Carthage was cosmologically the same. We have a step toward a monotheism with a Nameless One ruling all the heavens in place of the many names Adad, Marduk, Ramman, Anu, etc. But we have no evidence of the ethical or spiritual connotations in various lands.[56] The mere name has no ethical or spiritual suggestions, but men of different races and languages and cults could draw nearer together by means of this general term for their respective heaven-gods.

Then the names of Asher and Zebulun occur. The traditional founding of the city, 850 B.C., is some centuries later than the connection of Dan and Asher with sea-faring Phoenicians in Deborah's song, already cited (Judges 5:17). It should be noticed that the northern Dan displaces an inland trading-post of the Sidonians (Judges 18:7, 27 f.). No lofty religious deductions are permissible. We simply have proof that men from northern Palestine were on this African coast at a very early day. The modern claim of ancient Palestinian origin must be collated with the same claim in classic and early Christian centuries. The term Canaanite was applied by the populace both to themselves and to their language. St. Augustine writes that the peasantry of Carthage in his time called themselves "Canaanites." Christian literature was provided them in the "Canaanite" language. The identity of this North African culture with that of the Hebrew-Phoenician-Canaanites will be better appreciated when the prevalence of, or preference for, the same personal names is before us. In the thousands of inscriptions recovered from the Carthaginian areas are many familiar in the Old Testament. Shallum, Shaphat, Haggai, Mattan, Nahum or Nahumî, Gad, Naomi, Shaphan, Dabar or Debir; Nathan (usually Yathan), Matteh, Nasî, Azra (Ezra), Zephan plus any god, Shamar or Shomer, Hanno (masculine of Hannah), Moseph (Joseph), Kenaz, Ada, Addai, Nebo, Hannibaal (Baal-hanan, early name of David?, 2 Samuel 21:19), Hannan (cf. Hanan-Yah, Yohanan), Amos, Gêr (cf. Gêr-shom), Abal (Ebal?), Con-baal (cf. Con-Yah), Zûr, Qorban, Mattai (Matthew?), Lebana or Lebonah, Lebbai (Lebbeus), Huldah, Adarmelek, Barik or Baruk (Berech-Yah), Barkâ (Barak), Pada or Pedo (Peda-Yah), Shammai, Abiram, Akbar (Achbor), Siser(a),

[56] But we must compare the "Heaven" used by the Maccabean Sadducees(?) in 1 Maccabees, and "God of the Heavens" Ezra 1:2; 5:12; 6:19; 7:21, 23; Nehemiah 2:4, 20; Daniel 2:16, 18, 20, 28, 37, 44.

Shibboleth, Melek-yathon (Nathan-Melek), Henok (Enoch), Saba or Sheba, Michal, Calba (Caleb), Ta'am (Thomas), Naamah, Omrat (feminine of Omri), Zemar (Zemar-Yahu, Zimri, Zimrida, Zimri-hanata), Asherat (Asherah), Jarad (Jared), Himilko (Ahi-Melek), Manassã, Gerges (a Gergesite), Jebusîm (Jebusites), Benâ or Beno (Bena-Yah)—and some of these occur hundreds of times. There are many more such. The list could be increased by comparing also with the Tell el-Amarna Letters.

Now such names do not prove the race of the person. They only prove the dominant, all-assimilating culture. It was so general in the ancient Orient for one in a foreign land to accept a fashionable local name, or for natives to adopt names from a foreign culture that was politically dominant, that names cannot be relied upon to prove the race, or the character, or the preferred cultus of any person. Carthage inscriptions show Berber and Semite parents giving their children Roman names. Daniel and his comrades got Babylonian and Sumerian names compounded of ancient god-names. Mordecai and Esther advertised Marduk and Ishtar. Isidore, "Gift of Isis," does not prove one a worshipper of Isis to-day. Balthasar (Belit-shar-utsur, Balat-shar-utsur) is not now an invocation of Belit. And the translation of a foreign name into a familiar local Semitic form is familiar to all Old Testament scholars.

The Carthaginian inscriptions present us with an enormous body of names compounded with Baal, or Ashtart, or Melkart (Melek-karta, "King of the City"). The Old Testament tells us that the popular cultus was that of the many baalim and Ashtarts (Ashtaroth) and Meleks (Molech), and that every city had a different god, sometimes every street.[57] The same swarm of theophoric personal names covered all Palestine and announced its popular paganism. But the Deuteronomic politicians proposed to destroy all names of the older Hebrew cults (Deuteronomy 12:2 f.) in every ancient *makôm*. The compilers of history went further, and eliminated all Ashtart-phoric names from their compilations, and nearly all the baal- and melek-compounds. We have to keep this in mind in comparing Palestine names and the "unexpurgated" roster of the North African culture. It is safe to say that the ancient Palestinian roster of theophoric names was many times as pagan as the editors of the Old Testament have allowed it to appear.

[57] Jeremiah 2:28; 11:13; Ezekiel 16:24, 31.

The excavations at Samaria have succinctly illustrated the point. Fifty-four names of the Israelite period were recovered, and two-thirds of these are names not in the Old Testament. Further, the names are from the period when Yahu-phoric names had attained their greatest popularity. An earlier cross-section would show a much smaller proportion of the names that compilers have allowed to remain in the Old Testament. These baal-compounds are new: Abi-baal, Baalā, Baal-askar, Baal-meonî, Baal-zamar, Meribaal. The name Heles or Hilles is very frequent at Carthage; e.g., Baal-hilles, Eshmun-hilles. Some are certainly foreign: 'Ela, Egel-Yau, Marna-Yau (Aramaic), Yatsot, Yasheb, Shemida, Gaddi-Yau, El-mattan, Hanni-ab, Yau-yosheb, Ba'ara, Hanni-no'am, Ah'a, Hazerot, Akhzai, Akhima, 'Isha, Alah, Eliba, Aft-sakh, Bed-Yau, Rafã, Ketseh, Abdã, No'āh, Rage', Khelek. No Ashtart-name was found. The roster of Carthaginian names is closer to general Palestinian than the Old Testament roster is.

Then before inferences are made from the occurrence of Yahu-phoric names, we must remember that Yahu was not known to the early Hebrews, nor to early Israel (Exodus 6:3), and should not be expected in the earlier North African settlements. The invading Israelites were addicted to the worship of ancient pagan gods (Joshua 24:14 f.). Again, the bulk of our Carthaginian inscriptions are from the time when Israel was dominantly pagan, or after the name Yahu ceased to be pronounced by many Jews. Hence a very small per cent of Yahu-phoric names is reasonably to be expected in Carthage. There should have been hundreds of Israelites, first and last, who did not bear Yahu-phoric names, for every one that did.

Again, with regard to Yahu-phoric names in Palestine, it has been shown by Gray in his *Hebrew Proper Names,* that ancient pagan compounds are universal in the earliest period of Old Testament records; that Yahu-phoric names are only one-third as many as El-names in the next period; that Yahu-compounds are most numerous in the last days of the kingdom; and that with the decline in the use of such came the Chroniclers' invention of a large number of Yahu-phoric names which they placed in the ancient history. In these cases it is probable that they tried to deny their pagan past by substituting Yahu for some ancient pagan numen, in any ancient name. We have no such immense disproportion between the number of Israelites in the Carthaginian area and the number in Palestine as a hasty glance at Yahu-phoric names might suggest.

As for the actual number of Yahu-compounds in North Africa, the above-mentioned list of popular names in which no god is named should be considered. A dozen or more are very popular forms to compound with Yahu, e.g., Shaphat and Jeho-shaphat. Many of the above are certainly shortened forms of theophoric names. And the omission of Yahu in such a compound may have often occurred for the sake of local popularity. A seal from Sidon reads "Yehoshua, son of 'Asa-Yahu."[58] Joash, Joel, Joab, have been repeatedly found at Carthage. Eshmun fills a large place in Phoenician cultus. Since this is "The Named One," "He of the Name," the identity of this god of the Unspoken Name forces the Unspoken Name of later Judaism upon our consideration.[59] That the Greeks identified Eshmun with the Merciful Healer Esculapius does not answer the question.

West North African legend is full of the deeds of a Joab who is popularly identified with David's nephew-general. In 1905 Delattre found at Carthage a splendid marble sarcophagus, of Greek workmanship, of 350-450 B.C. Among the objects in it was a gilt seal-ring, with carnelian stone cut as an Egyptian scaraboid. It shows the Egyptian goddess Nephthys, with wings stretched forward, the right hand uplifted; the left, partly hidden by the wing, holds a lotus-blossom. The flat side of the stone has the name "Joab" in Hebrew characters of about 750 B.C., three centuries earlier than the workmanship of the sarcophagus.[60] The archaic characters have caused some perplexity. But as the excavations at Naukratis in Egypt showed us a Greek potter prepared to make scarab seals in any quantity and of any pattern,[61] and as objects upon which the art of different nations are combined are commonplaces of archaeology, this Greek ring with Egyptian goddess-seal and archaic Hebrew-Phoenician characters simply suggests the catholic or latitudinarian attitude of the owner. Theophoric names tell us nothing of the character of the person. Jeremiah 7 shows us Judah when Tyrian and Sidonian temples had stood for centuries on the Mount of Olives. The poor were unbearably corrupt and the great lords had broken all bounds (Jeremiah 5:1-5). We are not justified in assuming a Yahwism in

[58] Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* II, 145.

[59] Shem, "name": the final *n* is afformative. See Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, III, 260 ff.

[60] *Ibid.*, III, 46. The name is in two lines, and could be read Abiv, but as Joab is known in other cases and is popular in folk-lore, it is probably intended in this case.

[61] Amelia B. Edwards, *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers*, p. 30.

Carthage superior to that in Jerusalem. But the presence of the Yahu-cult in Carthage is the commercial complement of Phoenician cults at Jerusalem. Slouschz's enthusiasm,—"A great lord of Carthage, therefore, bore the name of a Jew faithful to his God,"—is not supported by the facts.[62] Ahaziah of Samaria; Ahaziah of Judah; Jehoram of Israel; Jehoram of Judah; Athaliah with her Sidonian antecedents; Ahaz, so disliked that his real name, Jehoahaz, has been shortened by the compilers; Jehoahaz, son of Jehu; Zachariah; Pekahiah; Jehoiakim; Zedekiah; the prophet Zedekiah of 1 Kings 22:11, 24; the Zedekiah of Jeremiah 29:21,—these have left no special odor of sanctity, though "great lords of Jerusalem" and Israel, and bearing Yahu-phoric names.

As already stated, the tales of a great warrior Joab appear everywhere in the folk-lore of regions west and southwest of Carthage as the conqueror of those regions. Monuments are declared to have been set up at some points, showing how far he came in his pursuit of the *Pelishtîn* ("Palestinians"?). There is no difficulty in accepting such traditions as having an historic basis. It is only when enthusiastic ignorance makes him also a Palestinian, and identifies him with David's general, son of Zeruiah, that we smile.

Again, south of Morocco is a large region known as Nun, with a Wady Nun as its principal watercourse. The people are the Uled Nun. Yahwism once had a stronghold there, and its marauders were feared. How early that footing was gained we do not know. But the name of the tribe is enough to warrant enthusiastic local ignorance in identifying "Joshua, the son of Nun" with this region. The steles on the Mediterranean shore reported by Procopius—"We are they who fled from Joshua the Robber, the son of Nun"—may be accepted without any Palestinian implications. The date of the reported existence of the steles is a thousand years after the conquests of the Carthaginian Joab in the West-Land, and sixteen hundred years later than the Joab of David's reign. Refugees driven northward by the Nun marauders must in later times have identified the Old Testament Nun with their ancestral foes. Judaism has incessantly promoted myth and historic confusion by conferring old hero-names upon the proselytes made among an illiterate people.

Early African Yahwism had no book of Genesis. Jewish and Gentile scholars have long remarked that there are no flood-legends in all North Africa, nor anywhere in old Phoenician domains. So

[62] Slouschz, p. 230.

this process of localizing Old Testament sagas has not put Adam or Noah and all their lore at West African points. In contrast, Arab knowledge of Genesis gives Eve her tomb at Jidda, near Mecca. Adam was once in Ceylon; Asiatic Judaism located him on the Oxus; Chinese Judaism finally made him first man of the Chinese. Noah and Ezra have their tombs at many places. All this localization by untaught peoples is perfectly familiar to all scholars; and in the folk-lore of an ancient and illiterate African Yahwism we see the same process going on.

Especially interesting are the many groups who call themselves Pelishtim, "Philistines." John Davidson found such in the Atlas Mountains, a hundred years ago.[63] They claimed to have been there since the time of Solomon, and to have a sealed receipt for tribute, given them by Joab. Their ancestors were cavern-dwellers for a long time. These were dependents and protégés of the Berbers among whom they dwelt. Feist observes (p. 110) that the oldest Jews in Morocco are among the Amazirgh Berbers in the mountains, and that the "Hole-Jews" of Tunis and Tripoli call themselves Pelishtîm. Slouschz, visiting Demnat, in the region reported by Davidson, found the Jewish population called Aït Musa, "tribe of Moses," by the non-Jew Berbers, while the latter were called el-Felistîn, "Palestinians," by the Jewish Berbers because of the tradition that they came there from Palestine at the destruction of the temple. This has a parallel in the claim of other Atlas Jews that they came to escape going into captivity with Nebuchadrezzar. Meakin[64] notices that among the Amazirgh Berbers of the Atlas Mountains the name Pilishtîn occurs in several districts both for the Jews and the non-Jews. Augustin Bernard and Charles de Foucauld visited and described these communities.[65] The name is sometimes reported as Plishtîm. Particularly interesting is the case of the Berbers of the Ghat oasis in the eastern Sahara, about a thousand miles from the Mediterranean. They claim their ancestors fled to Africa from David, and named this oasis for the city of Gath. But this is mere ignorant Jewish folk-fancy, explaining a casual similarity in names. The myth-makers did not know that the name of the old Philistine stronghold was Gimtu or Gintu (whence Gitt-ite) in the El-Amarna Letters. "Gath" is a Masoretic mispointing of a forgotten name. It lies upon the surface then that Philistine fugitives from Gintu

[63] *Notes Taken during Travels in Africa,* London, 1839, and *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,* 1837.

[64] *The Moors,* p. 413.

[65] Foucauld, *Reconnaisance au Maroc,* 1883-84.

did not bring the name Ghat with them. Judaized Berbers, catching at the names Pelistîn and Ghat, have invented the explanation that these are people who fled into Africa from David. As a result, these Pelistîn of the Ghat oasis regard all Jews as their natural enemies; and woe betide him who bears the name of David.[66]

No one will credit all these Berber claims to be fugitives from Palestine. Rather let us say, no scholar now considers that the term Pelistîn is necessarily connected with Palestine. Here must be noticed a passage for which Tacitus has been ridiculed. "The Jews, we are told, escaping from the island of Crete when Saturn was driven from his throne by the violence of Jupiter, settled in the extreme parts of Libya."[67] The ridicule now recoils upon the critics. First, Tacitus declares that the uttermost parts of Libya were peopled with Jews in his time—a statement corroborated by Philo, Agrippa, and Josephus. And it has been shown that a thousand years of earlier history inevitably led to such result. Second, Tacitus knows that these Libyan Jews were not from Palestine but from Crete; that is, they were Pelistîn, who remembered that they were of the Pelistîn home-land, Kaftara-Caphtor-Crete. Tacitus was exactly right. Later Jewish myth-makers, with Christian and Moslem aid, have spread the fancy that Pelistîn could have come only from Palestine. Tacitus is right again when he says that these Cretan Pelistîn were driven out by an invading cultus. Romans report that the principal worship at Carthage in Libya was the cult of Saturn. Tacitus has the same pagan cult for the ancestors of his Libyan Pelistîn Jews. The Zeus-cult drove them out of Crete. The great archaeological revelation of the ancient Minoan culture shows it to have been that of a very dolichocephalous people, overthrown by the brachycephalic Zeus-worshipping Greek invaders. The African Jews of the Libyan type are the most dolichocephalic of all Jews.

Then the Minoan frescoes unearthed by Sir Arthur Evans in the last thirty years confirm the above interpretation. Among them is one of a Minoan captain leading black troops. It does not matter for the present point whether the fresco pictures some event in Africa, or one in Crete. In any case, we have the Minoan culture exploiting North Africa, and possibly securing from it mercenary troops for service in various adventures. It had colonies in North Africa, and secured from thence the gold dust, spices, ostrich eggs, and long-tailed monkeys. The ancient inland navigation (which was still possible in southern Tunisia a thou-

[66] Slouschz, pp. 109 f. [67] *History*, v, 2.

sand years ago) must have been largely directed by Minoan mariners. And the Minoan captain leading black troops portrays the "Tarshish" period of Cretan colonial expansion and history.

Cretans or Pelistîn were on the African coast five thousand years ago. Egypt and Crete were exchanging wares as early as 3400 B.C., and the ivory for Minoan art and trade came from Libya. A debased Minoan III art is spread in southern Asia Minor, Syria, Cyprus, and Palestine between 1400-1200 B.C., and with the final fall of Knossos we find the Philistines fighting their way down the Canaan coast till stopped by Rameses III, about 1190 B.C. Their settlement there makes Philistia. But their art is a very inferior copy of that of the overthrown Knossos. The immediate point is that culture and artistic skill can rapidly disappear under such forced changes. Other Philistine fugitives among the nomads of North Africa would quickly sink to the nomad standard. So the presence of the descendants of fugitive Pelistîn in African oases and mountains does not require us to find also a great Minoan culture there. Descendants of French aristocrats can be found among half-breed Indians of Canada. Early Virginia colonists of culture and education often had children who could not read or write: they made their mark.

There are certainly Pelistîn in North Africa then, Jews and non-Jews, whose ancestors came from Crete. But there is a second factor in the spread of the Pelistîn tradition among the Berbers, which means that many so-called Pelistîn never had any Pelistîn ancestry. This results from the inter-tribal relations of nomad Berbers. There are two great groups: the Ahaggaren, or "free-pillaging," herd-owning tribes, and the *imrad,* or *imghad,* or serf, vassal, protégé tribes, who tend the flocks of the strong ones, and are protected by them. They own no property of their own, except that they may have many slaves; and they will cling to the same protector-patrons for many generations and count it a distinction. They pay rent, go to war for their lords at times, and sometimes become richer than their ancient lords.[68] So in these Pelistîn legends we have, as already suggested, the evidence that ancient poor Berber peoples attached themselves to Palestinian

[68] See Hourst, *Exploration of the Niger,* pp. 201 f., for an extended account of Berber-Tuareg social organization. The term Tuareg is plural of Targi, an Arabic name for them. The Tamshenk (Tamshek, Ta-Masheg) root *Ahar,* "free, independent pillager," is the root of the terms Amazirgh, Amasher(gh): plural Imoshagh, Imoshar, Imuhar, Imazighen. The "Massinissa" of Herodotus and Sallust Hourst suggests is *Mess nasen,* "master of people," or "of the people." The Greek Mazica is for Imazigh, Amazirgh.

colonies along the coast for centuries and made their patrons' traditions their own. The same evidence shows the proselyting influence of any Hebrew-Phoenician colony; and in the readiness of the pauper desert-brigands to attach themselves to a prosperous patron we see the reason of the numerical strength and turbulence and savagery of the Judaism of ancient Cyrene. A parallel to this Berber claim to have Pelistîn ancestry is the like claim of Moslem Berbers that they came from Mecca or Medina, though few can trace back five centuries their actual tenancy of any district they occupy.[69] In each case the Berber identifies his ancestral home with the land whence his religion came. The like claim was noticed in Chapter III: Bokhara Jews, of Tajik and Turkoman ancestry, now claim Spanish ancestry because of the reforms introduced among them by a Spanish Jew in recent times.

Reference has been made to the Daggatuns, called by Slouschz the most powerful of the Sahara Jewish tribes. This description does not fit the above facts of Berber social organization. The Daggatuns are scattered in small groups through many caravan-route oases. As already cited from Fishberg, they are not distinguishable from their Berber protectors. Rabbi Mordecai Serour of Akka, being sent on an exploring mission from Mogador to Timbuktu, reported that some of the Awellimiden (Ouled Lemta, Lemtuna), Berber tribes holding the country for seven hundred miles east of Timbuktu, called themselves Pilistîn: so did minor protégé Berber tribes about them, proud of the ancient protégé relations of their ancestors! The Daggatuns were their dependents and protégés, and spoke the same language. None were independent tribesmen. All were attached to some Tuareg tribe or chieftain, and paid a small annual sum to preserve the brothership. But in time of war the Daggatuns were put in the van as daring leaders. In times of peace they were petty traders and artisans. Neither they nor the Moslems could read; both ejaculated "Mahomet" incessantly; neither prostrated on the ground in prayer. The Daggatuns said their ancestors had been expelled from the Tementit archipelago seven hundred miles northwest, by Abd el-Malik and the Pilistîn. Later the Pilistîn were driven out in turn, and came to the same region.[70] The whole situation suggests the ancient Jewish garrisons sent into Libya to hold the fort-posts and to convoy traders. The term Daggatun in Arabic means

[69] Angus Buchanan, "Veiled Men of the Sahara," in *Asia,* June, 1926, p. 256.

[70] H. S. Morais, *The Daggatuns;* cf. Horowits, *Morokko;* Basset, *Origines Berbères,* pp. 406 f.

"traders." The Berbers claim that it is their own term for turncoats or renegades: people who have changed their religion. And they insist on viewing the Daggatuns as converted Berbers, though their Judaism is little more than a few customs and superstitions. To this suggestion that they are descendants of poor Berber proselytes of ancient Jewish garrisons and convoys should be added the fact that the sites of many such ancient Jewish posts in Libya, from Tripoli to Egypt, are pointed out to-day, though they have been abandoned since the Cyrenian revolt was crushed by Trajan. Traditions survive also of the valiant defense of some non-Jewish community that was made by a local Jewish colony. On the other hand, there are many Jewish communities that pay *askeria* to escape military service, the Moslem authorities having the tradition that all Jews were expected to do garrison or convoy duty.[71]

A description of the various customs and superstitions would fill a volume. No generalization is possible. It has been made plain that there are various strata of Jewish immigration spread through a period of three thousand years. Of course, those of different stages of Jewish development look askance at one another, and refuse to mingle freely. The extremes are farther apart than illiterate Mexican Catholics and scholarly English-American Protestants. Dr. J. Kreppel, in his compendium of contemporary Judaism, says of the Tripoli Jews that they are chiefly people who have wandered to the coast from the desert, and they remain genuine Africans in life and morals. Dr. Feist writes, "In their mode of life, dress, customs and morals they are as the Berbers or Tuareg and the Arabs about them." A recent American observer[72] says of the Jews of Algeria and Morocco, "Families eminent for decency and trustworthiness are neither numerous nor influential. Their worst troubles are with their own coreligionists."—"The Jewish herd is lying, deceitful, harsh and pitiless." Jackson, an American trader in Morocco, 1790-1806, said that whenever a Jew died the Moslems said *maut bêl kerân*—"a horns-wearer (cuckold) is dead." Captain Riley, 1816, gained like impressions. Slouschz acknowledges that the crowded Jewish quarters there result in a great deal of loose living. Most of the prostitution in the city of Tunis is that of Jewish women. These features will be noticed more fully in the chapter on "The City of Refuge" below. The

[71] Slouschz, pp. 40, 93, 143, 178 f., 193. Slouchz wonders if he can find the descendants of those old Jew garrisons (p. 93), never seeming to consider that these were Berber proselytes, not the Palestinians of 700 years earlier.

[72] Sloane, *Greater France in Morocco,* New York, 1924, pp. 46, 201.

unspeakable filthiness and stench of the Jewish quarters of large cities is unanimously reported by Jew and non-Jew travellers. An observant American writer notes that the clinging to ancient social forms and pretended privileges is the ruin of the Tunis Jew. One-fourth of the population live in idleness on charity. There is no notion of fitting them for some honorable employment. Old Punic practices survive in their life and rituals. They cling to the claim that (as a mercantile colony) they cannot be called upon for military service. As in the ancient Cappadocian tablets, they urge that all personal matters be tried before a Hebrew tribunal. Since they refuse to take the place of full citizens, they are held at arm's length by both French and Arab authorities. Their so-called charitable institutions produce the idleness, filth, and squalor. Department-store methods are driving out the petty peddlers.[73]

Slouschz writes of a similar situation, that the Israelite Alliance has introduced various trades into the Jewish quarters,

"but the general misery has not been lessened to any appreciable degree. The problem of relieving the hopeless struggle for existence in the *Hara* is greatly increased by the obstinate refusal of the Jew of Tripoli to emigrate. . . . But in the squalid surroundings among which most of the young people live, it is inevitable that low intellectual and moral standards should prevail. The mass of the people are backward and ignorant. . . . The spare time of the younger generation is spent in gambling and gossiping. Those employed as bootblacks and guides have a particularly evil reputation. . . . [In the oasis of Zawia] the Jews are ignorant and wretched, and a prey to the fanaticism of the Arabs and the rapacity of the local officials. The ancient synagogue is in ruins, and the cemetery used by the Arabs as a dumping ground. The Jews are as much to blame for this state of affairs as the natives. Quick and industrious as they are, they lack all social and communal feeling. . . . [In Jebel Nefussa] many Jews whose Judaism had become to them nothing more than a few superstitions. . . . The Tunisian Jews are of African origin, as is evident from their type, their customs, and their ethnic names: they came from the South or the Sahara. . . . Above all, the Jews of Tunis seem to have no conception of solidarity. . . . With very few exceptions they are extremely ignorant and given to the most curious superstitions. . . . The mountain Jews of Glawi, though very hospitable, are very hot-tempered, quarrelsome, and show themselves to be devoid of gentleness or of any spirit of solidarity. . . . [In the Algerian mountain country of the heroine priestess-Queen of Berber Judaism, the Kahîna] their knowledge of Judaism is

[73] R. Holt-Lomax, in *Harper's Weekly,* January, 1909, p. 32.

almost a negligible quantity. In the Jewish *duars* they swear by the name Sidna Musa (Our Lord Moses) as among Arabs they swear by the name of Sidna Mohammed. . . . [In the Jewish quarter of Morocco] the section is so crowded that each dwelling must house several families. Often as many as ten families live together in one place, and this serves to explain the frequency of loose living among the Jews of this city. . . . [In the Atlas Mountain Jews] their social and moral standards are primitive. There is hardly any Jewish scholarship among them. . . . The Jews assert that the Arabs there treat them better than they do the (Moslem) Berbers. But *are* the Jews better than the Berbers? I do not know."[74]

Two questions stand out after this survey. It has been the fashion of Jewish scholars to explain this notable inferiority to modern European and American Judaism by the political oppressions by Moslems of modern times. This begs the question and ignores the fact of very ancient strata of Yahwism in North Africa. It idealizes the Palestinian past, and views the present as a great fall from that ideal; yet the same writers will at the same time boast of the "unconquerable Jewish spirit and faith." But the history and the facts urge the question, Was the Yahwism planted in ancient North Africa ever any better than it is now? Does not the present degradation and superstition show us something of what is so graphically portrayed by the Old Testament prophets? Inasmuch as Israelite ventures in North Africa began in the pre-monarchic days when "every man did that which was right in his own eyes," was the Yahwism of many early African proselytes anything more than a few customs and superstitions? Hosea 4:6 complains, "My people are destroyed for want of knowledge"; and they wish no priesthood of higher ideals and larger knowledge than themselves. The masses of African Judaism today will not tolerate the presence of a priest or Levite; ancestral superstitions control; "the way of the fathers" is opposed to all modern schools and teachers. But the *cohen* or priest was a leading figure in Carthaginian cults, as in Palestinian. We have the plural *cohanîm* in various texts.[75] In epitaphs we frequently meet the singular *cahăn*. We have the *rab cahăn*, or "high priest," occasionally. This phrase for "high-priest" is not the Old Testament expression; and if the ancient Pelistîn Berbers resented it, it was not as a foreign importation. Then the Priestess, *kahinat*,

[74] *Travels in North Africa*, pp. 9, 40, 180, 236 f., 281, 302, 441, 468 f., 479.
[75] Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, III, 57, 58, 283.

is prominent in the cults. As women are the oracles in primitive Berber society, the *kahinat* was probably a Phoenician term for the Berber lady-oracle of the syncretized cults. We have an epitaph of Sophoni-Baal, the *kahinat,* wife of Hanno the Shofet (judge) the *Rab Kahin.*[76] And sometimes the lady is a *Rab Kahinat,* head of the cultus.[77] One epitaph is that of the lady Bath-baal, a *Rab Kahanîm,*[78] Here she is distinctly the head of a men's college of priests.

Does this mean that Berber traditions were asserting their superiority to the Semitic? In 2 Kings 22:14 Huldah is certainly "the court of last resort," and is acknowledged as such by Hilkiah himself, and the royal officials. The Hittite reliefs and the Kheba of the Hurrians assure us of the preëminence of priestesses in some of the cults in Palestine. The hostile attitude of illiterate African Yahwists toward all Cohens can hardly be an insistence upon the primacy of a *kahinat,* for we do not find such lady functionaries in such communities. The explanation must be sought in another direction. M. P. Pallary, considering the abundant evidence in the precinct of Tanit, at Carthage, of the practice of child-sacrifice, notices a modern Jewish custom which he suggests is a survival of this savagery. Among those North African Jews that permit the presence of Cohens, when the first male child is born in a Jewish home, a Cohen presents himself at the home of the parents and demands the babe as belonging to him.[79] The mother acknowledges the absolute right of the Cohen, and offers to ransom the child: the ransom is arranged by means of gifts.[80]

Now there is no evidence at hand that this was a Berber practice in pre-Semitic times. The fury aroused by the appearance of a Cohen in certain communities must represent the attitude of some ancient Berber communities, that refused to have this savage institution forced upon them. The tradition of ancient Jewish child-sacrifice is particularly strong in North Africa, and its recrudescence is occasionally charged. The same protest against all that the Cohen stood for voiced itself in Palestine, in the reformer prophets. All the horrors of Tophet and Molech had Yahwist priestly authority in pre-exilic times, eliciting the repudiation "which I commanded not, nor did it come into my mind" (Jere-

[76] *Ephemeris,* II, 172. Two more are on p. 173, also on pp. 176 and 188.

[77] *Ibid.,* II, 179. [78] *Ibid.,* III, 57.

[79] The practice of putting such firstlings to death was approved by the compilers of Leviticus 27:26-29.

[80] M. P. Pallary, in *Revue Tunisienne,* 1922, pp. 206-11; cited by F. W. Kelsey, *Excavations at Carthage,* 1925, pp. 48 f.

miah 19:5, 32:35). But the certainty that pre-exilic Yahwist garrisons carried such barbarities into North Africa enables us to credit all the savagery recorded of the Cyrenian-Egyptian Jewish revolt.

But again the question presses, Was the illiterate, religious-leader-opposing Yahwism of the pre-monarchic Palestine essentially that still found in degraded African Judaism? Was the Judaism whose wide spread Philo boasted any other than that which expressed itself in the recorded savageries of the last days of Jerusalem, in Sicarian assassinations, and the Cyrenian revolt-brutalities?

There is a second question,—since modern European-American Judaism considers that in all social, ethical, and spiritual ideals, the Judaism of Asia and Africa is wholly different. Judaism did not survive in all northern Arabia, though the Old Testament records have shown us much ancient Israelite settlement there. It did not survive in the desert regions of Asia, as we shall see, though the legends of its largest conquests concern that region. It is extinct in the Sahara conditions: some traditions, customs, superstitions, and prejudices being the sum of it. Judaism has not been able to survive under nomad conditions. How far could ancient wilderness life have contributed to the making of it?

The large negroid intermixture in the southern Sahara population, acknowledged by ethnologists to be very notable among its Judaized peoples, urges the query, Did the process of Judaizing cease with the Sahara? The ethnical intermingling was the result of negroes moving northward, and of Moor and Berber migrations southward. That Judaized Berbers have often moved as much as one thousand or two thousand miles from former abodes has been repeatedly before us. That from ancient times the immemorial trade routes thronged with Berber Jew traders, has been noticed. But did these migrations of the persecuted and this immemorial commerce end at some hypothetical boundary of the southern Sahara? All know that to be impossible. The same factors that made Egyptian Judaism number one million and North African Judaism another million or more, nineteen hundred years ago, would push it into the solid body of blacks south of the Sahara. It has been noticed that the trading oasis of Lamlam, two hundred miles west of Timbuktu, was once solidly Jewish, and that it made wars to maintain its monopoly of trade with the Soudan. And that the great mediaeval Jewish kingdom of Kamnuri or Kanuri, covering a large area north of the Senegal, was probably a com-

munity of the agricultural blacks now far away to the east will be recalled. The Moslem penetration of modern Africa is familiar. But its penetration began fifteen hundred years after that by Yahwism did, and following the same immemorial trade routes inevitably found Judaism planted on all of them long before. Such historic following in the wake of Judaism incessantly suggests that where Islam is now dominant in Central Africa, there may have been Judaism once. It is certain that the Judaism pressing into the Soudan from the Sahara would leave a large impress upon the negro populations. But since it was not the rabbinical Judaism of Europe, and was planted among a very different people, with a different cultural development, its survivals should differ in important respects from the Judaism of Europe.

Beginning with the West African region next to the Sahara, south of the Senegal, the scholarly American Presbyterian Missionary, Dr. J. Leighton Wilson, wrote seventy-five years ago:

"The religion of Senegambia is a complete medley of paganism, Judaism and Mohammedanism, and it is difficult to say which of the three occupies the most prominent place, or exerts the greatest influence upon the character of the people. The prevailing philosophy is, that by combining the three they are sure to secure the aggregate good of the whole. In Northern Guinea, paganism and Judaism are united, and in Southern Guinea, paganism, Judaism and some imperfect traces of a corrupted form of Christianity. In the former region of country, Judaism is more prominently developed; some of the leading features of which are circumcision, the division of tribes into separate families, and very frequently into the number twelve; the rigid interdiction of marriages between families too nearly related; bloody sacrifices, with the sprinkling of blood upon their altars and door posts; the formal and ceremonial observance of new moons, a specified time of mourning for their dead, during which they wear soiled and tattered clothes; demoniacal possessions, purifications, and various other usages, probably of Jewish origin. Some of these usages, especially the rite of circumcision, might be supposed to have been of Mohammedan origin, if it were not for the entire absence of all other traces of this religion among the pagan tribes of both Guineas.

"Although the natives of Africa retain these outward rites and ceremonies with the utmost tenacity, they have little or no knowledge of their origin, or the particular object which they are intended to commemorate. Many of them are performed to shield themselves from some threatened evil, or to secure some coveted good. But in the great majority of cases they are attended merely

as a matter of habit; and the only reason assigned for observing them is that their ancestors did the same before them."[81]

Since Dr. Wilson wrote, Mohammedanism has begun to spread in northern Guinea, certainly following the same trade routes that had introduced Judaism.

The Mandingoes of the Senegambia hinterland are the mercantile people of that part of Africa, ranging inland to Timbuktu and the sacred city of Jenné, to which the trade routes from the north and northeast converge. The Arabic language is spreading, as it does wherever Islam goes. But among these Moslem negroes some are found wearing both Hebrew and Arabic talismans, suggesting the antecedence of Judaism.

But distinct Jewish communities survive in northern Guinea, that were unknown to Dr. Wilson. In the interior of Dahomey, a thousand miles southeast of the mongrel Senegambia Judaism, is a large Jewish community. An extended account is not available at this writing. The Jewish scholar, Dr. J. Kreppel, reports that they have a central temple, where sacrifices are still offered. Their principal laws are engraved on plaster tablets fastened around the temple walls. They have a Pentateuch written on parchment in Hebrew letters, but they have no other books. There is of course no education in Hebrew for the membership, under such conditions: their Judaism is a matter of oral traditions. They cling to the Sabbath, and to certain Jewish customs, despite the influence of pagan surroundings. There is a high-priest, with many priestly (Levitical?) families, whose membership goes about giving moral and religious instruction to the families of the community.[82]

Still further southeast, in southern Nigeria are the "Emo Yo Quaîm," or "Strange People," as they are called by their Moslem and fetichist neighbors. They reside in the Ondo district about a hundred miles east of Abeokuta, about nine hundred miles southeast of Timbuktu. This shows how far a persecuted community may migrate from the regions it once frequented. For their tradition is that their ancestors came from Morocco, a fact which is supported by their language, a mixture of Maghrebî Arabic and local negro speech. Thus *abu* ("father") has become *yaba, umm* ("mother"; Hebrew *em*) is *ima*. The Arabic *abiad* ("white") remains, and some inflectional forms persist: as *yaba abiad* ("white

[81] *Western Africa,* pp. 220 f.
[82] J. Kreppel, *Juden und Judentum von Heute,* p. 807.

father"), *ima abiada* ("white mother"). The Arabic expression *haram Allahi*—"Allah forbid"—"shame to God," is in use. The "Hum-seen"—Arabic *Khamsîn*—or fifty days' hot wind from the desert is known: and the Semitic idiom, "to laugh at their beards" for contempt of authority. But the body of their language is that of the Yoruba negroes about them. Four hundred families claim "Semitic" ancestry, and may not intermarry with fetichists, but may with Moslem families because they are monotheists. This suggests former amicable commingling with the Moslems of the Sahara. But their social life and institutions are those of the Yorubas about them. The crocodile is the sacred animal for all. The powerful terrorizing African secret societies govern all. Whatever sacrifices are customary with fetichists are theirs also. The seven hereditary heads of the community would not be called rabbins by a modern orthodox Jew. The headship is that of a hereditary priestcraft. The whole situation is that protested against in Deuteronomy 12:30 f.

These people and their fetichist neighbors have in recent times made raids into the desert, nearly a thousand miles northwest, battling with the Tuareg (the Arabic name) and bringing home captives. This illustrates how Berber Judaism could be colonized in distant parts of negro Africa, with concomitant feuds that might last for centuries. These Yoruba Jews claim that their ancestors were driven from oasis to oasis by Moslem persecution, not finding rest even when they reached Timbuktu. It suggests that these ancestors may have been of the Daggatuns still scattered along the trade routes west of Timbuktu, or of the vanished Jewish kingdom of Kamnuri or of the later trading-colony of Lamlun. At present they number about two thousand people in twenty little villages, and call themselves by the Hebrew name "B'nai Ephraim." They have copies of portions of the Torah kept in a "most holy place" but their social life is not Torah-controlled: it is that of their fetichist neighbors. Of course their remaining Judaism is not rabbinical. They retain certain Jewish customs, and observe the great holy days. Otherwise they are simply naked negro savages. So they are described by one of themselves, Bata Kindai Amgoza, ibn Lo Bagola, who was carried from Whydah, Dahomey, to Scotland when a boy of seven years, and after four years of the white man's education returned to his people in Africa.[83] His personal name is simply Amgoza. Bata Kindai, "Sole of my foot," is a title indicating him as his father's chosen successor: a

[83] See "An African Savage's Own Story," in *Scribner's Magazine*, March to July, 1929.

method of declaring or transferring title shown us in Ruth 4:7 f. Ibn Lo Bagola uses the Arabic word *ibn* to announce him as the son of Lo Bagola.

These facts have a peculiar significance when the presence of Judaism among American negroes is to be considered. Hundreds of thousands of slaves were brought to America from this Western Africa during the days of the traffic, beginning nearly four hundred years ago. How much more of Judaism survived amongst West African negroes in that earlier time? As persecuted communities, they were rather more in danger than other negroes of being raided by war-parties and sold as slaves. It may be considered certain that many partially Judaized negroes were among the slaves brought to America. How many of them might still hold some Jewish customs in their new home is another question.

Then the introduction of Judaism from Europe into the coastal regions in very modern times is to be considered. Of this fact there are satisfactory records. On the Cabinda coast in Portuguese West Africa is an interesting group of negro Jews known as Mavumba. They are skillful smiths and potters, and consequently prosper. Ratzel considers them connected with a colony of Jews expelled from Portugal and settled on San Thomé island.[84] The Portuguese discovered San Thomé in 1471. Finding it very unhealthy, King John II of Portugal in 1484 offered the Jews of his dominion the pleasant alternative of submitting to baptism or settling at San Thomé. Great numbers were sent out; men were married to women brought by the Portuguese from the Angola coast. The Portuguese are affirmed to have carefully perpetuated this mixed race. But Reade, visiting the island of San Thomé seventy years ago, observed no trace of "Semitic" physical characteristics among the island population.[85] He did not consider the fact that the Jews who married the blacks might not have been what he called "Semites." Nor did he visit the mainland colony. Bastian studied these negroes, known as "Judeos" by the Portuguese, and thought he found some trace of the so-called Semitic blood. They are grave and reserved, as compared with other negroes, and wealthy, having most of the trade in their hands.[86]

But the perplexity of the ethnologists is due to their omission of one outstanding feature of ancient Oriental religious society

[84] Ratzel, *History of Mankind,* III, 134.
[85] Reade, *Savage Africa,* p. 227; Wilson, *Western Africa,* p. 337.
[86] Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition an der Loango Küste,* I, 46, 277.

to which Judaism clung till modern times. That is, that any slave might gain his freedom by accepting the religion of his owner. This fact requires a special chapter later. For the present case, from the beginning of the San Thomé Jewish colony there should have been negro Jews who had no white blood, just as there were persons of mixed blood who had no Judaism. In seeking for traces of white blood as evidence of Jewish ancestry, the earlier ethnologists were astray at the outset. Fortunately the historic records bearing upon the case are ample and clear.

Beginning with the mediaeval anti-Jewish legislation in Spain and Portugal, the "Siete Partidas" or Seven Codes of Alfonso X (1250-1280 A.D.) contain this prohibition:

"Moreover, we forbid that any Jew should dare to make his slave turn Jew, although the slave be a Moor or of any other barbarous people. But should it be done, the slave who has been made a Jew or Jewess shall become free and withdrawn from the owner."[87]

Lindo's translation more accurately says "Moors or other people of the Barbary lands." This prohibition was two hundred years before the fall of the Moorish kingdom of Granada. We have succinctly before us the fact that Judaism was steadily spreading itself by proselyting any African slaves that it could. The Spanish and Portuguese Christian clergy felt themselves handicapped in competition.

Next, the activity of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands brings the same Jewish custom before us, two hundred to three hundred and fifty years later.[88] In these records we find some negro slaves testifying that they were required to follow Jewish procedure in domestic matters; some, that they were sent to Fez in Morocco for formal instruction in Judaism (p. 90). Sometimes we hear of the intermarriage of Jews and Christians, and of the trial of Jews who are "not of pure blood." Or the charge is made that a black slave has been "terrified into adopting Jewish cus-

[87] James Finn, *Sephardim,* p. 324, London, 1841. Compare p. 102 of Elias Hiam Lindo, *The History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal from the Earliest Times to their Final Expulsion from Those Kingdoms and their Subsequent Dispersion,* London, 1848. Both works present complete translation of all the laws made concerning Jews.

[88] Lucien Wolf, *Jews in the Canary Islands: being a Calendar of Jewish cases extracted from the Canariote Inquisition in the collection of the Marquis of Bute.* Translated from the Spanish and Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Lucien Wolf. Jewish Historical Society of England, London, 1926.

toms" (p. 23). One Jewish Guinea negro, one hundred years of age, died during the "examination" (p. 113). The cases in Wolf's compilation are scattered from 1499 to 1667.

There is an abundance of historic records of Judaism in the West Indies at the same period. Samuel Oppenheim,[89] carefully examining the Dutch and English official records, established the fact that colonies of Jews were invited from various parts of Europe and from Brazil, where Jews were being bitterly persecuted. Special privileges or concessions were made them for the importation of slaves. The Dutch especially desired to promote the sugar industry. The old Jewish demands for autonomous communities and exemptions from taxes appear. One English charter concedes that all members of the Jewish colony shall be tax-free for seven years, and that any one establishing a sugar plantation with fifty slaves shall be tax-free for twelve years. The sum of the concessions makes the European Jew only a small fraction of the population of any Jewish colony, while Jewish custom will make Jews of some of the slave population. This phase of the situation Oppenheim does not discuss. But the *Essai Historique*[90] presents a census of the population at the time of compilation. The negroes are about fifteen times as numerous as the whites. The census of the autonomous Jew communities is given as thirteen hundred and eleven white persons with six hundred and fifty free mulattoes and negroes.[91] Twice we are told that the free mulatto Jews numbered about one hundred. The other freedmen were probably semi-proselytes, not yet accorded full membership in the synagogues. (Compare Deuteronomy 23:7 f.) The data will help explain the presence of negro Judaism in other parts of the West Indies, and the origins of some negro Jewish communities in the United States. For the *Publications of The American Jewish Historical Society* show that these Portuguese Jews of the Brazils, Surinam, and Curaçao were the first Jews to settle in New York, beginning in 1654. Communication with Surinam was continual. They held many slaves: illicit relations are suggested by some of the published wills; and the impression soon spread through the colony that any slave could gain freedom by

[89] *An Early Jewish Colony in Western Guiana, 1658-1666, and its relation to Jews in Surinam, Cayenne and Tobago.* New York, 1907. Supplemental data added 1908. Reprints from Nos. 16 and 17 of American Jewish Historical Society.

[90] *Essai Historique Sur la Colonie de Surinam. . . .* Avec l'Histoire de la nation Juive Portugaise y Allemande y établie, etc. Paramaribo, 1788.

[91] *Ibid.*, part ii, p. 39.

changing religion. Special acts of 1699 and 1706 declared that a slave could not gain freedom by becoming Christian: but Jewish custom in the parallel case was left undisturbed.[92]

Now we return to the negro Jews of the Loango Coast, and their possible derivation from the negro Judaism of the Portuguese Jewish colony of San Thomé. That colony was planted by King John in 1484, and supplied with negro women from the Loango coast. But another important fact is to be added. Gonzalo Piriz reports that in 1492 the governor Alvaro de Caminha took with him to San Thomé two thousand negro children of seven years age and under, whom the king had allowed Castilian Jews to carry off.[93] This shows us Castilian Jews, a few years before the establishment of the Inquisition in the Canaries, engaged in the slave-trade and aiding their refugee coreligionists from Portugal. But with the initial facts before us, we recognize that a considerable free negro Judaism was certain to develop at San Thomé, and that mercantile colonies of these free Jewish negroes were certain to spread to the adjacent coast. It is beside the mark to scrutinize each colony for traces of white blood.

The name appears in various books as Mavambo, Ma-Yomba, Mayumba, Mavûmbu. This is due to confusing them with a petty kingdom or tribe in which some of their mercantile colonies have been noticed. The Ma-Yomba are an inland hill-people, north of the Congo. Their country begins about sixty miles inland and extends northward from the Congo about two hundred miles. But the Abbé Proyart in 1776 describes them as holding the coast also, north of Loango Bay.[94] But the negro Jews call themselves Bavûmbu (German, Bawûmbu). Loesche of the German Loango-Coast Expedition says that it is their own name for themselves, and that it suggests neither honor nor reproach. In appearance they are hardly distinguishable from other natives. The "Semitic face" of popular fancy occurs among them and among the pagan negroes. In customs and morals and general religious ideas they do not differ from the Ba-Fiot around them, save in their fond-

[92] See *Slavery in New York,* May, 1900: State Library Bulletin: History No. 4.

[93] Cited by Richard Oberländer, *West Africa vom Senegal bis Benguela,* p. 403. This is a scholarly compilation, with special reference to the researches of Adolf Bastian, and the German Loango coast Expedition of 1873-76. The third volume of this expedition's reports did not appear till 1907, and its account of the Mavûmbu Jews, a considerable advance upon Bastian's work, is not reflected in Oberländer's compilation.

[94] *Histoire de Loango,* Paris, 1776; an account of the effort of French Catholic missionaries to plant a mission there.

ness for "fowl-divination" or "fowl-magic," which they share with the inland river-tribes above Stanley Pool. But they cling to certain Jewish observances, and live in separate communities, not counting themselves people of the land. Their villages are now strewn along the coast from Loango Bay southward for more than one hundred miles; some being south of the mouth of the Congo. Earlier travellers reported some villages north of Loango Bay. When questioned as to their provenance, some said they came from the south; some, from the north; some, from beyond the mountains. But all spoke of each other as Ba-Koko, "river people" at times. A direct connection with San Thomé was not reported. It would appear that the negro Jewish traders of San Thomé had made proselytes at various trading stations in the interior. Loesche connects their name Mavûmbu with Mpûmbu, the native name for Stanley Pool, which is a natural terminus for all trade coming down the Congo. From thence to the sea overland traders are necessary. The Mavûmbu then would be "the Pool people" who control the trade to the coast. Through the dense forest barrier of the Ma-Yomba people there are only three roads to the coast, with toll-collectors on each. The Mavûmbu seem to be active in this traffic. Their villages are not large: sometimes several small ones grouped about a principal one. They are but tenants among the Ba-Fiot. A group near the base of the German Expedition was negotiating for a better location. They owned no land: they had been conceded two flat elevations in a very marshy region, where they busily boiled salt. They began negotiations with an old chiefess, Nsassi, toward the mountains, who came to the coast for conference. Convinced that they were desirable tenants, she finally settled a part of this Mavûmbu group upon lands of her own.[95]

Ratzel records that the Loango Coast tribes were once Christianized by Romish missionaries, as were also the Cabinda on the north side of the Congo. To-day a ceremony of baptism is about all there is left, and this is followed by circumcision.[96] It seems that the Mavûmbu may be the remnant of a much more numerous Judaism that was vigorously assailed by Portuguese missionaries. The Abbé Proyart[97] records that the nominal Christians once numbered hundreds of thousands, but that the field had long been abandoned at the time of his visit. He met one colony of four

[95] *Die Deutsche Expedition an die Loango Küste*, vol. iii, part 2, p. 6 f., 255 f.

[96] *History of Mankind*, III, 134.

[97] *Histoire de Loango*, pp. 315 f.

thousand nominal Christians at Manquenzo, about eighty miles from the coast. They were then thirty-five miles north of the Congo, having recently removed thither from Songo, a district some ninety miles southwest, south of the mouth of the Congo. The point is of value, as showing continual migration of nominally converted African peoples. Abbé Proyart was much interested by the fact that negro parents occasionally had children that remained all their lives as white as Europeans. These always had blonde or red hair and beard, with feeble sight. They were accounted extraordinary or divine beings, and were ranked above the native *mgangas* or fetish-priests. It did not occur to the Abbé to correlate the facts with the old Portuguese mission and Romish priestly pretensions. We may compare Winwoode Reade's statement that he met negroes in Guinea who called themselves Portuguese, and boasted their Portuguese ancestry, and scorned the other negroes around them though not distinguishable from them.

Remnants of a far-travelled African Judaism are found in northern Nigeria, among the Haussas and Nupes, on the east side of the lower Niger, from three hundred to seven hundred miles from the sea. The survivals are of peculiar interest, because they did not reach that region from Berber North Africa, nor through the contact of European Judaism with the west coast. They are due to the great expansion of the Nuba or Nubian Empire in Byzantine times. As we saw in the case of Abyssinia, Christianity in Nubia was grafted upon a local Judaism centuries old. Hence this mixture of Judaism and Christianity in Nupeland has the same provenance that Falasha Judaism and Abyssinian Christianity have. Cross-decoration is much in evidence, especially in connection with the property and trappings of royalty. There is an Easter baptismal festival, at which the little princes and princesses of the Kisra line are baptized by affusion. Kisra is the founder of the Nupe kingdom; he came from the east. And the story is told that when King Kisra was once pursuing his enemies, they came to a great water which parted and allowed the enemy to escape. But the water closed upon Kisra and his army, drowning many. So when Kisra came to Bussa in Nupeland, he ordered a shrine established in memory of those who had perished.[98] Now Kisra is Kaisar: it points to the Roman period in Nubia when the Roman title "Caesar" supplanted the Egyptian title Pharaoh, with the result that "Caesar" is represented as the ancient oppressor of Israel! And the Nubian "Caesar" that es-

[98] Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa*, ii, 639 ff.

tablished a kingdom in Nupe-land is supposed to have been the one who was unlucky at the Red Sea! Then the Noah legend survives, and the Massaga are pointed out as people who came into the land with Kisra, and who are descended from Anabi Nuhu (Noah). But the Massaga whom Frobenius questioned denied such ancestry. It is one case of many in which peoples have accepted some Israelite lore, but have refused to accept its genealogical traditions.

But the most striking survival of Judaism among the Haussas and Nupes is a powerful Levitical institution. It will be more properly considered in the chapter upon shrine-Levites.

Livingstone also found a colony of educated negroes, two hundred miles inland from St. Paul de Loanda at Ambaka, and called "the Jews of Angola." Remarkably keen in trade, eager for learning, with much knowledge of the history of Portugal and Portuguese law, they penetrate hundreds of miles into the interior in their trading expeditions, and are in esteem as clerks and writers. Livingstone found them of delicate constitution, and mulattoes among them in a few generations revert to the color of the black maternal ancestor. By Mendelian principles this would mean that the white or mixed children of each generation did not survive. Livingstone considered them the product of a missionary station of Jesuits and Capuchins, who had been expelled by the Portuguese.[99] But St. Paul de Loanda began, like San Thomé, as a political penal colony and from this Angola coast black wives were taken for the San Thomé Jews.[100] So the Portuguese Jews were connected with this region long before the Jesuit order existed. The Jesuits reached Angola in 1560. No careful examination for survivals of Judaism has been reported.

Similarly, negro Jews once existed in Jamaica and Surinam as a result of extensive concubinage of Spanish and Portuguese Jews with negroes. A very large proportion bear Jewish names, but have generally lapsed from Judaism. A similar community sprang into existence in Surinam, a hundred and fifty years ago; English and Portuguese Jews intermarrying with the blacks, and a mongrel language, Joe Tongo, Jew's language, arising from a mixture of the three languages. A negro-English dialect, and a negro-Portuguese dialect with Hebrew words sprang up; the two later merged. These Surinam negro Jews, having a dialect of their own, have not lapsed so generally as those of Jamaica.[101]

[99] Livingstone, *Travels and Researches in South Africa*, pp. 414, 479.
[100] Wilson, pp. 348, 357.
[101] Fishberg, pp. 147 f.

Negro Judaism in America is of peculiar value to the historical student as illustrating what has gone on in every century, where bigotry and persecution did not prevent. And it illustrates the varied reactions that have always appeared, either in ancient Yahwism or later Judaism, toward all proselytes or propagandism. Since claims of some African Jewish ancestry appear, there is additional interest. It would seem that the establishment of such claims by individuals would turn upon the ability to establish their genealogical connection. Judaism has always had an element that made orthodoxy a matter of accepted genealogy.[102]

Mr. Meyer Shapiro of Brooklyn, New York, having had his attention called to negro Jews insisting upon kosher meat, took with him a reporter from the New York *Sun* and W. B. Seabrook, known for his sympathetic investigation of Voodooism in the island of Haiti.[103] The party visited the synagogue or church of "The Commandment Keepers, Holy Church of the Living God, Pillar and Ground of The Truth." The Hebrew alphabet and the Shield of David with a Hebrew inscription were on one wall of the assembly room; the negro head, Bishop Matthews, was holding classes during the week to teach Hebrew. Mr. Shapiro reports that this congregation mixes Christian and Jewish tenets, even as the Yahwism of ancient Palestine was mixed with much that was peculiarly Arabian. They accept Jesus, some counting him a prophet like Moses, some counting him divine. Against the white man's pretensions, they assert that they are the pure original Israelites of the tribe of Judah, and that all white Jews represent the lost ten tribes. Some of the company claimed Abyssinian Christian origin, and consequently shared the legendary descent from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Bishop Matthews' Hebrew had a strong Arabic accent, which harmonized with his own claim of descent from the black Jews of Nigeria. The congregation observes the Jewish kosher and matzos regulations and the Jewish Sabbath, and some send their children to Jewish schools. Another negro congregation, B'nai Beth Abraham, presided over by Rabbi Joshua Ford, and the Beth Zion, presided over by Rabbi Israel ben Newman, hold to Jewish tenets, and reject Jesus. The three Harlem congregations number about two thousand persons.[104]

In reply to some inquiries Mr. Shapiro took with him Dr.

[102] See Ezra 2:55-63. [103] *The Magic Island.*

[104] Carl Helm, in New York *Sun*, January 29, 1929. For curious Harlem negro sectaries and exploiters see also the articles in issues of February 18 and February 22, 1929.

Maurice Fishberg, the Jewish ethnologist so frequently cited in these pages, and wrote me March 30, 1929, that it was not possible to secure pictures of any of Bishop Matthews' congregation, as they held photography to be a breach of the second commandment.

"The other groups, the 'orthodox negro Jews' as they style themselves are not so strict, and are glad to have themselves photographed. Dr. Fishberg visited the rabbi of only one congregation —the orthodox Beth-Zion, which has only a few members, and it is his opinion that while among these Harlem colored Jews there are some whose ancestors were really Abyssinians, Falashas, etc., the majority of them are, as he expresses it, 'fakers'; that is, they are real American negroes, who make believe that they profess Judaism in order to be able to collect money from the white Jews. Especially some of their leaders, their so-called rabbis, are of this type. To their congregations, he believes, Judaism is simply an interesting novelty. But some of the white Jew synagogues take them seriously and give them encouragement and substantial aid. It is my personal belief that some of these negroes are really sincere; especially the middle-aged and elderly women among them which constitute the majority of these members. I know one negro woman who keeps up a strict kosher home and sends her two sons to a Hebrew Talmud Torah (evening school) among white Jew children, for the last eight years.

"Generally speaking my impression is that while negroes are a race inclined to be religious, they are not particular, however, as to the nature of the religion of their worship. You will find among them in Harlem also Mahometans and Buddhists. They go where they are led.

"These negro Jews in Harlem began to be conspicuous about eight years ago. The above mentioned Beth-Zion congregation was the first to form.[105] Their Rabbi Mordecai, a former sailor, who travelled all over the world, and speaks a fluent Yiddish, was the founder. Then he disappeared, and his place is taken by Rabbi Israel Newman, who says that he hails from Egypt, but was really born in North Carolina. It seems that he travelled a lot before he settled in New York.

"Rabbi Joshua Ford of the second orthodox congregation, the Beth-Abraham, was born in Barbados, West Indies. This congregation has about thirty members. Bishop Matthews claims that his ancestors were negro Jews. Rabbi Ford knows Hebrew well. The others know very little."

Bishop Matthews, "a short dapper man, dark brown, mustached, with high cheek-bones—an unusual, arresting face," was

[105] Bishop Matthews, in the letter below, claims priority.—A. H. G.

officially robed in a long black coat with astrakhan collar. He replied March 25, 1929, to some special inquiries sent him, as follows. His congregation was organized November 18, 1918. There are a few in his congregation who came direct from Abyssinia. None of these were Falashas. They were Abyssinian Christians but of Hebrew parentage.[106] Nearly all of the membership were originally from the west coast of Africa; that is, their ancestors were. Bishop Matthews claims that one or two groups of his peculiar organization are among the sectaries in Abyssinia, and that there are other negro synagogues in America whose organizing impulse came from Abyssinia, but he does not specify them. He has gained many American negro members. As for himself, he says that his grandfather was one of the black Jews of Nigeria, and was carried to St. Christopher, in the West Indies. There Bishop Matthews' father and himself were born. He came to America sixteen years ago (1913), and has mastered the English language since. Thus Bishop Matthews claims an immemorial Jewish ancestry: but since that ancestry is negro, it follows that negroes were the original Jews.

Particularly interesting is a circular upon this claim, with photograph of the white-robed negro rabbi, Bishop A. W. Cook, or Rabbi Haling Hank Lenht, of Montclair, New Jersey.

This is a development from Bishop Matthews' congregation. It has received no help from the white Jews, and observes that the white Jewish papers call them 'fakers.' But "my friends, we are not fakers. Every black man is a real Hebrew, whether he knows it or not. We as a race do not know who we are," etc. Thus race-discriminations are always repaid in their own coin. Compare Winwoode Reade's report of a Sierra Leone negro preacher's sermon, some seventy years ago:

"My brethren you see white man bad too much, ugly too much, no good. You want sabby how man like dat come to lib in de world? Well, I tell you. Adam and Eve, dey colored people, berry hansum, lib in one beautiful garden. Dere dey hab all things dat be good. Plantains, yams, sweet potatoes, foo foo palm wine, he-igh, too much! Den dey hab two childrum, Cain and Abel. Cain no like Abel's palaver; one day he kill'm. Den God angry and he say, *Cain!* Cain go hide himself: he tink him berry

[106] This may mean that they were of the Falasha stock upon the majority of whom Abyssinian Christianity has been forced in modern times. Or it may merely express the claim of all Abyssinian Judeo-Christians to be of Jewish ancestry, with a royal house descended from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

clabber. Heigh-heigh! God say again, Cain, you tink I no see you, you bush-nigger—eh? Den Cain come out, and he say yes massa, I lib here,—what de matter, massa? Den God say in one big voice, like de tunder in de sky, *'Where'm broder Abel?'* Den Cain turn white all ober wid fear—dat de first white man, breddren!"[107]

Mr. Meyer Shapiro in a second letter informs me that he knows of the above Montclair congregation of negro Jews. There is another in Newark, New Jersey, and several in other American cities where there is considerable negro population. Some are of the "Commandment Keepers" type, mingling Judaism and Christianity, and some of the Beth-Zion division, holding to orthodox Judaism. The respective leaders, after the fashion of a Jewish *shalîakh,* travel from one branch to another, to "strengthen the brethren," and incidentally to collect one dollar per member as weekly dues. Their spiritual work consists chiefly in teaching their flock a very little Hebrew, and saying with them some ritual prayers, and urging ceremonial observances and stated festivals. But this raises again the issue, Was not that about all the Judaism that much of North Africa ever had? Some young Jewish negroes in Harlem, employed among the Jews, do not belong to either of the above proselyte movements. Being pleased with their Jewish employers they have chosen to take on their religion, have learned Jewish prayers, and go daily to the synagogue school of their white Jew friends. In considering the spread of Judaism by the institution of slavery, this present tendency should be remembered.

These cases of proselyting among American negroes are submitted without criticism. Their significance has already been stated: they show what was always possible in Africa; they prove what has been done there through century after century. The few scholarly volumes upon those more persistent and well-organized expressions of religious thinking that the writers class as Jewish heresies or sectaries have included very few of the phenomena of Yahwist or Jewish history. The above cases also show that the Yahwism of the great Old Testament prophets, when distorted into a pretext for a single racial pretension, only sets each race touched by Yahwism to asserting itself to be that mythical chosen or superior race. The candid historian smiles at all these claims as baseless. But the passionate struggles between liberal spiritual teacher-proselyters and their opponents have not been occasions for smiling.

[107] *Savage Africa,* 1864, p. 31.



PUT OR PHUT AND THE FULAS

The part played by the ancient people of Somaliland in spreading elements of a pre-exilic Yahwism remains a matter of debate. Somaliland is the Punt or Phut of the Old Testament. In Genesis 10:6; 1 Chronicles 1:8, Phut is a "son of Ham"; that is, a vassal of Egypt. Now the Fulas, who have pushed across Africa from Somaliland to Senegambia and the lower Niger have this very "tradition that they are descendants of Phut the son of Ham. Whether this be true or not, it is a singular fact that they have prefixed this name to almost every district of any extent which they have ever occupied. They have Futa-Torro near Senegal; Futa-Bondu and Futa-Jallon to the north of Sierra Leone" (Bowen, *Central Africa,* chapter xxiii). There are also Futa-Kasson, Futa-Zora, Futa-Ferlo, Futa-Dugu. The whole stock seems to have had the tradition presented in Genesis 10:7; but there is no proof of a general acceptance of Yahwism.

They call themselves also Poul, Foul; plural Poulbe, Fulbe: "ruddy, clear-brown" people. Recognizable in the regions between the North African mountains and the Soudan in the sixth century B.C., they are recorded as moving toward the Niger in the third Christian century. They were pastoral tribes in the Soudan, tributary to native chiefs, from Dar-Fur to the Atlantic. Very prominent in the east in Baghirme and Wadai, they are numerous in Borgu, among the Nupes, Yorubas, Kororofa, Adamawa. In modern Dar-Fur they are miners, sorcerers, and necromancers.

The original red race has mixed largely with negroes and whites. Since their cattle are the zebus or Indian humped cattle of the upper Nile and Somaliland, Edouard Naville thinks them a branch of the Phoenicians or "redskins" who came from the Persian Gulf by way of south Arabia (*Revue Archeologique* 23, pp. 112-121). They did not begin accepting Islam till the 13th and 14th centuries. Some are still polydaemonists. Elements of Christianity have been noticed in some Soudan tribes. It seems that no one cultus ever dominated the whole stock, but that such pastoral tribes as came in contact with Yahwism on the upper Nile from Elephantine to Abyssinia have left some traces of the fact in their passage across the Soudan.

JEWISH KINGDOM OF GHANATA

Jewish Kingdom of Ghanata (Ta-Ganet?) Founded 300 A.D.? by "White Libyans" (Berbers). The kingdom occupied the great lowland connecting the coastal caravan route with the Upper Niger. Jews were on the coast in Philo's time. Twenty-two (Berber) Jewish kings reigned here before the Hegira (Barth). Forty-four had reigned by 790 A.D., when the dynasty was overthrown. At Lamlam, 200 miles west of Timbuktu, a Jewish trade-oasis persisted till 1076 A.D., when overthrown by Moslems (Barth, *Travels in North Africa,* III, 657 ff.). The mediaeval Kamnuri was probably another remnant of the Jewish Ta-Ganet. Dr. J. J. Williams, S.J., author of the new monumental work, *Hebrewisms in West Africa* (New York, 1930), writes me that Ghana was in 17° N. latitude, 7° E. longitude, west of Nema. This puts it about 270 miles west by north from the much later Timbuktu: 70 miles northwest of the mediaeval Lamlam.

CHAPTER XI

Khazars, Scythians, and Tartars

However important we may think the Yahwist spiritual conquests in Abyssinia and North Africa, they have been immeasurably exceeded in permanent value to Judaism by Judaism's conquests among the Khazars and Scythians. The Turkish Khazars came from the Ural Mountains, expelled by more savage and powerful peoples from Central Asia. The movement began near 400 B.C. The Khazars spread between the Don and Lower Volga, pushing the Sarmatians westward to absorb the previously independent Iranic Scythians. But it should not be supposed that such Khazar movement meant complete extermination of the earlier population. Nor in the case of settled peoples does such an invasion as the Khazar result in a complete migration of the older settled population. Much of it remains as an important element in the new political régime. And such absorbed peoples may strongly affect their conquerors. It is a mistake to write of the Khazar kingdom as composed of a single unmixed ethnic group. The invaders included white Khazars, and others "black as Hindoos." There are several well-known migrations through southern Russia in the historic period. The earlier Iranic migrations south of the Caucasus and Black Sea into Asia Minor were noticed in Chapter V. There came during Byzantine times migrations of other savage nomads through southern Russia, each leaving a new ethnic stratum. So when the Khazar incursions are said to have reached the plains of the Lower Volga by 400 B.C., and to have spread through the Caucasus to the borders of Armenia by 198 A.D., it means that the Khazars became the dominant political element in this movement of six hundred years' duration, but they no more displaced the many earlier ethnic strata of population in these regions than the Normans displaced the earlier English. It is recognized by historians and ethnologists that Byzantine and Arab writers called all the mingled peoples of the Don and Lower Volga, "Khazars." The fact seems ignored by some Jewish writers upon the conversion of the Khazars. Reclus records that the term included the preceding Iranic peoples of the Don and Volga, the invading Nogai Tartars, the Georgians or Karthli, and some of the southern Talish-Tat-Iranians. That description tacitly includes the intervening Caucasus tribes, some of whom—Abkhasians, Ossetes, Circassians, Kumyks, Lesghians—are spoken of more as partners than as subjects of the Khazar movement. Tartars, Slavs,

Huns, and Bulgars also became elements of the domination. During the eight hundred years following their reaching the Armenian frontier, the Khazar-directed group battled first with Armenians and then with Arabs for control of Trans-Caucasia, and also pushed northwestward from the Black Sea and Caucasus nearly to the Gulf of Finland. The Crimea became known as "Khazaria": thirteen commercial cities were upon the northern coast of the Black Sea, and twenty-five peoples were claimed as tributaries. The Khazars presented the greatest commingling of ethnic elements of any political power in Europe.[1]

Another all-important fact pointed out by Rostovtzeff[2] must be remembered. The Khazar domination was not primarily the result of organized militarism. Its original military organization was that of a nomad people, of no special aggressiveness, moving away from more aggressive central Asian peoples in search of larger pasturage and better trading opportunities. These the Khazar commingling sought by moving southward to the warmer regions on the north of the Black Sea. That they were six hundred years in extending their domination through the Caucasus and Trans-Caucasia is proof that they were not aggressive militarists. In Arab times they employed Moslem mercenary soldiers. Their slow mass-movements and peaceful trade-dominance suggest the Chinese. But the direction of this quest for trade was that of other peoples before them and after: a quest for intimate relations with peoples south of the Black Sea and Caucasus and Caspian. There was no marked effort on the part of ancient peoples in the Russian area to cultivate relations with Western Europe. Such tendency does not appear in history till the Slav appeared in Central and South Russia, and found himself also shut off from the Black Sea. The great antiquity of the civilized trade between the regions north of the Black Sea and those south of it has abundant archaeological evidence. But the immemorial north and south character of the trade-currents explains why Western Europe could later doubt that a Khazar empire ever existed. In Chapter IV was noticed the misapprehension in classic times of the accounts of peoples north of the Caucasus—Hyperboreans. "Beyond the mountains," "beyond Kimmerian darkness" dwelt the wise Abaris. So Western Europe now heard from Asia Minor peoples that beyond the Kimmerian darkness of the Caucasus dwelt the ancient Jews, the original Jews. Abaris had become Abraham. But this immemorial north and south movement of Black Sea trade explains why Western European Jewish scholarship has so

[1] Reclus, *Asia*, I, 119; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, I ff.
[2] *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, pp. 43, 219 f.

little information concerning the ethnic origins and the original propagandism that resulted in the immense mass of Judaism in southern Russia and in Poland.

The question of the historic conversion of certain rulers of this Khazar empire in Russia, about 679 A.D., more than a thousand years after the Khazars began to appear on the Lower Volga, is then primarily a question of the spread of earlier Yahwism or later Judaism among the numerous earlier ethnic groups around the Black Sea, and among the earlier Khazars. It is preposterous to suppose that none of the Khazar-directed commingling were Judaized during the first thousand years of their residence among peoples where Judaism had been at work before the Khazar advent. The above-mentioned commercial movement had resulted in the towns being Jewish: the rural Slavs and Russians were generally pagan: mercantile Khazars found Judaism advisable: the great pastoral chiefs and nobles remained pagan. But following a war with the Bulgars that drove them across the Dnieper in 679 A.D., Bulan, the Khagan of the Khazars, is said to have given Jewish, Christian, and Moslem champions a hearing at his court, and to have decided for Judaism. Four thousand of the nobles of his following are said to have done the same. That Judaism among the urban population had been familiar for centuries lies upon the face of the story.

Though the Khazar ruling class was driven from Russia a thousand years ago, many different ethnic elements remain commingled in the present Judaism of western and southern Russia and Poland. Its vast numerical preponderance, amounting to three-fourths of ecumenical Judaism, compels the inquiry, Were these same numerous ethnic elements in South Russia in pre-Khazar times? And how early and by what routes did Judaism reach those peoples who in later times proselyted the Khazar rulers?

The Khazar contact with the Armenian highlands came about nine hundred years after Sargon's capture of Samaria: eight hundred years after Nebuchadrezzar destroyed Jerusalem. The Dispersion, through trading-posts and deportations, had been going on for more than a thousand years. Judaism had been in Armenia at least eight hundred years ere the Khazars reached it. Jews had been deported thence to Persia and the Far East more than once; they had been favored by the Seleucid Greek emperors, and then by the Parthians. The Judaism still existing in the Caucasus mountains could have reached the mountain tribes with Persian favor five hundred years before the Christian era.

Then the Medo-Persian Empire dominated two-thirds of the Black Sea coasts. Its third satrapy included the south coast from the Bosphorus to the great harbor of Amisus. The nineteenth included the whole eastern end, from Amisus around to the modern Sea of Azov. In Chapter VI was noticed the policy of the Seleucid emperors of granting to Jewish colonies the same religio-political autonomy which they were already enjoying. According to Josephus, the Jewish communities demanded of Alexander the immunities and privileges that had been regularly accorded them by Medo-Persian and Babylonian rule. Josephus further assures us that Alexander had a dream ere leaving Macedonia, revealing to him that the Jewish priesthood would show him the way to conquer the whole of the Persian empire.[3] It seems good evidence that Alexander planned from the first to use the many Jewish colonies in the Persian Empire for the furtherance of his designs. Josephus' statement is an admission that the initiative in negotiations looking toward coöperation with Alexander was taken by many Jewish communities. That the nineteenth satrapy of the Persian empire included the whole eastern end of the Black Sea assures us that the Persian monarchy made the same use of the Jewish colonies as guardsmen or royal merchants in those regions that it did elsewhere in its domains. This involves also the whole question of ancient Jewish trading-posts and garrisons in all the Caucasus districts. And the Greek Jewish inscriptions gathered at various points on the north coasts of the Black Sea prove that Jewish corporate colonies with synagogues were actually there long before the Christian era.

The fact that Greek was the *lingua franca* of these Jewish communities does not tell us certainly of the ethnic elements in them. But we cannot consider them to have originated in Seleucid times, for the Seleucids never gained any foothold in the nineteenth Persian satrapy. Their only contact with the Black Sea coast was in northwestern Asia Minor, from the Bosphorus to the Halys. All regions about the eastern end of the Black Sea remained in the hands of their enemies. Thus while Jewish communities were certainly on the northeast coasts of the Black Sea in Persian times, their Hellenic colloquial speech was not something brought in from Persia, or fostered by it. It was the result of the culture firmly planted along the coasts in pre-Persian times.

[3] *Antiquities,* XI, v, 2; viii, 5. The savage harrying of Palestine by Artaxerxes Ochus four years earlier probably resulted in some Jewish overtures to Alexander. He certainly saw an opportunity in the Persian cruelties.

How old was that local Hellenic culture? Was there a pure Greek population in those ancient colonies, or was the population ethnically of a highly mixed character? The consideration of the antiquity of these Greek trading-posts and of the range of their commercial activities will help us to decide if any Israelite trading-posts or deported colonies could have reached the Black Sea or southern Caucasus highlands before Persian times. The immemorial trade-routes to the Orient maintained through this region have much to do with the presence of Judaism in Turkestan, Mongolia, China, and even India.

The earliest traditions of Greek trading activity in the Black Sea are the legends of the Argonauts. The versions are many, no two agreeing in important details, or even in *motif*.[4] Two main elements are clear. The first is an old cult of a healer-god Yason (Etruscan Heiasun), whose cult and pharmacopoeia were from Colchis. Place-names commemorate this healer Yason at various points on the southern coast of the Black Sea. But this element faded from Greek tradition very early: it was not primarily Hellenic. The other element was the obtaining of "golden fleeces" from countries east of the Black Sea. In the version most popular in later Greece, success in this depended upon winning the princess Medea.

The old explanation of all the Argonaut legends as embodying nature-myths may be dismissed. The recovery of the outlines of Minoan and Mycenaean cultural development shows that seaworthy vessels were on the Mediterranean in the fourth millennium B.C. Mediaeval Viking-burial in a great ship tells us of Norse naval traditions. But the recently discovered stone-boat-tombs built by the Egyptian Khufu or Cheops (about 2900 B.C.) tell of the like royal naval activities and traditions. His son Sneferu built vessels 167 feet long and sent one fleet of forty vessels to the Lebanon coasts for timber, long before the Phoenicians arrived there. Sahure, of the fifth dynasty, about 2743 B.C. pictured his great sea-going vessels for traffic with South Arabia, Somaliland, Lebanon, (and India?). The recent discoveries at the site of the ancient Byblos show that traffic between that coast and the regions north of the Caucasus existed before 2000 B.C. The Armenia-Caucasus metallurgy, so highly praised in antiquity, employed the forms and shapes familiar at Susa in ancient Elam as early as 3100 B.C. The general fact was perfectly familiar to the compiler of Genesis 4:16-22, who knew that Tubal-Kayin, "the Tibarenian

[4] See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie,* IX, I, 759-771.

smiths," were successors to the art of the more ancient smiths in the highlands east of the Sumerian *Edinna.* Their hard bronze axes, far superior to the Egyptian, have recently been found in twelfth-dynasty tombs in Egypt. With these Caucasus artisans in active trade with the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean before 2000 B.C., it will be recognized that had there been Israelites in Palestine at that early day they would have been going to the Caucasus regions and beyond with their coastland allies. So the Argonaut adventurers, the Hellenic Achaians who pushed down through Thessaly into southern Greece near 1900 B.C., found a sea-commerce that had been controlled for many centuries by Minoans, Egyptians, and the Tursha(?). Sir John Marshall's discovery of a great prehistoric civilization in the Indus Valley has shown us a people skilful in the manufacture of cotton fabrics in the fourth millennium B.C. That meant a great trade through the northwestern passes into Central and Western Asia. The newcomer Achaians found in the Black Sea a field of trade easy for them to wrest from the Minoans, for the same southward migration had filled the southern coast of the Black Sea with Indo-Germanic peoples. The Mysians seem to have been the earliest wave. The Phrygians, Thracians, Bithynians, Mariandyni, Armenians, all came in from Europe by way of the Bosphorus. Their languages are non-Iranic; they all belong to the European group.[5] Old contacts were hardly terminated by such short-distance migrations. These Indo-Germanic peoples probably preferred trading with the related Hellenic Achaians to trading with the Minoans. So the Argonaut legends show us northern Thessaly, Bœotia, Athens, Messenia, and the Argolis in competition for the "golden fleeces" of silk and cotton whose manufacture had been a chief industry in Colchis—for one thousand years? As for the ram that bore this golden fleece, consider the classic tradition that "when the rivers of Asia Minor ran down in flood to the sea, naked slaves stretched sheepskins and stretched them taut against the tide, so that they might catch in the fleeces the grains of golden sand borne down by the turbid tide." Strabo (XI, 2, 16) tells of this practice of the Iberians of Colchis and the Caucasus, and explains that the name "Iberes" means "gold-people." He had not heard that the Georgian Imerî, Semitic Ibrî and Abarî simply meant "other-siders." The Soanai, the modern Svans, he says secured gold in the same way. So Strabo accounted the "golden fleece" in his time a reality, and the whole region was an El

[5] Meyer, *Geschichte,* I, 2, p. 473.

Dorado to Mediterranean fancy. The Argonaut period opened nearly two thousand years after the arts of metallurgy had begun in northwest Persia and had spread to the Caucasus, Altai, and Urals. Or if the silk and cotton trade be considered the chief Argonaut objective, cotton manufacture and trade in northwest India was as old as the metallurgy of the Persia-Caucasus regions. As for "sheep-cotton," Sir John Mandeville has told of the sheep that grew upon trees in Cathay, and Gerard's *Herball* (1683) tells of the down-bearing geese that grew upon trees. Some readers may have seen pictures of these marvellous sheep and geese that produced our familiar cotton. Some of the Argonaut legends declare that the adventurers returned by way of the Erythraean Sea (the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean): showing knowledge of the southern trade-route. This Argonaut trade developed between 1800-1200 B.C.

The immediate point for the question of early Yahwism in the southern Black Sea coasts is that culture and traffic there were thousands of years older than Israel, and that for a thousand years or more before Solomon the dominant peoples along the southern Black Sea coast were Indo-Germanic, originally related to the Thracians. Any proselyting there at any time was among peoples of European origin. The earlier Achaian Greeks seem to have been excluded from direct participation in the traffic, since no Mycenaean ware has yet been recovered from sites on that coast. Nor does it appear that the Minoans directly controlled it. The legend of Argonauts reaching Colchis in open boats has to do with the fact that until a relatively late period the coast peoples of the east end of the Black Sea carried their own wares in light craft to Sinope, where (in Ionian times) they were transferred to the big Ionian sea-going vessels.[6] The Taruisha (Egyptian Turu-sha, Tursha) or, Troïa (Troas, Troy) stood guard over the Bosphorus. The Trojan war records the effort of various sea-peoples combining to gain the control of Asia Minor trade. Knossos in Crete would seem to have been destroyed by an earthquake, whence the final breaking of the Minoan sea-power. The push of the Achaians with other sea-peoples into Palestine, was noticed in Chapter V: the Achivi-"Hivites" becoming a permanent element in the population, with Tyre and Sidon succeeding to the commercial supremacy in the Mediterranean. The Trojan War legends show the Achaian aristocracy of Argos and Mycene broken by the long effort against Troy, and the Ionians succeed to the commercial control of

[6] Rostovtzeff, p. 62.

the Black Sea. So complete was the elimination of the Achaian that the compilers of Genesis 10:1-5 know only Javan, Ionians. This explains the very fragmentary and varied versions of the Achaian Argonaut traffic. Ionian transmitters have a conflation of various local fragments.

Ionic traditions declare that the Ionians began to spread from Athens and to occupy some older Argonaut colonies about 1044 B.C. This new movement from the Aegaean into Anatolia planted Miletus upon the coast of Caria near the mouth of the Maeander at a very early date. Greek legend has it that the earliest Ionians in Caria massacred the people of some seacoast settlements, but rapidly established amicable trade relations with the Carian interior. This suggests that the destroyed settlements may have been old Minoan colonies from Crete. "Carî" temple guards are the reliance of Jehoiada in 2 Kings 11:4, 19; about 836 B.C. Herodotus (1, 171) says that the Carians and Mysians of his time spoke a Phrygian dialect. Such roving Carian (or Cretan?) adventurers meant Palestinian relations with their Milesian-Ionian associates also. Miletus grew and spread its colonies till by 500 B.C. it was the greatest of all Greek cities, and the Milesian colonies included a large proportion of all the people nominally Greek.

Heraclea on the Bithynian coast was traditionally the oldest Milesian colony. Another tradition has it that Heraclea began with Megarians and Tanagrai from Bœotia, near 559 B.C.[7]; but this was certainly a far later migration. Heraclea controlled the coast from the mouth of the Sangarius to the mouth of the Parthenius (of Xenophon). Sinope, now Sinab, claimed foundation by the legendary Argonauts. Then the Milesians seized it and it was accounted the most powerful Milesian colony. Then the Kimmerians occupied it. The Ephesians wrested it from the Kimmerians in 632 B.C.[8] In the great tunny-fishing industry, Sinope ranked next to Byzantium.

Amisus, one hundred and fifty miles southeast of Sinope, had the best harbor after Sinope. Founded by the Milesians about 800 B.C., it was occupied by the Iranic Cappadocians, and later seized by Athens; while another tradition makes it a Phocaean colony, founded before Heraclea. It was next to Sinope in importance.[9] This tradition of seizure by the Iranians emphasizes the fact that these Greek colonies were never able to establish themselves in the interior; on the contrary, the inland peoples often seized the colony.

[7] Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, 1049.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, 1007.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, 122 f.

Cyzicus, another great tunny-fishing port, now Bal Kiz (Turkish abbreviation of Palaios Kyzikos, "old Kyzikos"?)[10] is another colony claiming pre-Hellenic history. It claimed to have been a fishing-mart of the old Pelasgi of Thessaly; then was an Argonaut colony, then a Tyrrhenian (Tursha-Tarshish) center, finally being occupied by the Milesians in 751 B.C.

Phasis is famous as the Milesian point of disembarkation for the overland trade through Colchis-Albania, the modern Georgia, to the Caspian and lands beyond. From them came the pheasant into Europe. Its name reminds us that it came through the port at the mouth of the river Phasis, the modern Rion. But Phasis also had the tradition of earlier trade with the Aegaean, the legends of the Argonauts naming Colchis as their eastern goal. Nearly a hundred miles north of Phasis the Milesians had the port of Dioscurias, from which traffic could pass through the Circassian and northern Caucasus regions to the Caspian.

Preëminent was the Greek traffic around the Sea of Azov. Chersonesos, because of its excellent harbor and because the coast of Asia could be seen from it in fair weather, was occupied by the Ionians in the sixth century B.C., and with the fall of Milesian naval power a century later, it was occupied by Dorians of Heraclea on the Bithynian coast. Pantikapaion was a powerful Milesian colony, sixty stadia west of the Kimmerian Bosporus, the modern strait of Kertch; while across the strait on the north shore of the island Taman, formed by the river Kuban emptying into the Black Sea but sending a branch northwest to the Sea of Azov, was the powerful city of Phanagoria. It was founded by Phanagoras, who fled with his comrades of Teos from the Persian power about the middle of the sixth century B.C.[11] The story of the rival cities about the Kimmerian Bosporus, the extension of their trade into the far interior, and the establishment of the Bosporan kingdom is a long one. During the Macedonian period Phanagoria became the head of the Greek commercial colonies east of the Kimmerian Bosporus, and as the outstanding Jewish town of Samkarsh, an emporium of the Khazar domain, it flourished as late as the ninth century of our era.

The Milesian Amisus planted the powerful colony that we know to-day as Trebizond, one hundred and fifty miles farther east. From the beginning it was the port of entry for all the region southwards that we call Armenia, as Xenophon and his Ten Thousand well knew when in 400 B.C. they retreated northward from

[10] Smith, I, 74. [11] Smith, II, 545, 587.

Babylon through the mountains to Trebizond. Milesian colonies had conquered practically all of the Crimea before the fall of Samaria, two hundred years before the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar. Byzantium was founded 606 B.C. The cities named are a few of sixty important trading cities that are declared to have been planted around the Black Sea by Miletus before 650 B.C. It is to be emphasized that the Greeks' own traditions deny that the Greeks were pioneers. They were but succeeding to the hegemony in very old and very profitable trade routes, even as the Israelite among the Hebrew-Phoenicians of Palestine about the same time began to drift with older peoples over traffic-ways that were millenniums old. With Israelites joining in Tyrian commercial enterprises in Solomon's time, and directed by Minoan-Philistine garrisons both before and after for centuries and using Carian (?) garrisons in Jehoiada's time, how far in the Mediterranean and Black Seas did such Israelite mercantile adventurers go? Any point in the Black Sea was as accessible as Carthage or Mauritania or Spain.

Was the ethnic commingling in these ancient Hellenic colonies on the Black Sea as great as that apparent among the modern Jews of southern Russia? It was, and it involved largely the same ethnic elements. In the case of Cyrene, we noticed that the Hellenic colony began with Greek bachelor traders who intermarried with native Libyan women, either white or Hamitic. It is known that various Black Sea colonies began in the same way: Greek garrisons or bachelor traders intermarrying with women of the vicinity and establishing communities that included many natives. The popular reader has an unconscious prepossession that regions unknown to him are peopled with obscure and secluded savages. Ancient South Russia is thus thought of. But the north Caucasus region and the Kuban district on the east of the Sea of Azov were sending copper ware to Egypt and the Mediterranean coasts across Asia Minor more than a thousand years before the Ionic colonies were planted on the Black Sea coasts: fifteen hundred years before the Scythian wave from the east pours into the regions on the northeast of the Black Sea. Neither the earlier people nor the later Iranians were in our sense savages. Carian-Ionian relations with the older peoples and with the later Scythians and Sarmatians meant a long period of mutual development rather than the taming of savages by superior and civilized foreigners. The enormous numerical preponderance of the colonies of the Ionians is due to this mutuality of relations.

with all peoples north of the Black Sea. New political dominance comes at different times: the older strata of population are more or less persistent; so that any discussion of Khazar Jews or Scythian Jews keeps before us the ethnic comminglings in question. And the seizure of colonies formerly founded by Pelasgians, Minoans, Tyrrhenians, or Argonauts reminds us that the like ethnic intermingling with mutual influences had been going on in pre-Ionic times. As in Berber North Africa, the local Greek-speaking native populations were the racial majority in many of the Ionic cities; while Greeks themselves, for climatic reasons, often adopted the native costume. So the later Byzantine empire was so thoroughly Oriental in all cultural aspects, that when it fell before the Turks, "nothing was changed except that the emperor was now called by the Arabic title 'Sultan,' and about a million Turks were added to its mingled Oriental population." For more than a thousand years before the conversion of the rulers of the Khazar empire in Russia any Judaism that reached the northern shores of the Black Sea found a highly mixed population, generally preferring the Greek language and institutions; and any considerable proselyting among them in those earlier times would show the same commingling of races in a Jewish community.

The tendency among Greek writers to use the term Scythian as a geographical expression confuses the ordinary reader. That is, after the Scythians had passed on, new peoples in the same territory were sometimes spoken of as Scythians. Herodotus in particular calls everybody in South Russia a Scythian. As a particular illustration, it now is considered settled that the eastern half of the Crimea was inhabited by the "Krim-Scyths" from the earliest times of which we have any knowledge,[12] and that these Krim-Scyths were the main element in the population from the Danube to the Don. But to-day we speak of the "Crim-Tartars." It puts before us the fact that the Tartar Karaite Jews in the Crimea and Lithuania to-day may not be a relatively late Jewish migration, but a remnant of Judaism's earliest proselyting in the Crimea in ancient Persian times. But the Greek name for the older inhabitants of the Crimea was "Taurians." A Scythian domination of the peninsula came in very late times. Then the older population east of the Sea of Azov were "Maeotians," of whom the two principal divisions were the Sauromatians—not related to the Sarmatians—and the Sindians, who succeeded in clinging to the coast as far as the Caucasus in spite of the Scythian

[12] Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie* III, 763.

and the later Sarmatian invaders. There are many tribal names in the Sindian territory, but for us they are only names.

With regard to the Karaite Tartars in the Crimea, Professor G. Frederick Wright in studying the antiquities and cavern-dwellings and geology of the Crimea observes that the Crim-Tartars certainly had some ancestry in that region in prehistoric times. The claim of the Karaites of Tchoufout Kaleh (Jew's Castle) that their forefathers came there in the armies of the Persian kings, and that they have been there since 460 B.C. Professor Wright considers trustworthy. The tradition has in its favor all that we considered in Chapter VI. Their claim that all the Crimea was once made a Persian Jewish domain has the same supporting evidence. The inscriptions recovered from Kertch and the Taman district east of the Kimmerian Bosporus show that Greek-speaking Jews were in that region in the fourth century B.C. while Jewish traditions in Thessaly, nearly a thousand miles southwest claim that their forebears were there in the same century, before the rise of Alexander the Great. And archaeology shows them on the lower Danube at the same time. We shall see reason to believe that all these were known by fellow-Jews, in those early times, as Ashkan or Askênos Jews.

Now Genesis 10:2 lists Gomer with the Lydians, Medes, Ionians, Tibarenians, and Moschi in Georgia as the peoples of northern Asia Minor; and the Ashkenazim are rated as "sons" of Gomer (that is, political sons); the Gimirrai of the Assyrian inscriptions had overpowered the Ashkan-peoples of Armenia. The classic Kimmerians are universally recognized in the Hebrew Gomer. But these Kimmerians appear originally along the northwest coasts of the Black Sea. The Straits of Kertch, the entrance to the Sea of Azov, was the "Kimmerian Bosporus"; a number of ancient strongholds on the straits were "Kimmerian forts"; two towns were Kimmerikon or Kimmeriê; the whole north of the Taman peninsula was Kimmerian. It has been common to classify the Kimmerians as Iranians. But Rostovtzeff[13] presents abundant evidence to show that they were a Thracian people. Kings with Thracian names ruled in the Kimmerian Bosporus in the fifth century B.C. Rostovtzeff suggests a surviving Thracian element from the old Kimmerian Empire. In that case the Kimmerians must have been related to the peoples who crossed from Thrace into Asia Minor about 1900 B.C. and are known as Mysians, Phrygians, Bithynians, Paphlagonians, etc. A point of immediate

[13] *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia,* pp. 35-41.

significance for Judaism on the Black Sea coasts is that the Kimmerians were expelled from their ancient home on the northwest of the Black Sea about 660 B.C. The Scythians drove them into Asia Minor where they shattered the kingdom of Lydia; but their brief triumph in the west was followed by the Scythian wave from the east, about 637, which shattered the Kimmerian power, leaving them a fragment of the country held later by the Iranic Katapatuka (Cappadocia). The Armenians called this Gimirr. So Genesis 10:2 f. reflects the moment of Kimmerian dominance in western Asia Minor, and any Ashkenazim Jews in that region are political "sons" of the conquering Gomer. The overthrow of this Gomer power is shown in Ezekiel 38:6 where Lydia (Gog, Guggu, Gyges) is master in Asia Minor, and Gomer is but one of many petty vassals of Lydia. Jeremiah 51:27, a little earlier than Ezekiel, does not know any Gomer arrayed against Babylon. The Gimirrai from the east that assailed Armenia in 714 were largely merged with the Khaldian state, and must be comprised in the term Ashkenaz, unless Ashkenaz is here a corruption of the name Ashguza, the Scythians from the far east in the Assyrian inscriptions. So the Ashkenazim in Genesis and Ezekiel are the known Indo-Germanic peoples of northwestern Asia Minor, among whom the western Kimmerians gained a brief hegemony.

To continue this study of the ancient mingling of peoples in the domain later called "Khazar": the region termed Sarmatia included many different older peoples and several immigrations of new peoples in historic times. Excavations have shown an ancient neolithic agricultural and pastoral people that was evidently Indo-Germanic. The oldest people of the records is the Kimmerian; the newcomer (Iranic) Scyths were driven by the Massagetae across the lower Volga, and the Sarmatian tribes pushed these Scyths westward until the whole region from the Volga to the plains of Hungary became "Sarmatian." The Greeks, in speaking of those assimilated by Greek culture used the terms "Mix-Hellenes," "Graeco-Sarmatae," and "Hellenes-Skythai."[14] Recent Jewish ethnologists have been unable to account for the large Germanic and Iranic elements apparent in Russian and Polish Judaism. Historic migrations from Germany do not explain it. Now it seems that since Indo-Germanic settlements were in this region in neolithic times, we may recognize some results of ancient proselyting in an aboriginal population.

Similarly, excavations in the Crimea and Taurian peninsula

[14] Pauly-Wissowa, Second Series, A:1 ff.

long ago showed the ingression of an Iranic people, with later Parthian influences in the western portions. In the extant records, the Tauri of the western mountains of Tauris, and along the coast, as well as the Achaians and Heniochoi of eastern Pontus appear as early and persistent pirates.[15] On the other hand, the Greek town of Olivia, founded 647 B.C., on the lower Bug, mentioned by Herodotus, has been recently excavated by Farmankowsky. A town of great antiquity lay beneath the Graeco-Roman remains. Neolithic artifacts of a period 5000-6000 B.C. were found, with earthen dwellings, farming tools, and painted pottery of the later period when copper and bronze began to be used. It seems an ancient slowly-developing Indo-Germanic site. Thus again there is evidence that the various ethnic elements in Russian Judaism do not need modern migrations to explain them all. There were many racial elements within reach of the earliest Judaizers who could have followed the immemorial commercial highways to the north shores of the Black Sea. The prepossession that the people earlier than the extant written records of any region was an ethnically unmixed people, aboriginal in that region, has long hampered much thinking about the prehistoric world. Archaeology compels its abandonment.

As for Hellenic penetration of the interior, Herodotus (IV, 108 f.) tells us of the Geloni or Budini. The name is recently suspected to be a variant of Alani: possibly the same as the Gilani now resident along the southwest curve of the Caspian. Herodotus says they were "Greeks" who left the trade-ports to settle in the interior among the Scyths. Their language was half Greek, half Scythian. Their great town Gelonus was thirty furlongs in length on each side. The houses were wooden, the temples had Greek gods. The location remains debated, some placing it on the middle Don or lower Volga, two hundred miles from the mouth of the Don, near the modern Tsaritsyn. But others think that it was on the upper Volga some nine hundred miles northeast of the Black Sea, and that it was the nucleus of the modern market-town of Nijni Novgorod. It is agreed that the town was of Slavic pattern with a much mixed population.[16] Its immediate significance for our inquiry is the proof that any Judaizers who reached the northern coasts of the Black Sea also found great trade routes open into the far interior long before Herodotus' day. Similarly there was a Greek settlement on the lower Danube, over a hundred

[15] Pauly-Wissowa, III, 769.
[16] Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, 455.

miles from its mouth, by 550 B.C. Heraclea Axiopolis, founded about 500 B.C., was more than two hundred miles up from the Black Sea. Greek coins have been found hundreds of miles further up, with Ionian bronze vessels of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. As in the case of Scythian Russia, the population of these colonies was ethnically mixed. The terms Mix-Hellenes, Caro-Scyths, Graeco-Scyths, Graeco-Getae, tell us of the component elements. So any Judaizers who reached the peoples about the Black Sea found trade routes open into Central Europe as well as into eastern Russia, a thousand years before the Goths began to move upon the Roman Empire.

A word of emphatic correction of a long popular error is necessary here. The Israelite has been represented as isolated, with no possible contact with the Greek world. But the Old Testament represents the Israelite as able to go anywhere, either by sea-routes or ancient overland caravan roads. It was the Greek who could not break into the solid mass of the interior of Asia. He only haunted the coasts. Archaeology shows us the massed culture of Asia pushing out into the Mediterranean, through millennium after millennium. The Palestinian was an active element in this mass movement. But the Aegaean culture had not the numerical strength to make a counterpush into the heart of Asia. These Anatolian states had old, vigorous, well-organized cultures that speedily swallowed colonial adventurers. Ionian coast-cities repeatedly yielded to Phrygian, Hittite, Carian, or Lydian or Kimmerian. The whole Ionic league was compelled to submit to Lydia shortly before Croesus was beaten by Cyrus of Anshan, 554 B.C. The mighty Miletus, largest city of the Grecian world, dared to head a revolt of the Ionian cities in 500 B.C. Darius destroyed it, massacring most of the mixed population, and transporting the rest to Ampa, at the mouth of the Tigris: thus planting an Ionian colony in the Sea-Land. Miletus was rebuilt by the Carians, as a Carian town. But not till Alexander's time was there any European culture strong enough to cut a road through Anatolia and establish itself in the east. And the Greek in time passed away, not having immigrant millions enough to balance those which Asia poured to the west. But the Palestinian planted his peculiar privileged communities on all coasts, and in all lands, and many still survive.

The Judaizers whose work among many mingled racial elements culminated in the conversion of the court of the so-called Khazar kingdom of those mingled races were certainly on the

before the Ionian Greek was. Solomon's position in Kuë and the Meshech-influenced Hittite states meant some knowledge of that overland route, whether he actually placed trading-posts on it or not.

Again we must remember that the Israelite there was not pioneering. He was two thousand years later than known Egyptian and Assyrian posts in the same region; he was but drifting in the immemorial geographic trade-currents. To believe that after four or five centuries in Palestine Israelites were not venturing a few hundred miles into Asia Minor along the ancient commercial routes while in regular contact with the Arabian folk twenty-five hundred miles away by the coast-trade route[20] and with Somaliland and Nubia fifteen hundred miles southward through the Red Sea or Egypt, is a heavy tax upon credulity.

The University of Chicago Expedition excavating Megiddo has found the three thousand-year-old stables of Solomon, covering about half an acre. "Solomon laid out his stables very systematically, the stalls being arranged in double rows. The horses, about twelve to the row, stood facing each other with a passage between the two rows of heads for the grooms and feeders. In front of each horse was a manger, and the rows of mangers were rated by massive stone hitching posts, which still contain the original tie holes for the insertion of the halter ropes."[21]

The relations with the Hittite states are maintained by northern Israel, and they make the Aramaeans of Damascus believe that a confederate army has broken through the cordon of petty northern Aramaean states and is rushing to the aid of Samaria (2 Kings 7:6). This was about 840 B.C. The interchange of profitable commercial quarters in the chief cities must have continued. Israel still counted its road to India to be by Edom and the Red Sea; but the Black Sea trade had immense value of its own, as we have seen. Would not Israel's relations with Tyre take her to the Black Sea? Ezekiel 27:12-14, 17 f., 25 show that Israelite merchants met in the various trading-ports of Tyre with Tarshish, Ionian, Tibarenian, Moschi, and Togarmah traders. The Tibarenes were a Black Sea coast-folk of the later Pontus, directly north of Palestine. Togarmah, generally considered western Armenia, had the Trebizond coast as its natural outlet, and has still the richest copper mine in Turkey. The modern Georgians maintain that Togarmah or Thargamos is their own land. As in the case of the Carian temple-guards two hundred years earlier: did Israelite merchants never venture to these lands with their Tyrian allies?

[20] E.g.: Kataban, cited in Chapter V.
[21] *University of Chicago Magazine*, November, 1928.

The utter humiliation of Israel by Damascus, from Elisha's time to that of Jeroboam II, of course had destroyed independent Israelite trade relations with Asia Minor. From the references in Hosea 10 and the inscriptions recovered by modern explorations, it appears that Jeroboam II himself was driven from his capital for a time, or had to wrest it from the Aramaeans who had overwhelmed Jehoahaz. But in his forty-one years he shattered the Aramaean political power (with Assyrian aid?), and gained control of the Red Sea terminals on the Gulf of Akabah, and of the Orontes valley and Border of Hamath, leading to the Hittite states (2 Kings 14:23-27). His commercial success may be recognized in the denunciations of powerful and unscrupulous traders, and war-lords, and heartless wealthy women.[22] But there is no direct statement concerning the commercial relations of Israel from the days of Joash's wars with Damascus to the last struggles with Assyria. No historical deductions can be based upon this silence. And from Sennacherib's raid upon Judah, on down through the reigns of Manasseh and Josiah, up to the time of his iconoclasm, is nearly a hundred years of Judah with like silence upon the points that modern historians would consider to be of chief significance. In Chapter V it was noticed that the omissions from the Old Testament record are enormous, and that acceptance of the facts found in other records revolutionize our conception of many conditions within both Israel and Judah. The stupid fanaticism of Deuteronomy 12:3 that imagined that moral and spiritual reforms were to be achieved by the obliteration of unorthodox names, or that the obliteration of histories containing such would insure moral and spiritual reforms and special blessings from Yahu, has destroyed or omitted volumes of history. No sound argument upon many important historical points can be based upon Old Testament silences: while small admissions come to have great value. So the fact that the record of the forty-one years of Jeroboam II does not mention any effort to spread his trade from the border of Hamath northward across an area as large as the state of Texas does not warrant our drawing any negative inferences. We are simply without Old Testament record of Israelite commerce in that region, at any pre-exilic date, beyond the references to Solomon's activities, and the very extensive portrayal by Ezekiel of Israel's commercial ally, Tyre. The anxiety of later times to attribute a highly specialized liturgical organization to Solomon suggests that a commerce steadily growing through the centuries may also have been attributed in one mass to him.

[22] Amos 8:4 ff.; 5:18 f.; 4:1-3; 6:1-6; 3:9-15.

Immediately after the fall of Samaria the ancient Hittite region experiences a new invasion: the first wave of the Iranic nomads that seventy years later overwhelmed Assyria and Asia Minor and Palestine. The Umman Manda or Median brigands, the Gimirrai, or Gomer of the Old Testament—the earlier tidal wave of the Kimmerians, coming from the Caspian—overran all the region that was later to be called Cappadocia from a new Medo-Persian wave. They became a permanent element of the population of the Hittite country. Sargon and Sennacherib were content to let the invaders of the Hittite country alone, and Isaiah had other concerns, and did not tell us of the new troubles of the land of the Hittites.[23] Later prophets say "Northland" instead of "land of the Hittites." But the second Iranian wave, known as the Scythian, shows us that Judah was actually intimately informed concerning events hundreds of miles away. Israel was on the north Palestinian frontiers, and announced that the northern barbarians were now breaking through into Palestine. About 640 B.C. these Scythian raids began, as already noticed in Chapter V, in connection with Josiah's reign. Jeremiah's language concerning "the north" must be recognized as being as definite and authoritative as Isaiah's concerning Israel in Egypt and Nubia and Abyssinia. It is the more definite and notable because "the north" is not a phrase used by the earlier prophets, who are speaking of Assyrian raids through the northern passes into Palestine. A new peril is at hand: hordes of wild horsemen are the notable feature.[24] Where Nebuchadrezzar is mentioned in connection with the north, "his vassals" are also specified. As noticed in connection with Josiah, the Median invaders were the real destroyers of Nineveh, Nabopolassar making terms of alliance with them.[25] Nebuchadrezzar remains at Riblah during the siege of Jerusalem (2 Kings 25:1-6; Jeremiah 52:4-11). His army certainly included large numbers of those terrible Median invaders who had destroyed the cities of Ashur, Nineveh, Arrapkha, Tabreez, and Harran, and others whose names are broken in the tablet in the British Museum. With the aid of these marauders Babylon had defeated Pharaoh Necho and the Assyrians in the battle on the Euphrates. Nebuchadrezzar could not have advanced had they opposed. We have to think of them as continuing in his

[23] A. T. Olmstead, *loc. cit.*

[24] Compare Jeremiah 1:14 f.; 4:6; 6:1; 10:22; 13:20; 15:12; the horsemen of 6:22 f.; 50:42; and Ezekiel 38:1-4, 15.

[25] See Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible,* 1925, pp. 492 ff.; Jeremiah 25:9; 46:20, 24; 47:2.

employ and sharing in the spoils of captured Jerusalem. Probably some captives fell to their share, and reached "the cities of the Medes" again at this time, 586 B.C., one hundred and thirty-five years after Sargon placed some Israelite colonies there. How far the descendants and proselytes of such Israelite colonies shared in the Median raids on Palestine is a serious question.

The permanent adjacence to Israel of this Iranic settlement is shown by the Greek name Kappadokia. This is a garbling of Katapatuka, the name of a principal tribe of the Medo-Persian migration. The general view is that their settlement of the whole southern Hittite country occurred in the seventh century B.C. They seem an advance wave of the Medo-Persians who destroyed Nineveh. Their seizure of the whole country immediately north of Palestine and west to the Halys explains Jeremiah's terror at the tidings from the North-land, and Zechariah's appeal, "Escape from the north-land!"—the former "land of the Hittites."

Then the same terrible people of the north are expected to ravage Babylonia; and in this connection we meet with the names of some of them: the Medes, Urartu, Mannai, Ashkenaz, Meshech, Tubal, Togarmah, Gomer,[26] with Gog and Magog. Urartu, familiar in the cuneiform inscriptions for several hundred years, were the mountaineers of part of the Armenian highlands. Meshech, the Muskaya or Moschi, as already noticed, held the whole southern Black Sea coast west of the Halys, and dominated some of the western Hittite states. Tubal, the Tibareni, were east of them on the Pontus coast. Ezekiel 38:2 f. pictures Gog, Assyrian Guggu, the Greek Gyges, king of Lydia, as leader of a coalition that includes Meshech and Tubal. The Indo-European character of the Lydians is not yet established. Togarmah, on the west of Armenia (?), is suspected to be a division of the Medes or Iranic horsemen that had pushed in there, coming through the highlands northeast of Assyria, through the northwest corner of the modern Persia. We have seen that Gomer, the western Kimmerians, seem to have taken possession of part of the Hittite land a century earlier, and the Togarmah may have been the eastern settlement of the same migration. Their preëminence as horse-sellers in Ezekiel 27:14 points that way. The Mannai are well-known as a thorn in the side of Assyria, in Sargonid days, about Lake Urumia. Ashkenaz seems a general name for the Indo-Germanic peoples north and west of the Hittite region. The whole of Iranic and Indo-

[26] Jeremiah 51:11, 48; 51:27; Ezekiel 38:2-6, 15; 39:1 f.; Jeremiah 50:3, 9, 41; 51:11, 48.

Germanic and Hurrian Asia Minor is in commotion; the aggressive attitude of Lydia, pushing from the west against the Gomer in the Hittite country, is counterbalanced by the ingression of the savage Scythic Iranians, moving to the west and southwest, through the passes into northeast Armenia, overturning the Assyrian and the Khaldian régimes. The Indo-European and Indo-Iranic peoples are shaking the Semitic world.

Later Christian Syriac writers regularly use "Gog and Magog" for all the Mongolian and Tartar peoples, as mediaeval Jewish writers used "Togarmah" for the Turkoman tribes. Both facts are of value as preserving the memory of terrible irruptions from the northeast.

Such savage brigands meant many captives, as well as myriads slain. Jeremiah's statements that many Israelites are carried into these north lands must be taken as literally as the other assertions about them. We have seen that Josiah made common cause with them against Egypt and Assyria; that a garrison of them had earlier been stationed at Beth-Shean. Such relations meant that besides Israelite captives in the Land of the North, there might also be some small Israelite adventurer-groups. Jeremiah is sure that Judah and Israel will one day "come back from the Land of the North." It will be a more notable event than the escape from Egypt: the situation is more desperate. Men will swear by Yahu that rescued them from the Land of the North. "Behold, I will bring them from the Land of the North, and gather them from the ridges of that land," (Jeremiah 3:18; 16:15; 23:8; 31:8; 50:3). Zechariah, nearly a century later, calls on the exiles to "escape from the Land of the North"; and in the curious vision of horses going to the four winds, "Look at those going forth to the North-Land; they are causing my spirit to rest in the North-Land!" (Zechariah 2:6; 6:8). It is plain that Jeremiah thinks that deported Israelites are in the ridges of the North-Land by 600 B.C., and that Zechariah a hundred years later, having returned from Babylon himself without hindrance, cannot have Babylonia in mind when he calls "Escape from the North-Land!" Wanderers from Israel and Judah are certainly on the line of the Black Sea commercial road to the east by 600 B.C. And they are among the Hurrians whose ancestors were connected with the introduction of Yahwism into Palestine.

A decisive statement of the fact is recognizable in Herodotus. Josephus[27] quotes a fragment of it, perverting its historical sig-

[27] *Antiquities,* VIII, x, 3.

nificance through his lack of knowledge of the history of this "North-Land." His citation is, "that the Phoenicians and Syrians that live in Palestine confess that they learned circumcision from the Egyptians." Josephus comments, "No other of the Syrians that live in Palestine besides us alone are circumcised." This comment is of first importance in considering the actual statement of Herodotus. In describing Egypt he makes a digression to compare an Egyptian colony that he had seen on the Phasis or on the Araxes, the modern Aras river, northeast of modern Armenia. These Egyptians circumcised; so did the people of Colchis, along the Black Sea: and so also did "the Syrians in the valleys of the river Thermodon, and of the Parthenius, as well as their neighbors the Macrones," a powerful warlike mountain people who say that they had lately learned it from the Colchians.[28] These Macrones Strabo tells us are the Suani, still notable for the survivals of Judaism among them.[29] But this certainty of Judaism among the Scythian Macrones (who must be noticed again) requires us to know Herodotus' use of the terms Syria and Syrians, and to identify the rivers and peoples mentioned.

Herodotus says that the Greeks of his time used "Syria" for the whole region south of the east half of the Black Sea, down to the frontier of Egypt. In consequence, the term is not ethnographical, and qualifying adjectives are necessary for the various peoples in the area. Iranic and Indo-Germanic peoples there are called "White Syrians" by the Greeks. As for the many cults among the Aramaean-speaking and Iranic peoples in this area, Herodotus makes no attempt to distinguish them. For "Jews," Herodotus says "Syrians of Palestine."[30] He says that the Iranic "Cappa-

[28] Herodotus, II, 104 ff.

[29] Strabo, XII, 3, 18, has *Sanni.* A copyist has transposed *Suani* making *Sauni,* which another has read *Sanni.*

[30] Jacob Hoschander, *Esther,* pp. 34 f., in arguing for the historicity of the book of Esther, repudiates E. Meyer's recognition of the fact that "Syrians of Palestine" means Jews, and says that Herodotus "does not know anything about Jews": that no Jews dwelt among Greeks at that time, nor among the Scythians, nor at Carthage; none dwelt outside the Persian Empire. Hoschander does not know Herodotus, seems never to have heard of Cyrene and the Jewish garrisons there; does not recognize the many Iranic Scythians in the Persian Empire when he reads of them. "No Jews dwelt in coast-regions" ignores the fact, pointed out in Chapter IV, that Canaan, *Khna'a, Khena'na,* is a term in ancient Egyptian inscriptions for all the coast-region of the east end of the Mediterranean from the vicinity of Tyre to the Gulf of Issus. The term is topographic, not ethnographic. The Old Testament leaves the impression that there were some Israelites in "the land of Canaan." And the Babylonian Isaiah's appeal to the many "coast-lands," *iyyîm,* seems unfamiliar to Hoschander.

docians were called Syrians by the Greeks," and that the river Halys was their western boundary, Paphlagonia lying west of the Halys. Strabo, a native himself of the region in question, says that the mixed Iranic and Hittite-Hurrian peoples of northern Cappadocia in his time were called "White Syrians,"[31] and that along the Halys a dialect mixed with Paphlagonian was spoken.[32] He writes that those called Syrians by the Greeks include the Aramaeans and Armenians (1, 2, 3, 4). But "Aramaeans" means any who spoke the Aramaic language, while "Armenians" meant an ancient Hurrian people later subdued by the Assyrians, then by the Khaldians, and then by Scythians, with the Karthli in the north and the Iranic Mannai and other Scythians prominent in the east. And Herodotus says of his "Cappadocian Syrians" that they were subject to the Medes before the Persian conquest.[33] This is correct: we have seen that the eastern Kimmerian wave swept over the Hittite domain in 709 B.C. remaining dominant there; that the western Kimmerian wave broke into Asia Minor about 660, the two divisions shattering Lydia 652. Then the Iranic Scythians swept in about 640, breaking the Kimmerian power, but quickly overwhelmed by the Medo-Persian Katapatuka, whose dominance left "Cappadocia" as the name known to the Greeks. They ruled till Cyrus arose, some sixty years later. Thus Herodotus uses old political terms that tell us nothing of the races in those political divisions.

Now his "Syrians of Palestine" are very specific. He says, "The Phoenician part of Syria, and as much of it as reaches to Egypt, is all called Palestine. . . . Syria borders upon Egypt, and the Phoenicians to whom Sidon belongs dwell in Syria. . . . Phoenicia, and that part of Syria called Palestine. . . . The part of Syria called Palestine—the city of Ascalon in Syria. . . . Gaza belongs to the Syrians of Palestine"; and "the Syrians of Palestine" also controlled the seacoast from Mt. Casius on the Egyptian frontier for some distance northward. "The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine" furnished Xerxes three hundred ships. Of Necho's defeat of Josiah (2 Kings 23:29 f.), he writes that "Necho defeated the Syrians at Magdolos [Migdol: "Fort" of Megiddo] and then captured Gaza.[34] The identity of his "Syrians of Palestine," whom he distinguishes from Phoenicians, is beyond all question.

[31] Strabo, XII, 3, 5. [32] *Ibid.*, XII, 3, 2, 5.

[33] Herodotus, I, 6, 72; V, 49.

[34] Herodotus, VII, 89; II, 116; III, 91; I, 105; III, 6; II, 159. As for Gaza, some scholars think that the *Kadytus* of Herodotus means Kadesh on the Orontes, not Gaza.

Recent Jewish scholars recognize that Greek writers generally did not or could not distinguish between Hebrews and Phoenicians. In the preceding chapters we have seen that Hebrew was never at any period known to us an ethnographical term. We saw that "Canaanite" was the term applied by Greek Christian writers for many centuries to the Hebrew-Phoenician-Berber *lingua franca* of the north African coasts. Especially important it is that the term *Syrians* is used of North Africans. The troglodyte peoples of the interior, glanced at in the last chapter, were known to Greek writers as practicing circumcision. The Greek comment is because this troglodyte practice was not the native Libyan custom. The Egyptian records show that the Libyans did not circumcise. Rameses III, in boasting of his victory over the Libyan invaders, makes a point of repeating how many thousands of uncircumcised phalli of the Libyans were brought back as evidential trophies.[35] And these circumcising troglodytes are called by Philostorgius, in his Church History, "Hebrew-speaking Syrians."[36] Josephus recognizes that his coreligionists were regularly called Syrians by Greek writers, when he says that the Jews of his time were the only Syrians who circumcised. Since Herodotus attributes circumcision to "the Syrians who live in Palestine," the exact location of his other "circumcising Syrians" in the Parthenius and Thermodon valleys becomes important. They were outside the great Syria of the Greek authors.

Xenophon[37] reaches the Macrones in the mountains about fifty miles due south of Trebizond, which he tells us is in Colchis. South of the Macrones Greeks had encountered Skuthenoi, a Scythoid people, and the Chalybes, who are the Chaldai of Strabo —a remnant of the Indo-Germanic Khaldi, who in Solomon's time had begun establishing the kingdom of Van. They had been overwhelmed by the Iranic invasions that began about 714 B.C. Marching westward along the seacoast the Greeks are still in Colchis—the population being largely Hellenized Iranians—when they reach Kerasus, the modern Kerasun, a Greek colony whose "mother-city" was Sinope, nearly two hundred miles northwest. The "tower-house" people are next west, with a mother-city and some villages.[38] Then come a few more "Iron-workers," and

[35] Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, III, 587, 588, 601.

[36] Slouschz, *Travels in North Africa*, pp. 212, 166.

[37] Anabasis, IV, viii, 1-23 and V, iii-v, 10.

[38] The Ossetes and Svaneti in the southern Caucasus, with their survivals of Judaism, are the last survivors of these ancient "Tower-House" people—the *mossynoikoi* of Xenophon. See Mrs. Marion F. Wasserman "Free Svanetia," in *Asia*, February, 1927.

the Tibarenians, the Tubal of the Old Testament, who deal in slaves and wrought bronze (Ezekiel 27:13). Then at Cotyora, whose mother-city is Sinope, there is trouble: and officials from Sinope hurry down to urge the Greeks to reach Byzantium by sea, instead of marching along the coast. In Paphlagonia, how can you cross the Thermodon, three hundred feet broad; the Iris, three hundred feet broad; then the Halys, at least a quarter of a mile wide? And if you did reach Sinope, there is yet the Parthenius, before you can reach the Bosphorus.

From this statement of the local geography of Herodotus and Xenophon, we see that the Thermodon is the modern Thermeh or Terme, which empties into the Black Sea about 37° east longitude; and the Iris is the Yeshil Irmak, the main stream of the ancient Pontus, which reaches the Black Sea at the modern Iris Point. The great Halys is the Kizil Irmak, largest river of Asia Minor. Then the remaining Parthenius is the Sangaria, flowing into the Black Sea about ninety miles east of the Bosphorus. Strabo also describes the southern Black Sea coast from east to west, reporting the Parthenius in his time as flowing into the Black Sea. Josephus must have so understood it, for he is familiar with both Herodotus and Strabo.[39] Thus some of the "circumcising Syrians" of Herodotus were far west of the Halys, which was the western boundary of the Syria delimited by himself and Strabo, and they lived somewhere on the Parthenius, which seems known to Herodotus only near the Black Sea. Those of the Thermodon were a few miles northeast of Strabo's home, about the mouth of the Yeshil Irmak; still others were on the Colchis-Pontus coast, and from these the rite had reached the Macrones-Svaneti in the mountains, who still have remnants of their Judaism. So these "circumcising Syrians" are certainly Israelite colonies, planted here before the time of Herodotus' travels, which began near 450 B.C. Had those on the Parthenius been there since Solomon posted his horse-buyers in Kuë, on the south side of the upper Parthenius River?

Herodotus is supported by his contemporary, Obadiah (c. 432 B.C.) who declares that "the exiles from Halah and Habor shall possess the land of the Canaanites (coast peoples) as far as Zarephath: and the exiles of Jerusalem who are in Sepharad shall possess the cities of the Southland" (the Negeb: Obadiah 20). In

[39] In post-Christian times the name Parthenius was restricted to one of the two streams whose union forms the Sangarios. See Sir W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, with maps. Sir William does not notice the earlier geography of the Herodotus, Xenophon, and Strabo passages.

Sargonid times the Saparda are part of the Medo-Kimmerian invasion in southwestern Media. In the time of Darius Hystaspes, two hundred years later, they appear in western Asia Minor, in southern Bithynia and the adjacent river lands. This includes the Parthenius River region. Whence it appears that the previously-cited Gomer-migration that overran Hittite Cappadocia seems to have had the Saparda as its advance guard, and to have pushed them thus to the west of Cappadocia. But how far west? For Judaism for more than two thousand years has been using Sephardîm as a name for Jews farther west, and they have mistakenly connected Sepharad with the Greek Hesperides. Two recent discoveries clear the whole matter up. Excavations at Sardis prove that *Sfard* was an older name of the city; and a Lydian bilingual inscription identifies *Sfard* with the Aramaean name *Separad,* which is the Babylonian *Saparda,* Elamite *Isparda,* the *Sparda* of the Behistun inscriptions. So the Saparda were in Sardis, and their name was identified with the city in early Persian times. The second important discovery is a very short inscription of Darius Hystaspes found by Professor Ernst Herzfeld at Hamdhan in 1927. It is trilingual: in Old Persian, New Elamite, and Babylonian. Sidney Smith translates as follows:

"Darius the great King, the king of kings, the king of lands, Hystaspes' son, the Achaemenian. Darius the King says, This kingship that I hold is from Scythia (the Sakas) which is beyond Sogdiana to Kush: from India (the Indus) to Sardis (Sparda) which Ahura-Mazda gave me, who is the greatest of the rest of the gods. May Ahura Mazda protect me with the gods, and my household."

It will be observed that northern Scythia and Ethiopia are the northern and southern limits, while the Indus Valley (almost to Bombay?) and Sparda are the eastern and western limits. Since Nubia was being subdued in 517 B.C. and Samos was not invaded till 516, the date of the inscription must be 517 B.C.[40]

[40] See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* "Obadiah," in III, 579; "Sepharad," IV, 437. One hundred and fifty years after Darius the invading Gauls appear in this region, the Galatia of New Testament times. The Judaizers that provoked Paul's epistle had been in this region for centuries. For the new inscription of Darius Hystaspes see *London Times,* May 19, 1927, and *Revue Archéologique,* vol. 26 (July, 1927), p. 18; and C. J. Gadd in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1926. For the Lydian bilingual, identifying *Sfard* or Sardis with the Aramaic *Sparad,* see Georges Poisson, in *Revue Archéologique,* 1928, p. 283. For excavations at Sardis see Howard Crosby Butler, *Sardis,* vols. I and II, Leyden and Princeton, 1922-1924, and the inscriptions in Vol. VI, 1924. The fact that Persian rule in India reached nearly to Bombay in 516 B.C. is of much importance in considering Israelite penetration of India.

Hence Jews who used Sephardîm as a term for the Jews of the far west must have begun doing so when those of the Sardis region were the farthest west. That may have been before the time of Darius. It was many centuries later that Sephardîm began to be used for Jews in Spain and Portugal. And this must have been because colonies from western Asia Minor shaped the later Judaism of Spain. The term Sephardîm does not occur in the Talmud, the compilation of which began seven hundred and forty years after the Darius tablet was written. Jerome, nine hundred years after the Darius tablet, was taught by his Hebrew teacher that Obadiah 20 referred to the Taurian Bosporus, whose Helleno-Iranic population we have seen to be ethnically much the same as the Helleno-Iranic peoples that dominated northwestern Asia Minor for some time. As for Sardis itself, Josephus tells us that there was an ancient Jewish community and temple in Sardis long before his time. It will receive special attention in Chapter XXII. Reverting to Obadiah, he agrees with Herodotus that "circumcising Syrians from Jerusalem" are in the Parthenius region in his day and as far west as Sardis. And it would appear that neither they nor the Israelite colonies that have been in Halah and Habor for three hundred years are very favorably conditioned at the time. Observe again that the Sargonid Israelite colonies are not "lost tribes" at this time. In the next generation some of them meet Obadiah's anticipations under the leadership of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The Colchis and Colchians of Herodotus, moreover, must be examined. There was no people of that name. In the region meant there were and are a dozen widely differing and unrelated stocks, refugee groups from many quarters. The Greek term Colchian was ethnically as vague as their Scythian. The name "Kolkhis" first occurs in Aeschylus, Pindar, and Euripides. Modern writers upon classical geography usually explain the term as limited to the western quarter of the modern Georgia, at the east end of the Black Sea. But we have just seen that Xenophon includes in it nearly the whole coast of Pontus. Where did the Greeks get this term?

The so-called Georgians name themselves Karthvel or Karthli. Driven from their aboriginal homes further south, they took as the stronghold of their new domain the fortress-plateau still known as Akhal-kalaki, "new Kalaki." It is 5630 feet above the sea, about three miles south of the Kur river, and nine miles west of Mtzkhet, which was the ancient capital of the Georgians. Akhal-

Kalaki seemed the center of the Georgian strength.[41] "New Kalaki" suggests an earlier Kalaki somewhere. Another place of the same name is on the eastern head-branch of the Kur, eighty miles west-southwest of the first. The mountain immediately north of it rises ten thousand feet above the sea. This district south of the Kur, between its headwaters and the Yorak river on the east, is to-day Akhaltskaï. The Greek term "Kolkhis" may represent the ancient name of the district, or may be the result of the Karthli application of the term "Kalaki" to several different localities. Compare Akhaltzig, "New Fortress," in the province on the west.

As for the people, the Karthvel are a white race, unrelated to any other known group, and circumcision is not one of their ancestral institutions; so they are not the "black" circumcising Colchians of Herodotus. Classical references show in the ancient Colchis the Apsilae, Abaski (Abasgi, modern Abkhasi), and Sagadai, the Ossas of Ossarênê on the upper Kur; the Moschi in the southeast; the Melanchlainai or "Black-Cloaks" of the northwest, with the Suani and Geloni (Alani?). Southwest of the Phasis were the Makhelones, Zydretai, and Lazi, and the Heniokhi, already noticed as early troublesome pirates.[42] The Macrones of Xenophon are the Sanni of Strabo.[43] Several of these different peoples are still well known and show survivals of an ancient Judaism. They will be noticed more fully below. We can then accept Herodotus' statement that there were peoples in his Colchis who circumcised, and that the custom was recent with some of them. His circumcising Colchians appear to be no other than some of the Judaized peoples still known to us there.

The belief that his circumcising *Kolkhoi* were certainly Egyptians because they had black skins and very woolly hair illustrates the recklessness with which Greeks concluded that all swarthy peoples were of one stock, even as American college students have been known to group Hawaiians, Hindoos, Arabs, and Abyssinians together as "niggers." The ancient Egyptians did not have black skins, nor woolly hair. They were not even coppery, like the Nubians. Yet Herodotus uses his "most woolly" of Nubians and negroes alike (VII, 70). His story that the swarthy circumcising Colchians whom he personally knew claimed to be a remnant of

[41] Reclus, *Asia*, I, 121.

[42] *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* VI, 662; Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography,* I, 643.

[43] Sanni is a copyist's error for Suani; cf. above, p. 279. The name is correctly given as Soanai in Strabo, XI, 2, 14, 19. Smith, II, 241, notices the Macrones-Sanni, but nowhere mentions the important Svans.

an ancient Egyptian settlement can be accepted, since discoveries at Byblos have shown Egypt securing copper and bronze ware from the Caucasus as early as 2000 B.C. It is suggested that the hundreds of wrought articles found beneath the pavement of the Egyptian temple belonged to slaves brought from the Caucasus. But his story that these Colchians were a remnant of a Sesostris colony is only his interpretation, or his corruption of a name his informants gave him. There should have been Egyptian traders or artisan posts in that region several times in the preceding two thousand years. Herodotus introduces his story of the Egyptian Colchians in telling of the exploits of Sesostris all over Asia Minor. Recent discoveries in the Hittite country of Egyptian steles of the period 2000 B.C. justify legends of a certain Egyptian activity there. But Herodotus did not learn of the Indo-Iranic lords who mastered the Hurrians and Hittites and founded the kingdom of Mitanni with its old Hurrian population. He claims known Hittite monuments as Egyptian; the later Mysian advance in the same regions he does not know. His Sesostris achievements seem a popular conflation of the legendary achievements of various conquerors. Analysis of them is not necessary here.[44]

Accepting Herodotus' statement that the swarthy circumcising people whom he knew in Colchis were the most skilful artisans there, his mistaking them for Egyptians is very simply explained. The people in question are the Tushes, now in the valleys on the east of Mt. Borbalo: the brownest of the various races in the Caucasus, and the most intelligent and skilful artisans, according to Reclus. They wander among the lowland peoples, earning money by their handicraft, returning to their mountain homes to till their own lands. There are remnants of Judaism among them, and traditions of being refugees from Assyrian oppression. Now Sir Gardner Wilkinson observes that Cush, the name for Nubia in ancient Egypt and in the Old Testament, became Etaush or Tosh in the later Coptic speech. The term must have been familiar to Herodotus when he was in Egypt. But the Assyrian inscriptions show Shamshi-Adad V (825-812 B.C.) subduing the revolted Khaldians of Armenia, and pushing northeast into the region of the Aras river and overthrowing Uderuhinish, king of the Etiush, and pushing eastward through the mountains into the land of the Parsua. These Etiush, still prominent in Colchis in Herodotus' time, he has confounded with the Etaush or Nubians that he knew in Egypt.

[44] Herodotus, II, 104-107.

Then there is the assertion that the brown circumcising Colchians whom he knew claimed to have been left there when the king of Egypt came up against the Scythians and the Medes. Discarding his "Sesostris," and his theory that they were deserters who were pleased with the river valley and decided to stay, we still have the fact that an Egyptian expedition did come up that way about a hundred and seventy-five years before Herodotus' time, warring against the Scythians and the Medes. The expedition of Necho in 2 Kings 23:29 ff. ended in his defeat at Carchemish. But the recently discovered broken tablet of a Babylonian chronicle concerning the fall of the Assyrian Empire shows that the Egyptian Psamtik I was faithful to his Assyrian ally to the last. Between 616 and 609 B.C. we twice read of great Egyptian armies operating with Assyria in the Harran and Khabur country and later near the Tigris, with the Chaldean Nabopolassar defeated and returning to his own land.[45] Actual record of the pursuit of Medes and Scythians into Armenia does not remain in the broken tablet. It is immaterial. If badly defeated, captives from Pharaoh's army would be placed where the conquerors chose. The point is that Herodotus learned that Scythian-Median raids upon Palestine and Egypt resulted in colonies of their circumcising opponents being placed in the regions southeast of the Black Sea, which is what all the examined records suggest as a probable result. The assertion of his contemporary Obadiah that exiles of Jerusalem were among the Saparda in northwestern Asia Minor as one result of the Iranic invasion is again to be remembered.

But Sargonid deportees may have been on the northern trade route from the Black Sea to the far east nearly a hundred years earlier, (721 B.C.), in "cities of the Medes" (2 Kings 17:6). For "Medes" is a very inclusive term, meaning any Iranic Aryans as far northeast as the Elburz Mountains. "The far-off Medes, whose name no one among the kings my fathers had ever heard," writes Sennacherib, repeatedly. The Book of Tobit tells that "Rages in Media" was the place of safety for Israel. Persia and Persian kings are unknown to this early exilic writer. Ezra has the *zakku* concessions made by the Persian king "sent to all of his own nation that were in Media."[46] That Josiah would consider the Medes and other Scythians his natural allies against Assyria and Egypt has been noticed already. The long antipathy between Mede and Assyrian meant cordial relations with Israelite colonies

[45] Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible,* 1925, pp. 492 ff.
[46] Josephus, *Antiquities,* XI, v, 2.

in Media, as Tobit pictures. But Rages in Media was a great ancient caravan-center: it is succeeded by the modern Teheran, a little further north. Israelite colonies in that vicinity were on the trade-road running east to Merv and Bokhara; while the road to the northwest leads into Trans-Caucasia, connecting with the Black-Sea-to-Caspian line.

With Israelites certainly planted in colonies at points on this Black-Sea-to-the-Orient trade route more than thirteen hundred years before the conversion of the Khazar rulers in Russia, it is to be remembered that theirs was not a Rabbinic or Talmudic Judaism, just as Falasha Judaism is not; and that some survivals of such a type would be inevitable, despite the latter propagandism of Talmudic Judaism. And the same should be true of any early type of Israelite religion that reached the mountain regions south of the Caucasus. Since the Khazars from an early period of their southward advance were in contact with these various peoples, the pre-exilic Yahwism already among them must be taken into consideration. Judaism has been in Georgia since Nebuchadrezzar's time: such is the claim of the present Judaized Georgians. Some dissatisfied deportees wandered northward to Mtzkhet, then the principal city of that region. This may be compared with the Arpak-shad considered in Chapter IV. It was shown that emigrants or deportees from Arrapkha, south of the Lower Zab, wandered north of the Armenian mountains and were "Arpak of the mountain," and Arrapakhitis of Ptolemy, and Ibrî or "other-siders," in Semitic speech: whence the Greek name "Iberes," Iberians. It is recently recognized that Arrapkha from very early times had a Hurrian population as Mitanni once had. It may be that these northern Hurri, distinct from those in Arrapha, were the Heri (Georgian Heri and Hereti), who once occupied the district now known as Kakhetia, or the valley of the Alazan river, north and east of Tiflis. Professor Robert P. Blake observes that

> "this population originally spoke a non-Georgian language which was probably one of the dialects known as Albanian, or one of the component dialects of that language. But the language has completely disappeared. It is generally supposed, and I suppose with some justification that the Udin language which is now spoken in only two *suls* of Azerbaijan may be the survivor of the ancient Albanian language. This of course does not imply in any way that it is the same or even closely akin to the lost Heri."

With the language and records gone, we have no clue to the racial character and culture of the Heri. They may have been unrelated

to the Hurri of Arrapha, but grouped with them by the compilers of Genesis 10:22-24 because in Hebrew characters the names were written exactly alike, just as the 'Ibrî of Palestine and the 'Iberî or 'Iburî of Georgia were written alike.

That Judaism was among Scythians in Armenia and spread thence into the southern Caucasus regions is shown by the term "Huriâ" which the modern Georgians who have abandoned Judaism apply to those who are still Jews. Professor Blake explains that this a corruption of the Aramaic word for Jews, "Yehûdayâ": which suggests that Aramaic-speaking Jews were those commonly known to the Iranic Scythians in Armenia. *Yehûdâya* was turned into *Hreay* by the Armeno-Iranians (*d* became *dr,* then *r*) and the Georgians changed the Armeno-Iranian word into "Huriâ." So the name preserves the fact that Judaism spread into Georgia from a district in Armenia where the Iranic Scythian population was dominant. These must have been the "Chaldean" (Khaldian) Jews who fled from Nebuchadrezzar's wars.

That the Karthvel or Karthli have themselves been driven into their present highlands by migrating hordes has been noticed. Perhaps the Khaldian immigration near 1100 B.C. was a factor. Harassed in later times by the Kimmerian and Scythian and Median waves of Iranic migration, they next had Persian garrisons in frontier points. Then followed Alexander the Great. But the Karthvel shortly achieved independence under the leadership of Farnabaz (Pharnabazus), who is credited with a sixty-five years' reign (302-237 B.C.). The later Bagratid dynasty are acknowledged to be a Jewish nobility. Mirian (265-342 A.D.), son of the Sassanid Persian king, married Asphagor, daughter of the last Arsacid king, and was made king of the Karthli under Sassanid control. The Jewish Bagratids expelled Arab marauders and established their own dynasty in 571 A.D. Both Armenian and Georgian historians record that the Armenian Jew Shombad, ancestor of Armenian and Georgian Bagratids, was of Davidic ancestry, and the claim is set forth in some royal inscriptions still shown in the convent of Guelath, in Imeria. This whole province is claimed by convent records at Kutais to have remained dominantly Jewish till within the last four centuries. The story of the entrance of Christianity into the adjacent province whose capital is Mtzkhet, claims the same preëxisting local Judaism. A Christian nun named Nuno or Nino, escaping from the persecutions of Tiridates, king of Armenia, reached Mtzkhet where Abiathar was the Jewish chief priest. This was when the above Sassanid

Mirian was king, in the third century. St. Nino won the Jewish priest, and the king, who is said to have built a cathedral at Mtzkhet. Then St. Nino visited the Jewish communities at Ourbnissi on the Kur, and at Bobe, Codis Tzkova, and Khobi; and a history of the conversion of the Karthli to Christianity is credited to the converted priest Abiathar. While the number of Judaized Karthli thus won was large, it is to be remembered that the Bagratid dynasty three centuries later began as Jewish, and much of Imeria on the west remained so till modern times. The claim that Judaized Karthli and Persians were leaders in Pharnabaz' expulsion of pagan Arab marauders in 302 B.C. merits respect.[47]

Similarly, the Daghestan Jews claim to have held Derbent since 300 B.C. They speak an old Persian dialect. Their claim has corroborating evidence in the fact that ancient cuneiform and Pahlawi inscriptions have been recovered at and near Derbent, with Cufic inscriptions of 465 A.D. The importance of holding this twelve-mile defile between the mountains and the sea is thus shown to date from pre-Persian times. From a tower at the Daghestan end, a wall ran west over the ridges of the Caucasus for many leagues, closing another pass. This pass was by Greek and Latin writers called "Iberian Gates," "Caucasian Gates," or "Sarmatic Gates"; and by the later Persians *Dar-i-Alan*, "Gate of the Alans"; it is now called Dariel. With the cuneiform inscriptions found near Derbent must be collated the fact, already mentioned, that Assyrian art of the period two centuries before Alexander has been found in South Russia. The wall from Derbent to Dariel was probably begun by one of the Antiochi about 300 B.C., repaired by the Persian Kobad about eight hundred years later, and by Khosrou Noushirvan some fifty years later still. For the Khazars seized Derbent and made it their own stronghold for a long time, and through this defile they raided Georgia and North Persia. In-Hak ga-Sangara, "In-Hak of the Fortress," an ancient Derbent rabbi, is said to have been very influential with the Khazars. Only the oldest Hebrew names are in use among these tribes. For the present point, Judaism was well diffused in these regions many centuries before the Khazars accepted it.[48]

[47] De Baye, *Les Juifs des Montagnes et les Juifs Georgiens,* p. 28; *International Cyclopaedia,* IX, 622; *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* XI, 758 f.

[48] De Baye, p. 16. For several pages of legend and facts about this great wall, and a similar one beginning at Gumush Tepe southeast of the Caspian, see Cordier's edition of Sir Henry Yule's Marco Polo, I, 57, note 3. Each is known as Sadd-i-Iskander, "Alexander's Rampart." Dr. Andrew Runni

Recurring to the fact of mingled ethnic elements in the region of the so-called Greek colonies north of the Black Sea, we find the classic records emphasizing the term Scythian, and reminding us that any early Jewish proselytes there were necessarily such (mixed) Scythians, and would be known as such, just as others were "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, Cretans and Arabians." That several different peoples were grouped by Greek writers under their geographic terms Scythia and Sarmatia has already been shown. But this means that any Greek-speaking Judaizers at work in these regions would also include various local peoples in their term for "Scythian." But since the Greek term "Scyth" is conceded to be their corruption of an Iranic name, the original of that name has been compared with the corresponding Jewish term.

It has been noted that excavations in the Crimea and in the adjacent southern Russia show two very distinct peoples: the "Krims" (Taurians?) and some Indo-Germanic peoples, while the term "Kimmerian" applied to the whole northern Black Sea coast in Greek legendary lore suggests that the Kimmerians were aboriginal. Earlier examinations of the many prehistoric tombs in the Crimea and the plains of southern Russia found skeletons that were certainly those of Aryan peoples.[49] Rostovtzeff thinks them Kimmerian. Later researches have found other ethnic types. The whole range of these ancient cultures and the Hellenic influence on the north shores of the Black Sea from the Danube to the Caucasus has been treated by Minns in his monumental quarto *Scythians and Greeks,* and corrected by Rostovtzeff in his *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia.* Rostovtzeff points out that it is a mistake to treat the life of the country as two distinct ethnical halves, instead of a long mutual development. The Iranian feudal aristocracy had a high degree of culture before there was any contact with the Greeks, and both reacted to that contact. The Scytho-Iranic tombs of the sixth century B.C. show both Greek art and Assyrian art. The art shows the Scyth with the same sword, etc., that is portrayed on the Persian monuments as a Persian soldier's equipment. Really the Iranic Scyths arrived in South Russia after the first Greek settlers there; at the same time that their Median relatives were breaking the eastern Assyr-

Anderson has carefully traced the confusing of three passes and "Walls of Alexander," by ancient and mediaeval writers; see his "Alexander at the Caspian Gates," in *Transactions of the American Philological Association,* vol. LIX, 1928.

[49] Reclus, *Europe,* v, 446 f.

ian frontiers.[50] The Iranic character of the Scyths who preceded the Medes into Asia Minor seems established by the fact that the long-lost language of the Sakai, who overran Bactria and southeast Persia, and established an empire in northwest India, has been found to be Iranic. Yet this southeast Persian Sakastana, now Seistan, held by "one of the kingdoms of the Persidae," or Persic peoples, is called "Scythia" by the Greek author of the *Periplous,* as are the adjacent regions of India.[51] Now his contemporary, Josephus, tells Apion (i, 12) that the coasts of Pontus were then tenanted by Scythians. Josephus takes this term from current Greek speech. Whence it is clear that Greek writers of that age mean certain Iranic peoples by the term Scythians. The contention that Scythians were primarily Mongols has the evidence of language against it as well as the anthropology and art of the South Russian excavations.[52]

The Proto-Medic of the Behistun inscriptions has been called Scythic by some philologists. With the advent of Mithridates in Pontus a marked Oriental influence appears in the Russian Scythic tomb-frescoes, and this influence remains down to the fourth century of our era—a period of over four hundred years.[53] The friendly attitude of certain Parthian kings toward Judaism, with the early Christian church at Edessa, at the same period called "Daughter of the Parthians,"[54] reminds us that a Parthian element in the Crimea means that some Parthian Christians and Jewish proselytes were probable. Since the Scythian population north of the Black Sea proved culturally assimilable, and akin to the Iranic Scythians that swept through Asia Minor,[55] the religion of the Israelites that Sargon colonized in the cities of the Medes should have crossed the Caucasus as easily as Parthian and Assyrian art did, and should have more easily impressed the northern Iranians if it came in the company of their Median kinsmen from the south. Thus if the Old Testament notices have indicated some commercial contact with Black Sea coasts through Hittites, Phoenicians, Tyrrhenians, and Carians from the days of Solomon to 600 B.C., a study of the Iranic migrations shows that

[50] E. H. Minns, *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* XXIV, 526.
[51] See Schoff, *Periplus,* 37-39; 161, 166.
[52] This theory is urged by the *Cambridge Mediaeval History,* I, 354 f.
[53] Reclus, *Europe,* V, 446, 466 f.
[54] Mar Jacob's "Homily of Habib the Martyr," and "Homily on Guria and Shamuna"; cf. *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* VIII, 713, 720, written near 500 A.D. The martyrdoms occurred under Diocletian, *ibid.,* 696.
[55] Deniker, *La Grande Encyclopédie,* "Scythes."

Israelites from Median territory should have been trading north of the Black Sea before 600 B.C.

Now there is a permanent record of Jewish recognition of the racial identity of these ancient Scythian peoples, and of Judaism's conquests among them, in the familiar Jewish term *Ashkenazim*. In Jeremiah 51:27 the peoples of Urartu, Mannai, and Ashkenaz are summoned against Babylon. The Mannai, as already stated, are well known in the Assyrian inscriptions, north of the Assyrian mountains, near Lake Urumiah. In the tablet telling of the fall of Nineveh, they come to the aid of Assyria, in vain. In Esarhaddon's time they invoke against him the aid of the Ashguza, who seem northeast of them. Scholars recognize the Greek *Skuthai*, "Scythians." In *Ashkenaz* some think they recognize a scribal blunder, saying that some Jewish scribe has read a scratched Assyrian *gu* as *ki-na,* turning *Ashguz* into *Ashkenaz:* or a later Jewish scribe with *Ashguz* before him in an early square Hebrew might have mistaken a *u* for an *n*. The Ashkenaz of Jeremiah 51:27 cannot be the Ashkenaz of Genesis 10:3 in northwestern Asia Minor, who were "sons" of Gomer: politically subject to the Thracian Kimmerians who crossed the Bosphorus and in 660 B.C. assailed Lydia. Such Kimmerian brief domination of the Ashkenaz in that region was long before the irruption of the Ashguz through northern Persia. Further, there is no evidence that the Ashguz ever reached northwestern Asia Minor. The name Ashkenaz was familiar in Palestine before any Ashguz were known there.

Bochart long ago was on the right track, comparing the name Ascanius, and the lake and place names of Ascania, at various points in Mysia, Phrygia, and Bithynia. He noticed the proper name Ashken in Armenia, with the termination *az*. But was the local Armenian form adopted in northwestern Asia Minor? The fact is that Askaê or Askai or Askaênoi (Hellenized) was the native name of the people called Phrygians or Mysians (Moschi, Meshech). Their national god Mên was specifically Mên Askaênos or Askainos or Askênos, at Sardis, Aphrodisias, Eumenia, and Antioch in Pisidia. The Hellenized form "Askênos" was certainly familiar from the time of Ionian contact with these peoples: a contact noticed in Genesis 10:2 f. It occurs upon Greek-Phrygian coins, with an alternative "Askaios." This native ethnical adjective is applied to districts, cities, towns, and rivers in Bithynia, the Troad, Phrygia, Mysia, Pisidia, Aeolis and to some islands in the Aegean and on the coasts of the Troad. Then the legendary hero Ascanius

appears in so many places, and always with a second name: provoking pages of speculation. The fact is that the "second" name is the personal name, and that Ascanius or Askênos is merely the gentilic adjective specifying the hero's ethnic antecedents.[56]

The people styling themselves Askaê or Askan, or (Hellenized) Askênos were inevitably so known in Palestine from pre-Israelite times. It has been shown that this racial element entered Asia Minor from Thrace about 1900 B.C. and gradually pushed eastward. It was certainly dominant in the northern Hittite country after the collapse of Shubbilulyuma's dynasty, about 1200 B.C., and Mysian was the dominant element in Carchemish by that time. These Indo-European invaders were the real "kings of the Hittites" of the times of the early Israelite kingdom. As Mysian-Meshech-Moschi moved northeastward from Carchemish across the Armenian border till in classic times they were in southwestern Colchis, their racial designation of Askênos could not fail to be known. Solomon's horse-buyers in Kuë it has been shown were in contact with the horse-taming Askênoi. Ezekiel 27:13 knows that Ionians and Tibarenians and the Askenian Moschi are active in the markets of Tyre. Assyrian inscriptions show this Indo-European people dominant in what we call Armenia by Solomon's time. All these invading nations, from the Mediterranean to Armenia, would naturally be called by their own racial title, Askênos, or Ashkenazim. But it easily became a term for all the peoples in the territory occupied, as "Hittite" had been. So when Iranic waves with their Scythian Ashguzai and Ashkatanga pressed into the Askênos regions, the older term continued to describe the fused peoples. Above has been mentioned the fact that Judaism came into Georgia through a fused Armeno-Iranic people. Ashkenazim Jews should originally have meant proselytes from all the mingled Indo-Germanic and Iranic peoples south of the Black Sea; and was logically applied to proselytes from like comminglings north and northeast. The perpetuation of the term to-day preserves the ancient knowledge of the fact that Yahwism gained a strong hold upon some of the mingled folk summed up as "Scythians" by Greek writers.

So in southern Russia the earlier Jews were Scythian proselytes. The names in the Greek-Jewish inscriptions recovered from South Russia are generally not Semitic names. Whether they were of one Scythian people or several is a secondary point.

[56] Bochart is noticed in *Jewish Encyclopedia,* II, 192. For the rest see Pauly-Wissowa, II, 1607, 1611; Roscher, *Lexicon,* I, 611 f, 614.

Arnobius, about 300 A.D., thought that Scythians and Germans were not the same. He speaks of Christians being blamed for their irruptions.[57] But Eusebius later thought that Ashkenazim were the Teutons. Mediaeval Jews adopted that view, while Saadia insisted that the Ashkenazim were the Slavs only, of South Russia. But since the modern archaeologists and historians recognize that the old Hellenic colonies there grouped several widely different neighboring peoples under their term Scythian and Sarmatian, the modern Jew rightly includes all the Jews of central and eastern Europe in the term Ashkenazim.

But this term again brings before us the antiquity of Jewish proselyting in South Russia. If one insists upon excluding from consideration the old Mysian-Phrygian-Armenian term *Ashken,* and deriving the term *Ashkenazim* from *Ashguz,* Greek *Skuth,* the corruption of *Ashguz* or *Skuth* into *Ashkenazim* had to be fixed in the Jewish vocabulary before 200 B.C., for the name "Scythian" disappears from the histories of South Russia by that time. The various independent tribes of that name in central and southern Russia were overwhelmed by the related Sarmatians, who began pressing across the Don by 350 B.C.[58] The region between the Don and the Volga had to be "Scythian" in Jewish speech before that time, though the ancient Jews may have considered Sarmatians and Scyths as but one people. All of the western Scyths were absorbed by the Sarmatians; the independence and ancient name of the remainder was gone.[59] Rostovtzeff observes, relative to this Sarmatian movement, that the Scythians were so strong in the Crimea that their "Greek" kings appealed to the kings of Pontus, who were themselves but Hellenized Iranians. This emphasizes the fact that the regions south of the Black Sea were dominantly Iranic after the Medo-Scythian invasions that began before the fall of Jerusalem. Also, Jewish communities then on either shore of the Black Sea were sure to be in communication with each other, and to think of each other as the same people. Later the great war of Mithridates of Pontus against Rome was but a rallying of all Iranians of that region for an Iranic empire. Josephus, as observed, speaks of the "Scythians of Pontus"; but that name had disappeared from South Russia when the Sarmatians advanced. There had to be a well-known body of non-Israelite Jews there, styled Ashkenazim, or Scythian Jews, before 200 B.C.,

[57] *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* VI, 415.
[58] Minns, *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* XXIV, 526.
[59] Deniker, *La Grande Encyclopédie,* "Scythes."

when the ancient historic name Scythian ceased to be used of that region by Gentile historians. But with this historic fact clear, the perpetuation of the term Ashkenazim as a designation for all Jews of central and eastern Europe again means that Jewish communities all through the earlier Christian centuries were aware that Judaized peoples of South Russia were being forced into Central Europe. Records have been destroyed. The savage Alans swept over the Crimea about 50 A.D. The Goths dislodged them a century later. The terrible Huns came two hundred years afterwards. To these ethnic cataclysms we owe the lack of documents for the period. Hosts of the one-time Taurians and Mix-Hellene Scythians were driven westward. But these migrations of eastern nomads did not mean extinction of the older population and its culture, nor the supplanting of that culture with another language and type. Christian bishoprics were maintained in the storm-swept region. The savages that remained there were the numerical majority in some places; their blood was infused into the Helleno-Scythic population, but their languages and institutions did not prevail. Jews elsewhere continued to designate the mixed population as Ashkenazim, no matter how many new elements were poured into the region, just as Greek historians had used Scythian as a geographical expression for the new mixed population. Jewish communities in the Caucasus and southward, and on south coasts of the Black Sea, or in Constantinople, knew perfectly well what was happening to their commercial fellow-religionists from the Crimea to the Caucasus; and they continued to apply the term Ashkenazim to the surviving communities and to those who fled toward central Europe. Then the great tunny-fishing industry of the Black Sea could not be totally suspended by the barbarian sacking of colonies along the northern shores. Ovid's *Ex Ponto Libri* show that the fishermen of Pontus were important sources of information, no matter what language they spoke. There was never any chance for a break in the consciousness of Oriental Judaism as to the identity of the Ashkenazim.[60]

Important evidence of an early migration of Oriental Jews into Central Europe is found in the names of the days of the week. It is agreed by German scholars that the planetary names for the days of the week were accepted in parts of Germany before 300

[60] That the Jews through twenty-five hundred years have steadily used Ashkenazim as a term for Indo-Europeans, and not for Mongol peoples, is decisive against the theory of the Cambridge Mediaeval History that the Ashguz-Scythians were originally Mongols. The Jews had early contact with Mongol peoples; they did not identify them with the Ashguz.

A.D., from the pagan Romans. But the planetary name Saturday—Saturn's day—was not accepted. The Oriental Jewish name already held the field. In Old High German we find *Sambaz-tac;* in Middle High German, *Sameztac, Samztac;* modern German *Sampstag, Sambstag,* and *Samstag.* In Old Slovak, *Sabota;* Magyar, *Szombat;* Roumanian, *Sambata.* In Schwabian are the forms *Sambstag, Sambstig, Sameztag, Samtztag, Samstach, Sancztag.* These forms it is agreed never came through Greece or Rome. Their peculiarity is the dissimilation of *Sabbat* into *Sambat,* and the inability to pronounce an aspirate *t,* as a modern Russian says "ze" for "the." But *Sambaz* for *Sabbat* is not the work of any Semitic speakers; it is the work of Oriental proselytes. The Talmud has *Sabbation* and also the dissimilated *Sambation, Sanbation.* In late Oriental Greek the personal names *Sabbatios, Sabbataios, Sambataios, Sambatios, Sanbatios, Sambathaios* and *Sambas* are known. The Agau-speaking Falashas of Abyssinia also say *Sanbat;* the Persians say *Shanbakh.* An exact parallel to the turning of *Sabbat* into *Sambaz* is afforded by the Persian change of the Arabic *qubbet,* "dome," into *gumbaz.* In Babylonian Jewish legend their Sibyl was a daughter of the Babylonian Berosus, and bore the name *Sambêthê* (Babylonian Aramaic *Shabbetai*): evidently a prophetess of a Sabbatist fraternity. There is no doubt then that the peculiar forms of the name Sabbath in Central Europe came in with Iranic proselytes from the Orient. Their story may never be recovered. But these Judaized traders and refugees from Oriental invading hordes must have established the name of their seventh day in Central Europe before the adoption of the Roman pagan planetary names for the days of the week was thought of. As we have seen that Ashkenazim Jews from the east were in South Central Europe seven hundred years before pagan Germans adopted the Roman planetary week, their Sambaztag was long and widely known among the Germans.

The "Ararat, Minni and Ashkenaz" of Jeremiah 51:27 has a further importance. The writer uses the terms familiar in Esarhaddon's time, a hundred years before. The newer subclans of the later invasions are not named. These names are those familiar to the Israelite in Palestine a little after 700 B.C. Now the Targum on Jeremiah 51:27 has *Harmini,* "mountain of the Minni," instead of simply *Minni.* That means that wherever they met the cuneiform name *mat Mannai,* or *shad Mannai,* they used their Hebrew word *har* for the cuneiform equivalent *shad.* This Hebrew "Har-Mann" seems to explain the term "Armen," which

western historians have adopted from the Persians, as "Armenia." But this would mean that literary Israelites were so numerous and so influential in Armenia-Media, and at the early Persian court, that the Persians simply accepted the current Jewish term for that mountain-district. A considerable Jewish proselyting in Persia-Media is suggested by this Persian Armen for Har-Mini.

It seems that the province Matiênê, or Matiana, which classic writers copy from Herodotus, is due to a blunder in reading this same name in the cuneiform. It is shown to be the same highland region, and is sometimes made equivalent to the whole of Armenia.[61] The cuneiform *mat Ma-an-nai* has been mistaken for *Mat-i-a-nai.* It is easily done.

Since Constantinople became the capital of the Eastern Empire in 330 A.D., when the Crimea was mainly Gothic, we have records of the status of the Jewish community there. It was very large, and still enjoyed some of the ancient *zakku* privileges guaranteed in Seleucid times. The Jews had their own quarter of the town, known as "the Copper-Market." Relatively wealthy, many of them were ship-owners; in the time of Synesius more than half the shipping of Alexandria was owned by Jews. Talmudic Jews and the Josephite or "Samaritan" Israelites so dominated trade that "Samaritan" came to be a general term for "merchant." This tells us certainly of the prestige and power of Judaism in the Helleno-Scythic trade-ports farther east, before the barbarian irruptions. Some emperors were hostile. Constantine was tolerant to all parties, realizing that the empire needed peace. He confirmed the exemptions pledged to the Christian clergy, Jews, and Samaritans. But Jews and Samaritans were not allowed to stone any who apostatized from them,[62] nor could they proselyte from others. His theory of peace was to maintain the *status quo.* Theodosius I undertook to make all individually equal before the secular law. Arcadius was favorable, and restored special privileges, 404 A.D. Theodosius II was a bigot, codifying anti-Jewish legislation, 438 A.D.; for the Jew-baiting clergy induced him to expel the Jews from their quarter, and place them across the Golden Horn in the Stenon. The miserable Zeno, 474-491, was a persecutor. In Justinian's time, the persecuted Jews naturally took sides with the Goths in Italy, 536 A.D.: which assures us of their seeking refuge among the Tartars or Slavs or Khazars, in South Russia. Heraclius, not originally a Jew-baiter, was incited by Christian clergy, after his victory over Persia, to massacre

[61] Smith's *Dictionary,* II, 295.

[62] Codex Theodosianus, XVI, 8, I.

Jews in Palestine and Asia Minor. That meant more refugees to Persia and the Caucasus.

In brief: to the Helleno-Scythic population in which Judaism first began to work was added the related Parthian element from 100 B.C. onward; then the ruthless Alans came in about 50 A.D. while Parthian influence still persisted in art; the Goths, 150 A.D., drove out the savage Alans; then came the Huns; the Slavs appear in the next century, reaching Moesia and Dardania; and in the next century they are in Greece, and are soon Hellenized. None of these had a highly organized government; none of them meant special hostility to Judaism. In the shattering of the large centralized organization some small groups of congregational Judaism stood the best chance of weathering the storms; and the subsequent history shows that some did so. Ethnic prejudices did not dominate in the Byzantine Empire. There were few Romans in it; the Slavs, Armenians, Goths, Khazars, Arabs, Albanians, and Alans accepted the Greek language. Any Hellenized and orthodox person might aspire to any post. The dynasties of Justin I, Basilius the Macedonian, Leo V, and Roman Lacapenus were non-Hellenic. Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimiskes were Armenian. Justinian had Slavic warriors of great distinction. Next after the Greeks, the Armenians and Slavs furnished the largest number of brilliant and talented men for the Byzantine empire.[63]

Thus we have a fair idea of the mingled ethnic elements east of Constantinople, the lack of ability of any one of them to assert its own right to dominate, the hatred engendered by Byzantine persecutions of the Jews, and the certainty that many Jewish refugees were massed between the Volga and the Don. The one hopeful religious element there was Judaism; and as it did not assert that any of the mingled peoples had the right to dominate politically, it did not arouse persecution from any one of them. In this aggregation of ethnic fragments, it was easy for the Khazars to take control. In fact, the refugees from Byzantine persecution had been massing themselves under Khazar protection. Communication with western Europe was so completely suspended that it has been denied in modern times that the Khazar empire ever existed, and it was not known through many centuries that Judaism had ever been on the Don, and still survived there. But when the Khazars became the leading people politically, they had for centuries been in contact with the Judaism well established in Armenia and Trans-Caucasia, as well as with remnants of the

[63] Mishew, *The Bulgarians in the Past*, pp. 13-17.

Helleno-Scythic Judaism, which we have seen was on the northern coasts of the Black Sea a thousand years before the conversion of the Khazar court. From their territory between the Volga and the Don, the Khazars had made raids across the Caucasus into the territory of the New Persian Empire of the Sassanidae, but they were terribly defeated by Kobad, 487-489 A.D. Then Khosrou Nushirvan, between 562 and 567, had invaded the Khazar domain, ravaging far and wide and slaying many thousands. But he established no permanent authority north of the Caucasus, and left the Khazars ready to accept overtures from the Byzantine emperors. When, therefore, the emperor Heraclius in 624 attacked Persia through the Black Sea, which the Greek empire dominated, and assailed the Persians in the territories south of the Caucasus, Khosrou Parviz summoned to his aid the savage Avars and Slavs and Bulgars and Gepidae north of the Danube to assail Constantinople, while Heraclius won the Khazars, with their bitter memories of Persia; and their forty thousand cavalry aided him in overrunning all the Trans-Caucasian territory down to the Kurdish mountains.

Mohammed was already on the horizon when Heraclius was battling with Khosrou Parviz. But Bulan, the Khagan of the Khazars, with all of his grandees accepted Judaism in 679 A.D., less than fifty years after the death of Mohammed. The Greek empire had then lost Syria and much of Asia Minor forever. With the northern and western Slavs hostile to Constantinople, and Persian supremacy destroyed, the Khazar Khagan became the natural leader in the broken Slavic peoples. The acceptance of Judaism by the Khagan and his grandees is decisive evidence of the vigor and vitality of the Helleno-Scythic Judaism with which the Khazars had long been in contact. It was a culture not backed by despotism, and consequently not rousing Khazar antagonism. A large number of the Khazar people followed the example of Khagan and court. A line of kings with Old Testament Israelite names resulted. More Jewish scholars were invited, and schools and synagogues multiplied. This Jewish Khazar régime of three centuries is credited with special favors to foreign Jewish scholars, schools, arts, and social life, with a natural result of Judaizing many of the subject Slavs. The special favor of the tolerant Khazar officials would mean a large accession from the South Slavonic populace. But the Khazar policy was certainly that taught them by their Judaizers and advisers. We are not to think of a Khazar régime as initiating the conversion of the ancient

Mix-Hellene Iranians; we have the latter being Judaized through a thousand years, and finally converting the Khazars.

When the Khazar kingdom was overthrown by the Russians, 970-1016 A.D., many Khazars remained as part of the Jewish population, and later unread travellers discovered the "lost ten tribes" on the river Don! Many Khazar and Slavic Jews fled to the Caucasus and the Crimea.[64] Those Khazars who retreated into Asia included some who carried Judaism with them. The fact is evidenced by the Alexander legends. That early Christian Syriac writers grouped all the nomad peoples of central and western Asia as "Gog and Magog" has been noticed. The tales about the walls Alexander was said to have built to shut them out also called them "Gog and Magog" for a thousand years. But Dr. A. R. Anderson points out that in the eleventh century there was a sudden change in the legends. The Lost Ten Tribes were being shut out. The same nomad peoples are meant; but with the retreating Judaized Khazars added to them, the indefinite "Gog and Magog" are displaced from the legends of Alexander's walls.

But the fact that the Jew of southern Russia is not somatically "Semitic" or Hurrian is emphasized by ethnologists. The evidences of Slavonic blood are everywhere observable. Numbers add their testimony. The fact that three-fourths of the Jews in the world are now in this section of Europe cannot be explained as the result of alluring Russian invitations, promoting immigration. Slavonic and Tartar and Germanic Jewish faces abound, with Iranic and Mongolian infusions.

And there is no lack of evidence of Jewish missionary activity. The centuries following the expulsion of the Khazars meant a great diminution in the local number of Jews. But in the latter part of the fifteenth century, Zechariah, a Jew of Kiev, began a missionary campaign at Novgorod. The movement spread to Moscow, and gained adherents at court. An effort to crush the movement was made in 1504. The leaders were burned, others were imprisoned, the rest scattered. Several Judaizing sects, however, were in existence by that time. The Doukhobors, who have acquired a little fame in America, are considered a survival.[65] This revival, eight hundred years after the conversion of the Khazar court, with the ethnic elements changed by the departure of the Khazars and the ingression of some Tartar and Mongol elements,

[64] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, x, 518.
[65] Aylmer Maude, *A Peculiar People; The Doukhobors*, pp. 7, 79 f.

has a certain retrospective historical value. It probably enables us to visualize the movement that resulted in the conversion of the Khazar court. Non-resistance is a prominent doctrine of some of these Judaizing sects. Probably that attitude on the part of Jews who fled from Byzantine persecution was a feature that strongly impressed the Khazars. It is in striking contrast with the savage militarism of ancient Cyrenian Judaism.

All these Judaizing sects repudiate the use of icons or pictures of the saints. They are called "Judaized heretics," and some of them are "Subbotniki," or Sabbath people. In general they circumcise, repudiate the doctrine of the Trinity, and carefully observe the Jewish Sabbath. Like the Ebionite Christians of the early church, they deny the divinity of Jesus. There are about two million of them in Russia and they have been as cruelly persecuted as the Jews in any country of Europe. Many become Jews when they can, but generally leave Russia for that purpose, owing to the severe penalties imposed upon those who openly do this in Russia. The Russian imperial government did its best to keep them apart from the Jews, forbidding Jews to live in any district where they were found. The authorities of the Greek church have learned that propinquity meant intermarriage and absorption by Judaism.[66] Our immediate point is that ethnic commingling has gone on to such an extent that in many districts of Russia the Jew is hardly distinguishable from the Christian population, itself composed of various ethnic elements.

Just how Judaism would attract the simple Slav is illustrated in our own day. Albert Parry writes in the *Jewish Tribune,* May 27, 1897, of a little group of Judaized Russians in Los Angeles. About a hundred years ago, Czar Nicholas I began persecution of the "Molokani" sect, eventually banishing them to the wilds of the Caucasus and Trans-Caucasia, and some to the district of Erivan. Contact with Jews in their new home resulted in many embracing the form of Judaism locally known as Subbotniki. They observed Jewish law and custom faithfully, called upon the rabbi for all religious ministrations, but did not learn to speak Hebrew or Yiddish. The Russian Government only persecuted them the more bitterly, so some fled to America, with many Molokani. In Los Angeles they find themselves viewed with suspicion by the great body of the Jews there, because they cannot read Hebrew prayers, bibles, and so on. They read and pray in Russian, they can only look at the Hebrew text. The

[66] Fishberg, pp. 192 ff.

other Jews look down on them, fear to give their daughters in marriage to them, doubt their Judaism, say they are "half-goyim," as Edomite converts in Josephus' account were "half-goyim" to many Jews of the time. Since they are generally poor, the wealthier Jews also fear that their daughters may fall into the sweat-shop or factory, should they marry into Subbotniki families. So Subbotniki sons are marrying equally Americanized Molokani girls, or Armenians, or Mexicans. The result will be the complete Americanization of the new generation. The case puts sharply before us the power of a kindly and prosperous Jewish community to draw largely from simpler people around it—as among the South Slavs; second, the determination of a faction in historic Judaism to make the Israelite tradition and the local language accepted by all proselytes; and third, the persistence of ethnic antipathy till such acceptation has been complete. It helps us understand the inferior position of the Black Jews of Cochin, and of others yet to be noticed.

But when the Jewish Khazars were driven from central Russia, another asylum was opened to them. The Hungarian Duke Taksony had been overrunning neighboring regions with the dream of an empire in his head. His final and crushing defeat in 970 A.D. left his lands much depopulated, and he invited various tribes as settlers, among them the Jewish Khazars, thus planting Judaism in Hungary as a favored people. The Byzantine historian Kinnamos nearly two hundred years later records the presence of these "Chalyzian Jews" coöperating with Dalmatians against the Greek Emperor Manuel Comnenus, 1154 A.D. The Polish historian Bielkowski thinks that these Chaluzi Jews are Chvalissy instead of Khazars. When the Hungarians removed to Dacia and Pannonia, their reigning family, the Kabary, were a Khazar tribe.[67] In either case we have another large extension of Judaism among a non-Israelite people, and its further spread by such proselytes.

This addition of the great body of Khazars to Judaism naturally introduces the Karaites, the majority of whom still dwell in the region once dominated by the Khazars. They themselves claim that their ancestors were in South Russia two thousand years ago. That would not prove their genealogical descent from Israel. It would mean only that a non-Talmudic Judaism was in that region two thousand years ago. The question of their sectarian distinction may be considered later. For our present inquiry, ethnology

[67] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* III, 663.

establishes the fact that the Karaites of Russia are a distinct race, neither Khazar nor Slavonic. "They are assimilated in speech and costumes and manners to the Crim-Tartars, and intermarry with them," wrote Reclus.[68] And in Lithuania, where the Christian Crim-Tartars have accepted the language and customs of their neighbors, the Karaite Jews still cling to the Tartar dialect of the Crimea. Religion has been the assimilating force for each. Fishberg says that they are plainly related to other Tartar tribes of southeastern Russia, being more brachycephalic than other Jews of South Russia, and generally brunettes. They show a large infusion of Mongolian blood, which Weissenberg attributes to intermarriage with the Bashkirs, a Turkoman tribe of South Russia. Some Khazar and Slavonic blood has been infused, for quite a number resemble their Slavonic Jew neighbors. But the Sephardic type, of southwest Europe, does not appear among them.

To recapitulate: the evidence of a spread of Yahwism in Asia Minor beginning as early as Solomon's time has been presented, the references in Jeremiah, Zechariah, Obadiah, and Herodotus examined. The advent of Ionic Hellenism on the Black Sea coasts, preparing a Helleno-Scythic population in which the Judaism of Asia Minor could extend has been sketched. And the evidence of the spread of Judaism from Asia Minor through the Caucasus and southern Russia has been considered. The whole argument will be strengthened by special notice of the survivals of Judaism among the many singular tribes of the Caucasus mountains, north of the main body of the so-called Georgians. In discussing the Colchis of Herodotus, it was noticed that some of these tribes were there where they still are, and were known then as having some Judaism. There is a wide variation in the somatic or ethnic types, with no suggestion of the Aramaean or Arab or of the Jew of popular western fancy. The grouping of many strange unrelated peoples is immemorial. Strabo (xi, 2, 14, 16), telling of the importance of the port of Dioscurias at the east end of the Black Sea, says that from seventy to three hundred tribes, each speaking a different language, were said to come there for salt. Modern Jewish observers have recorded that the local Jewish population in each people is of the local ethnic or somatic type, and in each case has the same ideals, traditions, conventions, and social code as their non-Jewish fellows.[69] For our present inquiry that is the primal fact. Judaism among any of these tribes does

[68] Reclus, *Europe*, v, 263, 447 f.
[69] See *Jewish Encyclopedia, s.v.* "Caucasus."

not mean the presence of a group of genealogical descendants of any other people whatever. It is a case of proselytes and descendants of proselytes in each tribe: the acceptance of some Judaism by non-Semitic, non-Indo-European peoples.

That the Georgians or Karthli are a distinct and aboriginal mountain people has already been noticed. Their language is not related to any other known language. Ethnologists are inclined to think that there may have been an original Karthli substratum for all the mountain peoples. But as the Karthli have been driven northward by migrations from Asia during passing millenniums, they have been so much and so variously mixed with passing invaders that distinct types are found in different mountain regions, and the respective languages have become so different that some writers doubt any ancient common element. But certain curious customs and what may be considered fundamental superstitious observances are found among nearly all of them, suggesting an original common substratum of culture or of population, despite their present seclusion. For illustration, the Khevsurs or "people of the gorges" some fifty miles north of Tiflis have the custom of "ploughing for rain" in time of drought. Girls are yoked to the plough, and drag it into the river, wading up to their girdles. The like custom is found in Armenia, the women dressing as men, and the oldest woman, or the priest's wife, directs the ploughing, which must be upstream; while in parts of Georgia the same custom survives, the priest driving the marriageable girls, yoked in couples with ox-yokes on their shoulders, through puddles, rivers, and marshes: they screaming, laughing, singing, and praying.[70] This curious non-Christian, non-Jewish custom will appeal to the candid reader as surviving from an ancient common substratum of the present populations of the respective regions.

To name these races very briefly: the ancient kingdom of Georgia included Imeria, "the other-side land," between the Suram mountains and the Black Sea: Kutais being its principal modern city. East of the Suram mountains lies Georgia proper, its modern capital Tiflis being a few miles south of the ancient capital of Mtzket. Thirty miles to the east, across another range, is the long highland valley of Kakhetia, anciently called Albania. North of these divisions lie the interesting mountain tribes.

Reclus[71] observes that the widely differing Chechenz, Lesghian and Tûsh and Khevsur elements all preserve Jewish traditions, and that all include fugitive bands from various ancient peoples,

[70] Fraser, *The Magic Art,* I, 282. [71] *Asia,* I, 116, 92.

who have fled to these mountains rather than fuse with their conquerors. The Tûshes, east of Mt. Borbalo, are the brownest of all the races, with the Khevsurs next. In contrast with the fair and florid Georgians, the Mingrelians on the Black Sea coast show two types, a fair one with lofty brow and oval face, and a dark brown type with low brow and broad face. The same two extremes appear among the Svans. It will be remembered that the brown people were those Herodotus credited with an ancestral custom of circumcision.

The Osses, less correctly Ossetes, are north and northwest of Imeria. They call themselves Iron, their country Ironiston (Iran, Iranistan). This is decisive as to an original Iranic element among these people. Another decisive feature is the custom of building in each village one or more square towers, forty to sixty feet high, as a place of refuge when the village is attacked. The Svans have the same custom, with the difference that each family may have its own tower-house. The refuge-tower is *mäsug,* or East Ossetic *mäsig,* which represents an Old Iranic *masu,* "tower." Hence an Iranic nucleus must be recognized also in the Svan communities. But this brings before us the *mossynoikoi* that Xenophon saw west of Trebizond, and the fact that the place-name Mossyna, Mossynia, occurs later in several places in Asia Minor, and at least once in Thrace. It is evidence of the Iranic migrations that we have seen sweep through Asia Minor repeatedly. Strabo (xii, 3, 18) greatly extends the territory of the tower-dwellers, of whom Xenophon seems to have seen but a coastal district. Strabo writes that the tower-house was characteristic of other peoples along the coast west of those noticed by Xenophon, and of the Macrones (Suani) in the mountains, where Xenophon did not chance to see a village; of Heptakometai or "Seven-villages" people; and of the "Chaldaeans" (Khaldi, Armenians) in the same mountains. All the peoples of this mountain district along the Black Sea built tower-houses or houses in trees. It is clear that the Iranic Scythians mentioned by Josephus as being in Pontus in his day are the same people that Strabo describes. But since Judaism was among them six hundred years before Josephus wrote, we may recognize such proselytes as part of the Ashkenazim. W. M. Ramsay also thinks the place-name Mossyn in Asia Minor is a mark of Scythian settlement. Professor Calder thinks that the ending *-oikoi* has no connection with the Greek word for "house," but is an Iranic gentilic termination. *Mossynoikoi* would evidently be "tower-people."[72]

[72] W. R. Halliday, in *Classical Review,* 1923, pp. 105 ff.

As to the provenance of this Iranic people, G. F. Hudson thinks it certain that they are a remnant of the Sarmatians who were forced out of southeastern Russia by new hordes from Asia. He observes that in the fourth century B.C. the Kerketes (Circassians), Absgi (Abkhasi), Suanes, Iberi (Imerians), and Lazi were where they are now, and that the Alani (Geloni?), Rhoxolani, and Sarmatians began pushing westward in the first century B.C.[73] But the province of Ossarênê on the river Kur in southern Georgia has been overlooked.[74] *Ossar* is a plural of *Ossa; -ar* being a familiar plural ending in the Svan speech still: e.g. *tchazh,* "horse," plural, *tchhaz-har.* It is clear that there was a colony of the Ossas in southern Georgia in Ptolemy's time. Were they not a colony of the terrible Scyth migration from the east, in 628 B.C., that later retired northward to their present mountain strongholds? There were Asioi, or Assianoi-Scythians east of the Caspian, who warred with the Greek kings of Bactria, as well as Asai-oi in Sarmatia on the Upper Don.[75]

As to physical type, the Osses are generally inferior to the other mountain tribes. The fair type is commoner among them than the brown. They now claim to be Christian, invoking St. Nicholas and Mar Ilya (Elijah), who is their fire god. But they have changed their religion three times in the past ten centuries. In recent times they were Moslems. The worship at ancestral graves is very prominent. They are really a mixture of pagans, Moslems, Christians, and Jews, with survivals of a former Judaism apparent among the present non-Jews. Ethnologically viewed, there are four tribes or groups: Tangaours, Digurians (the Ligues or Digues of the Greeks), Kourtatines, Alaghirs. Some noble families claim Tartar ancestry; others, Georgian; some are of Arab ancestry; others claim Israelite origin. Really they are fundamentally an Iranic people, as already shown, with these other elements infused. Fifty-two per cent have brown eyes; thirty per cent light hair.[76] Directly north of Imeria is the main body of the surviving Swans or Svans. Svanetian tribes also exist in Meskhia, and the evidence of Xenophon and Strabo shows that they were once spread along the south coast of the Black Sea on either side of Trebizond. Their language is a sister-language of the Georgian. But the adoption everywhere among them of the

[73] *Classical Review,* 1924, pp. 160 f.

[74] Smith, *Dictionary,* II, 500: perhaps the Gogarene of Strabo.

[75] Smith, I, 229, 230.

[76] Reclus, *Asia,* I, 71 f.; *La Grande Encyclopédie,* IX, 883; Ratzel, III, 540 f.

Scythian tower-house shows how dominant was the Scythian element among them when Xenophon and Herodotus wrote. For Herodotus tells of the circumcising Macrones, Xenophon of their tower-houses, and Strabo explains that the Macrones were Suani (copyists made it Sanni), which he elsewhere writes Soanai. It emphasizes the adoption of some Jewish customs by Scythian peoples north of Armenia before the days of Herodotus.

Strabo describes the Soanai in the mountains east of Dioscurias, about one hundred miles north of the present river Rion. They were then filthy savages, used poisoned weapons, and boasted two hundred thousand warriors. They are now greatly reduced in numbers. Though shattered and driven into the mountains, they were able to raid the Georgians to the south and to burn Kutais in the fourteenth century. Infanticide has been prevalent, especially of female infants. The more southerly are no longer independent. Those of the north, in their mountain fastnesses, took oath of allegiance to Russia in 1853, but still assert "Jabe Shevi"—"Free Svanetia." Nominally Christian now, they show everywhere survivals of Judaism. Those who openly claim to be Jews still are concentrated in the village of Lakhamuli, and practice some Christian rites. The substratum of paganism is very pronounced. Intellectually, they are the most backward of the mountain tribes. Ethnically, they are a mingling of various fugitives with a remnant of the ancient Svans. The Iranic Scythian element among them did not result in abandonment of their ancient language. As already shown, it seems that Judaism spread among the Svans before they were driven into their present retreat.[77] Dioscurias, their great port of entry from its founding down to Strabo's time, certainly brought Jewish traders to them through many centuries.

North of Tiflis about fifty miles, in the gorges high up west of Mt. Borbalo, are the Khevsurs. On lower slopes south, thirty-three hundred feet above the sea, are the Pshavs. The main body of the Georgians are still lower, with a small group of Khevsurs among them. The Tûshes are in the valley east of Mt. Borbalo. Some writers describe the Khevsurs as "Chaldean Jews," because of a tradition that they emigrated from some point in Chaldean territory. Bealby, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* listed them as "Chaldeans" and Semites. But this resulted from his failure to recognize Khaldi, the name given to themselves by the Indo-European conquerors who overthrew Assyrian power in Hurrian (?)

[77] Reclus, *Asia,* I, 92 ff.; Ratzel, III, 535 f.

Armenia in Solomon's time. The Georgian term for Jews, Huria, has been cited as showing that Khaldian Jews did come from Armenia into the southern Caucasus. The Khevsur custom of plowing for rain in time of drought has already been noticed as proving some common ethnic or cultural substratum for them and the Karthli and the population of modern Armenia. The Khevsur assertion that their emigration from "Khaldia" was made to escape Nebuchadrezzar and his hordes of Median enemies of the Scythians makes their Judaism antedate him. It also supports Herodotus' statement that the swarthy circumcising Colchians that he knew were descended from a colony placed there when some Egyptian king was fighting those same Iranians in the adjacent regions. There is no resemblance to any of the so-called Semites. In contrast with the Arabian-Aramaean, they are very brachycephalic peoples. The Chechenzes of the northeastern Caucasus, Lesghians from Daghestan, and Georgians from the south are mingled there, with refugees of various peoples; the Chechenz speech dominating the northern slopes, a Georgian dialect the southern. The mingled stocks result in a variety of types. The feud and vendetta and *lex talionis* dominate, and the men regularly wear protective armor, as in mediaeval Europe, fearing surprise by some one of the hostile group. Nominally Christian, and proud of it, they are fundamentally pagan, with many survivals of Islam and Judaism. A few still profess Judaism.[78] It seems clear that in ancient times this refugee population was recruited largely from Judaized peoples.

East of the Tûshes, north and east of Kakhetia, lies Daghestan, which includes nearly half of Trans-Caucasia. The Chechenzes are on the north slope of the Caucasus between Kabarda and the Caspian. They are really several races mixed, in twenty different groups, each with a distinct language. Fanatical Sunnee Moslems now, they still retain Christian customs, and three churches of St. George, St. Marina, and the Virgin. Of mingled racial types, they are proud, haughty, and very poor, generally living in wretched hovels. De Baye reports professed Jews among the Chechenz mountaineers, who are in no wise distinguishable from the non-Jews. Survivals of Judaism are recognizable among the Moslemized Christians. Judaism was certainly on the northern Caucasus in pre-Christian times. But it did not displace their savage moun-

[78] Reclus, *Asia,* I, 116 ff.; Brockhaus, *Conversations Lexicon, s.v.* Chewsures; Ratzel, III, 535 ff.; and Louis H. Gray, article "Tushes and Other Pagan Tribes of the Caucasus," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.* Dr. Gray recognizes that paganism is dominant among all the Caucasus tribes, whatever the traces of Judaism, Christianity, or Islam.

taineer codes. For none of these mountain Jews is the Torah the all-prescribing law.

The Lesghi (Leki, Leksik), east of the Chechenzes, comprise about fifty-five tribes, in several linguistic divisions. The Avar, Dargo, and Dura languages are the chief. Avar is declared by their neighbors to mean "fugitive, vagrant." About five hundred thousand in number, their agricultural and pastoral activities are supplemented by plundering. They are Sunni Moslems, with many Christian and pagan customs, and with reminiscences of Judaism. Along their Caspian seaboard are crowded Mongolians, Tartars, Aryans, and Semites, all speaking the Tûrki dialect of northwest Persia. There are also the Iranic Talîsh in the north, and the Iranic Tats from Derbent southward. The Jews of the region cling to this language. Those of Baku, Kuba, and Shumakha claim that their tenure of the region dates from the time of Shalmaneser and Sargon. They persist in the use of Hebrew names of the days of the Judges, long obsolete in other regions. And all through this region, as among the Georgians, are villages called Jut-kend, or "Jewish Village," whose Judaism has disappeared. The present population is usually Tartar.[79]

The sum of all this is that at least ten different races are found mingled in these mountain strongholds. The universal human impulse of defeated peoples, runaway slaves, and political refugees to flee to the mountains explains the infusion of so many elements into the original Georgian stock. A large early Judaization of that people seems the reason of so many survivals of Judaism in these districts. It is certainly the historic basis for the assertion of 4 Esdras that "ten tribes" at the headwaters of the Euphrates, northern Armenia, in order to escape the threatening invasions from the east, wandered forth into *erets aher* (?), the hinterland (?), for refuge. It is the process which every historical observer through the centuries has had before him.

For the entire Black Sea-Caucasus region, viewed historically and ethnologically, there is, then, historic evidence that Judaism was planted among them more than two thousand years ago. Armenia put its local stamp on the imported story of the flood in the Euphratean lowlands, before the Old Testament was compiled (Genesis 8:4); and rabbinic legends of the flood have incorporated the abundant volcanic phenomena of the Armenian highland; certain proof of a literary Judaism resident in Armenia in early exilic times. No notion that any tribes have been lost is found

[79] Reclus, *Asia*, I, 78-86.

among the many Judaized mountain folk. Nor has there seemed current an ancient belief that an Anointed One must one day bring them back to Jerusalem. As in North Africa, Jerusalem does not seem to have been thought essential to their communal perpetuity. Perhaps the lack of this centralizing ideal was a factor in their eventually dropping such Judaism as they had. The notion of their historic connection with the northern kingdom seems rather persistent. While some, as we have seen, claim to be emigrants from a Khaldian colony, the prevalent tradition connects them with ancestors deported by Shalmaneser. Both traditions can be accepted by the critical historian as having real value. Such acceptance would involve no notion of lost tribes, nor require many such original captives as the beginning of proselyting communities of Jews south of the Black Sea and Caucasus. The Armenian and Georgian historians speak of a large Jewish population in the region long before the beginning of our era. It is generally agreed that they came into the mountains from the Persian province of Azerbaijan, the territory about Lake Van in Armenia and the Upper Euphrates. Such raids as those of Tigranes on Armenia, or of later Parthians, would mean many refugees. The Anatolian type which in recent years we recognize as Hurrian is occasionally in evidence, indicating refugees from such regions.

The most curious of these varied Jews are the mountain Jews of Daghestan. De Baye observes that their antiquity is immemorial. They appear in all respects like the Shîite Moslems about them, who are generally of Tartar stock. Both Jews and Moslems often shave the head; never the beard. Fishberg writes that the Daghestan Jews "diverge completely from the ethnic type of Jews in every other country. Ethnological examinations show them to be a very tall people, and fifty-seven per cent are above their average height; they are hyperbrachycephalic. No dolichocephalic individual has been reported." This is as far as possible from the Aramaean-Arab type. "These broad-faced Jews cannot be distinguished from the mountain tribes among whom they dwell, and are ethnologically a mixture of these mountain tribes with some other races, particularly the Kirghiz Mongols."[80] Taken as a group, ethnologists say that the cephalic index shows these mountain Jews to be the finest of ten races found in the Caucasus region; the Armenians, Kumyks, and Georgians come next in order.

It is recognized by modern Jewish scholars that many of the non-Jewish peoples now in the Caucasus were formerly Judaized

[80] Fishberg, p. 131.

peoples. Particularly in the case of the Lesghians, Ossetes, Khevsurs, and Svans is this acknowledged.[81] The Judaism strongly persistent in Daghestan, which seems the Talmudic Garzan, clings to the Iranic Tat dialect, but their more numerous Tat-speaking non-Jew neighbors know that their ancestors came from Persia and were of the Jewish faith; and the Tat dialect which they speak is mixed with Hebrew words, like the speech of their mountain-Jew kinsmen. They preserve some old Hebrew books. It is believed that they must be descendants of Judaized frontier-guards, sent to the Caucasus in Achaemenian times. Some Jewish scholars think Jews were in the Caucasus even earlier—before Nebuchadrezzar. Our study of the possible times when Israelite colonies could have been planted on either Greek or North Medo-Persian trade routes has shown this opinion to be well founded. The first contact of the Khazars with Judaism must have been in this region. Old Jewish place-names still remain in Mohammedan districts, and many Mohammedan families inherit old Jewish books.

But these Caucasian Jews differ widely from the European Jews in language, dress, education, activities, and moral ideals and character. They are wholly separate peoples, save in many common religious practices; and they differ widely among themselves. Georgian, Lesghian, Chechenz, Svan, and Ossete Jews are as different from one another as are the races among whom they live, and the Jews of Daghestan have nothing in common with any of them. All differ little from the other warlike mountain tribes among whom they dwell. The nominally Christian and Moslem Ossetes retain some Hebrew names for villages. The mountain Jews always side with Russians against Moslem; the Georgian Jew fights for the Georgian fatherland against the Russian. Then there are Subbotniki or Sabbatarians, who are regarded by some ethnologists as descendants of the Khazars, but whose faces are Slavonic, not Tartar, and, as already shown, seem the result of Jewish proselyting among Russians in modern times.

This immense difference from European Jews again means that the rabbinic or Talmudic Judaism has never dominated them. Perhaps we should say, a systematically educating Judaism was lacking. The Torah or Pentateuch has not become their all-inclusive secular law, as well as prescription for worship. Each mountain tribe has its own ancestral secular tradition, codes, and prejudices, and immemorial feuds and antipathies, which its Judaism does not affect. This again suggests that their Judaism is

[81] See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, article "Caucasus."

derived from a pre-exilic period, when the prophets were bitterly complaining that there was no uniform secular code, no education in the knowledge of the truth and justice and mercy of Yahu in the land. "There is no man appointed of the king to hear thee" (2 Samuel 15:3-6). We have seen that such pre-exilic type of Israel's religion could have reached this region as a result of Scythian raids, and of Josiah's alliance with the Scythians against Assyria, as early as 600 B.C., and that Sargonid deportees in Media, about Teheran, learning a Median or Tat dialect, could have been in Trans-Caucasia a century earlier. The testimony of these mountain Jews points to the latter probability.

Elkan N. Adler, travelling as a representative of modern Jewish philanthropic and mission work, emphasizes the already mentioned fact of Persian dialect among the mountain Jews. More important is their use of the Persian Jewish ritual and liturgy, as distinct from Yemenite or Sephardic or Ashkenazic. He notices their claim to Persian ancestry, and the fact that ethnologically they are not Persian.[82] But the omnipresent Jewish habit of claiming ecclesiastical ancestry to be also genealogical ancestry explains this tradition. They are proselytes, won by Judaized Persians once stationed on this frontier. There is insistence upon provenance from Fars, but the province of Fars is in the far south of Persia. There is repeatedly noticed by various writers a drift of the Persian from the south to the north. Neubauer, observing that it is certain that the Jews of Persia had a distinct ritual and literature of their own, says that the present colony in Teheran is composed mainly of Jews from the southern cities of Persia.[83] Considering the opportunities for early propagandism in northern Persia which the first part of this chapter has shown to result from Assyrian deportations, such Persian Jewish liturgy would be natural. Later in another chapter we must notice the literary evidence of early exilic missionary activity. The Book of Tobit has been mentioned, with its emphasis upon the safety of any Israelites in Media, and Josephus' statement that Ezra took care to see that their status should be confirmed by the Persian king.

Here should be noticed an important proof of the very early character of the kernel of the much re-worked Tobit. Not only does it know no Persia and Persian kings, while knowing Rages-Rai in Media, and Ecbatana or Hamdhan; but it also knows Sargon, and his original rank. For Sargon was the *bêl pihati* of the

[82] Adler, *Jews in Many Lands,* p. 173.
[83] *Jewish Quarterly Review,* October, 1895, pp. 139 ff.

province of Ashur, before succeeding Shalmaneser as king. Ideogrammatically this is EN-NAM-Ashur, which a blundering Greek-Jewish writer has simply transferred as Enemessar in the Book of Tobit. But the title tells us that Sargon as the EN.NAM. Ashur deported some Israelites ere Shalmaneser died during the siege of Samaria.[84] The theme of Tobit is a far-travelled tale. Hans Christian Anderssen has its main features in "The Travelling Companion."

The omnipresent Jewish claim to be of "pure blood," regarding all others as not such, Adler found in each ethnic type. At Petrovsk were Ashkenazi Jews who, after questioning, said that there were mountain Jews, and also Akhalcig Jews there (from Akhalcig, Georgia) and that they were "the oldest inhabitants of the country, but we don't pray with them!" Many of the independent tribes in the Caucasus had, till recent years, been Jews. Increasing Russian pressure had made their Judaism pass with their independence. As already noticed, the records of the Armenian monastery near Kutais, a provincial capital, were said to show that the Jews were paramount in that region till three or four hundred years ago.[85] Since Kutais is only a few miles from the northern Armenian border, and about sixty miles from the ancient port of Batum, on the road to the Caspian, and Batum is about one hundred miles from the ancient Greek port of Trebizond, where Xenophon's Ten Thousand reached the sea, we must correlate this record with Herodotus' statement that "circumcising Syrians" were in southern Black Sea ports and northeastern Armenia in his time, and that some swarthy colonists whom he knew in southwestern Colchis remembered that their ancestors settled there in the time of Scytho-Median-Nebuchadrezzar raids. We have also the Georgian church tradition, already cited from De Baye, that their own ecclesiastical ancestors were these same Israelite deportees, and the fact that their Bagratid dynasty recorded its claim of Davidic ancestry. The dominance of Judaism in northeastern Armenia during certain Persian and Parthian periods has been recorded, and the claim of the Jews of Daghestan, with their Iranic Tat dialect, that they were guarding the Derbent pass before the days of Alexander.

Crossing to Baku, Adler found several thousand Jews remaining jealously apart, "like so many geological strata." The Russian

[84] Tobit is regarded as given present shape in Aramaic about 350 B.C. But the main features of the story must have been fixed near 700 B.C., probably written in cuneiform at first. Earlier Mishnaic Jews called Assyrian a sacred language.

[85] Adler, pp. 175 f.

Jews, with two synagogues, were often baptized and feigned Greek orthodoxy for business ends. Then there was a small colony of Persian Jews, with no manuscript scriptures and with few books. Russians called them "mountain Hebrews." The Baku Jews told Adler that the entire village of Privolni on the sea-coast, some distance north, had recently been Judaized.[86] Later at Bokhara, with its Talmudic Jews, Adler reports that their names proved many to be Persian, while many with Persian names had removed to Merv, and some to Khiva.[87]

The Akhalcig Jews from Georgia spoke Armenian. Some Khaldi or Armenian Jews were all through the Georgian Caucasia: at Tiflis, Kutais, Shilo, and Poti: the whole district formerly being Jewish, as we have just observed.[88]

Thus in the whole group the Aramaean is non-existent. We simply have evidence of the great proselyting activity of late Yahwism and early Judaism, and its insistence that proselytes adopt the Israelite ethnic tradition. More specifically, we seem to have proof of the religious activity of the Jewish-Iranic frontier-guards placed there in Achaemenian times, since the Hebrew-Tat dialect persists. And the inability to overcome ethnic antipathies is again apparent. Opposed to each other in many ways, they are scorned by Russian Jews and nicknamed "Byky" (Oxen), while the Georgian and mountain Jews in turn scorn the Subbotniki, and consider it beneath their dignity to intermarry with them.[89]

A single feature, common to all the peoples from the southern Black Sea hinterland around to the Caucasus mountaineers, points to the planting of a pre-exilic type of Yahwism among them. Sir John Chardin recorded it two hundred and fifty years ago; later observers have recorded the same. In Georgia and northern Armenia, rude "churches" are found in almost inaccessible mountain-copses or on high ledges, unvisited for years, tenanted only by birds and beasts. The populace content themselves with a few formulae, rituals, charms, and amulets, and with bowing to these "high-place saints" from a great distance. The spirit of the "high-place" will see and acknowledge. It is the same custom that is before us in Genesis 22:4-14: the worshipper is content with standing in some distant place visible from the hill-sanctuary, saying "Yahu will see": "In the mount of Yahu it will be seen." The custom is familiar through all the Semitic world. Two hundred years after Chardin, Smith and Dwight[90] observed that Ar-

[86] Gerê tsedek: Adler, p. 181.

[87] *Ibid.*, p. 221.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[89] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, III, 628 f.

[90] *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, vol. III.

menians had many such wild-land sanctuaries, but fewer than the Greeks and Georgians, and that the only service ever held at such spots was on some festal day when visitors would kill an animal, and spend the day carousing and "eating upon the mountains" (Ezekiel 18:6, 11, 15). Some ancient sacred groves remain. The Svaneti, who still cling to some Jewish customs, have such. Seven days from Kutais in Georgia is a nominally Christian community at Kala. But no woman may enter the church nor enter the sacred Cryptomeria woods, where supernatural powers reside, and where no tree, alive or dead, has ever been cut down. Three men act as custodians of the mountain-top grove-church, taking turns at standing guard, with keys, eight hours each.[91]

Thus every essential feature of the ancient baalist high-places and grove-sanctuaries seems to persist in this region. The superstitions and general customs and phylacteric precautions of the Jewish and non-Jewish residents are the same. For the present point, we can hardly suppose that Israelites imparted all these observances to peoples that did not accept Israelite religion. We must rather conclude that the Yahwism planted there was of the pre-exilic stage, that had not yet been remoulded by the determined effort of the prophets to eliminate these ancient popular superstitions. Insist that the institutions mentioned are local native ancestral customs; then the fact remains that the Yahwism superimposed has left no indication of a protest against them. It must have been of a pre-exilic type.

[91] Mrs. Wasserman, "Free Svanetia," in *Asia,* February, 1927, p. 102.



FROM ASIA MINOR TO PERSIA

The Old Testament often names Peoples of Asia Minor, but names no towns. Hence few specific old Hebrew sites can be indicated.

The above province-names in Asia Minor are those of peoples that gave cultural and ethnic character to "Asia" in Graeco-Roman times. Earlier Old Testament narratives call all the regions north of the Lebanon area, "Hittite," though including some of the above peoples. During the Iranian irruptions that began near 700 B. C., the same area is called simply "The North Land." Cappadocia and Saparda (Sardis) are results of this Iranian invasion.

Indo-European Askae (Greek, Askenos) peoples began coming across the Bosphorus about 1900 B. C. These Phrygians, Mysians, Thracians, Bithynians, Pisidians and Khaldians (Armenians) are included in Asia Minor empire-building, though not named in the Old Testament. But all are included in "Meshech" in Ezekiel 38:2, for Lydia (Gog) then dominated all.

The Lydian-Carian area is of first importance, since David (?) and Jehoiada used Carian guards. And the Sepharad (whence the Jewish term Sephardim) were at Sardis by 600 B. C. This Lydia-Caria area included six of the seven apostolic churches of Asia, won from Jewish proselytes, and assailed in Revelation 2, 3, by Jewish inquisitors, whose judicial center was at Ephesus, according to Josephus. Yahwism must have been in Caria since Jehoiada's time, near 836 B. C.

HITTITE, HURRIAN, SUBAREAN

The region marked Hittite was the center of empire-building before the final supremacy of the Indo-Europeans who came across the Bosphorus. The dominant ethnic element in each successive empire 2700-1000 B.C. is still in question.

More than fifty important ruins have been located within the great bend of the Halys river. At present, they are nameless, save Khattu-Shash, or "Silver-City," at Boghaz-Keui. It was the last(?) great "Hittite" capital.

Mitanni was a powerful kingdom between 1500-1300 B.C.; populace chiefly Hurrian; rulers Indo-Iranic; probably of the Hyksos invasion. This kingdom may have existed 200 years earlier: but records of such fact are lacking.

The Hittite region had much Hurrian populace. The "Hittites" in Palestine in the Old Testament certainly include Hurrians pushed south by the Iranic Hyksos, and joined by others in the El-Amarna period. The Hurri are called Subari, "highlanders," or "mountain-folk," in Assyrian inscriptions. Recent discoveries show them to be the oldest culture people in Central Asia Minor, Armenia, and Persia. They dwelt in this region from ancient neolithic times, and originated the culture transmitted by later Sumerians and Semites. A red H indicates points at which the Hurrian proves to be the oldest culture-stratum.

Trade-routes unchangeable and immemorial by reason of mountains or seaports are marked in red. One route through the Median Gates runs through South Persia, entering India through the Bolan Pass. That the Persian Gulf once extended much further north is also indicated in red.

CHAPTER XII

Black Jews of India

The various black Jews of Africa, whether negroid, Agau, or Moorish, naturally suggest the Black Jews of India, the most of whom to-day are centered about Bombay and Cochin, but with small groups found along a thousand miles of coast-line, and at spots in the hinterland, and even in the Upper Punjab. The total number to-day is about twenty thousand. Jewish writers commonly speak of them as a single body and as pure-blooded Israelites, at the same time assuming that all are like the Dravidian, Tamil-speaking Jews of southwest peninsular India. The small band of Cochin Jews speak Malayālam. The main body are in the Bombay district, and speak Marathí. In each case we have peoples not distinguishable from their pagan neighbors, save by certain religious institutions and by the omnipresent Jewish claim of ethnic singularity as the explanation of these institutions.

But the cardinal weakness of the principal articles upon these Black Jews is that the writers ignore the underlying factors of ancient history, geography, and chronology, and the many languages and different races in India, with their immemorial antipathies. It is doubtful if Judaized Dravidians of the extreme south spread Judaism among hostile alien stocks in the northwest. Why not in the Ganges valley, also? But there are none. And this unhistorical method of the writers leaves them generally balancing supposed probabilities in favor of the various traditions concerning Jewish migrations to India, choosing one, and rejecting the rest; usually accepting the latest tradition of migration as the one source of Hindu Judaism. There seems a curious unwillingness to admit that Israelites could have reached India in pre-Christian times. But the currents of ancient traffic show how and when Israelites could have reached India; and this evidence is decisive over all *a priori* considerations.

We should begin by emphasizing the fact that a very high degree of culture existed both in India and in lands at the head of the Persian Gulf, in Asia Minor, and in the Mediterranean ages before there were any Aramaeans or Israelites in Palestine. In Chapter III we noticed that Assyrians and Akkadians had trade-colonies in Asia Minor and along the Mediterranean 2000 years before Solomon's time. These commercial relations should be expected to reach equally far to the east. Teakwood from

India has been recovered at Nippur from levels of 4000 B.C. along with magnesite from the island of Euboea, on the east coast of Greece. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the Israelite is not known to us as a pioneer in anything. He belongs to modern history and comes into Palestine as a new traveller in very old paths.

Direct communication between India and the western world of their time appears in the Hindu Puranas, or "Antiquities." All this ancient lore cannot be definitely dated. But as the Puranas are cited in Manu, definitely assignable to about 800 B.C., some such Aryan compiling of India's ancient lore had begun before that. The Puranas deseribe the Mountains of the Moon in Africa, and the lake-region at the head of the Nile, which they call Amara, the native name still for the district north of the Victoria Nyanza. The compilers of the Puranas knew the African people as Men of the Moon, the name still borne by the moon-gorget wearing Wa-nyamwezi, the porter-trader people on the east of the Lake region (Mwezi = "the moon"). Commercial contact between South Arabia, Africa, and India had certainly existed for more than two thousand years before Roman voyages to India began, wrote Schoff,[1] fifteen years before Sir John Marshall's discovery that ancient cities of a period 3000-4000 B.C. are buried in the valley of the Indus. India's commercial ventures to the coasts of Somaliland and South Arabia mean that Israelites trading down the Red Sea to Sheba and Cush and "the land beyond the rivers of Nubia" were in regular contact with the traders from India.

Then there is the evidence of cotton, known apparently in many regions between 40° north latitude and 40° south, long before any written records from those regions.[2] Professor A. H. Sayce in his Hibbert Lectures showed reasons for believing that cotton was shipped from India to the head of the Persian Gulf in the fourth millennium B.C. This is now confirmed by Sir John Marshall's discovery that great cities existed in the Indus Valley in that period, and that the manufacture of a fine cotton cloth was a leading industry. It made the regular robe of men, women being naked to the waist, as many Dravidian women of southwest India still are in public. Discoveries in Persia show that a uniform type of prehistoric Proto-Elamite culture reached from the head of the Persian Gulf through central and southern Persia and

[1] *Periplus*, pp. 87 ff.

[2] R. B. Handy, *The Cotton Plant*, pp. 17-26; U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1896. See also Brandes, *Ueber die antiken Namen und die geographische Verbreitung der Baumwolle in Alterthum.*

Beluchistan to India. The uniformity means a regular intercommunication overland from the Euphrates to India. Sir John Marshall has found seals in Euphratean or cuneiform art in the ancient cities of the Indus. The pioneers from the Elamite highlands who gave the initial stimulus to Egyptian development probably brought cotton with them. The recognition of the value of cotton would long precede the discovery of flax in a land like India. It is recognized that Egypt was producing a very fine cotton cloth before 1200 B.C. Movers tells us that Palestine was manufacturing cotton as early as 1500 B.C. (before the Exodus), and that Yerablous (Hierapolis) was later called Mabug and Bam-buk-e, because it was a famous "cotton town." Daremberg and Saglio[3] ignore Movers, but cite Ritter on the geographical distribution of cotton, and point out that Pliny says that the Romans made the acquaintance of cotton in Spain, whither the Phoenicians had carried it. This, of course, does not give us a date. But since the Phoenician legend is that they were driven by earthquakes, about 2750 B.C. from their trading-cities on the lower Persian Gulf, there is no reason to suppose that their ancient cotton-trade was terminated by their change of base. The general spread of Indian cotton in this region is enough to remind us that regular trade with India existed ages before the Israelite was in Palestine. The Israelite adventurer could reach India as soon as he cared to accompany the old Hebrew-Phoenician trading population of Palestine upon their commercial journeys along their ancestral routes.

For the historic western world there were but two roads to India: one through the northwest passes from Bactra-Balkh, and one by the Red Sea; that is, the coastal route whose termini were in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. In Chapter V was presented the intimate knowledge shown in the Old Testament of the coastal route as far as the Gulf of Oman, a distance of nearly three thousand miles from Jerusalem. From that corner of Arabia it is about six hundred miles to the delta of the Indus; and India's commercial relations with the Persian Gulf peoples two thousand years before any Israelite traders reached them was shown above. In Chapter XI the overland route was detailed, since it was of first importance in the spread of Judaism and Christianity to the East.[4] In that chapter our special interest was to know when Israel could have reached the ancient Black Sea trade route to Bactra, which

[3] *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romanes, s. v.* Carpasus.

[4] See also H. G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World,* Cambridge, 1926, Chap. I.

Greek colonies had occupied. The route overland from Palestine through northern Media to Bactra-Balkh was immemorial. The obelisk of the Assyrian Shalmaneser III, 860 B.C., pictures apes, Indian (small-eared) elephants, and Bactrian camels. The domestic fowl, which originated in India, seems portrayed on one relief of Sennacherib, about 700 B.C. Another appears on some Babylonian gems of the time of Nabu-naid about 500 B.C. But the Hebrew has accepted the name *tarnegol,* considered by recent scholars to be the Sumerian *dar-lugal,* "king's bird." There is no known difficulty about ancient Sumerians being acquainted with the cock, since their trade reached India near 4000 B.C.; but we lack evidence that they brought the cock to Palestine. Their *dar-lugal* may have been the Persian pheasant, confused with both the cock and peacock in the mediaeval custom of swearing by the pheasant. Several seals of the Persian period show the cock. But brought by the Black Sea route, the cock was in Asia Minor as early as 750 B.C.[5] Thus regular commerce over this northern line existed long before the Persian period. When Cyrus and Darius seized the northwest of India they did not create a trade or open a route; they merely got control of one, as one power after another had done for thousands of years. The Aryans who had swept into northwest India through those same passes four centuries before the Persians were but an earlier wave of the same race, the Pahlavi language being close to the Sanskrit. The Israelites who had been placed in "the cities of the Medes" (2 Kings 17:6) south of the Caspian were on this trade route, and could have been in India two centuries before Darius.

But under Darius Jews of Persia had another road to India from Babylonia, the ancient Proto-Elamite road through South Persia via Lake Helmund, the region of Persian hero-legends, such as that of Sohrab and Rustum. Ctesias collected in Persia legends of the conquest of Bactria, 2180 B.C., by "Ninus." These have been dismissed as baseless. But NIN is an ancient Sumerian title, oft recurring in proper names, and we have to dismiss our skepticism about ancient culture in prehistoric Persia and India, since discovering the extensive and highly developed civilization in the valley of the Indus, and the proofs of its commercial relations with the Sumerians of the lower Euphrates before 3000 B.C.[6] It

[5] See Peters, "The Cock," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* 1913, pp. 363-96.

[6] Sir John Marshall, in *Illustrated London News,* October 4, 1924; February 27 and March 3, 1926, January 7 and 14, 1928.

had a pictographic writing, much resembling Sumerian characters. Then the newly discovered culture and architecture of the Persian tableland,[7] later than the Proto-Elamite, seems also as old as the Sumerian. So ancient well-established trade routes through Fars or South Persia and through Seistan existed thousands of years before Medo-Persian days, and communications were later broken by the irruption of northern nomads,—perhaps by the Aryans when they burst into India. So any Yahwism in the Euphrates lowlands could have gone eastward by that ancient South Persia route when Darius controlled it. Perhaps by that route travelled the influence of ancient Nippur, which some scholars trace clear across Siberia, estimating the age of Nippur from 10,000 B.C. In sum, we are not in a position to dispute claims that some Yahwism traveled overland to India at a very early date.

Now there are two important facts to consider, that take the Israelite into India. The first is the regular use of a North India citron in the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles, and its incorporation into the Hebrew text of Leviticus somewhere between the time of the Persian grand scribe Ezra, and the time when Alexander Jannaeus was pelted with citrons.[8] The *hadad,* or pomegranate tree, of Zechariah 12:11, so prominent in the decorations and priest-robes in Solomon's temple, is a *hadas,* or myrtle, in Nehemiah 8:15, but has become *hadar* in Leviticus 23:40. The rabbins explain it as the *ethrog,* kedrat, or "Persian citron"; larger than the lemon, rough, acid, many-seeded, very aromatic. It is generally credited to the foothills of northern India,[9] though some think it came from Cochin China to India. The immediate point is that the Aramaic-speaking Jews of North India must have adopted this India fruit and its lore, and made it authoritative for western Jews. Dr. Wilfred H. Schoff of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, writes that it was not generally known among the Greeks, but appears in Theophrastus as the Persian citron. The Persian name *turunj* is a loan word from the Sanskrit; which fact, Schoff observes, supports the botanical evidence of its origin in the foothills of the Himalayas. Jews of India must have adopted it on their own initiative, with the Sanskrit name that appears also in the Persian.

But whence is the name *kedrat,* suggesting the Greek *kedros,* "Cedar"; and what is the word *hadar*? "The ethrog is the fruit

[7] Herzfeld, *Illustrated London News,* November 19, 1927.
[8] In Josephus, *Antiquities,* XIII, xiii, 5.
[9] Sir Joseph Hooker, *Flora of British India,* I, 514.

of Hadar," writes Benjamin II. The reverence for the cedar, so prominent in the Old Testament, is familiar also in India. The Jew found the giant sacred cedar of the Himalayas everywhere revered. It was the *deo-dar,* or "god's tree," the tree of the gods. So in Palestine, we have *arzê-el,* "Cedars of God," in Psalm 80:11. Assyria also reverenced the "cedar of God"; it enters into cuneiform liturgy and its cone is shown in reliefs portraying worship. It seems that the later Jew was content to say "the tree," *ha-dar: dar* being the Sanskrit word for tree. Since the Greeks called the ethrog *kitria* and the cedar-cone *kedris,* and the Arabs of Morocco use *kitrân* as the name for the pitch they export, which they obtain from the juniper of the Atlas Mountains,[10] the identity of names has contributed to the confusion; and *kedrat* remains one Jewish name for the ethrog. Other reasons for putting the ethrog in the place of the old Phoenician-Hebrew cedar and pomegranate need not be detailed here. Both the giant deo-dar and the citron were from the slopes of the Himalayas, and their presence in Levitical ritual proves that the Jews were already in India.

The second important fact is that all the modern Indian alphabets are derived from the Phoenician-Hebrew characters. But the early Indian alphabets of the northwest, developing eventually into the Kharoshthi script, begin with a type of Aramaic script current in Syria in the sixth century B.C. It was in India before Darius. The Aramaic language also was there. Sir John Marshall found an Aramaic inscription at Taxila, the ancient capital of the Scytho-Parthian kingdom in the Punjab. From its provenance, he assigned it to the fifth century B.C. It is older than Nehemiah and Ezra.[11] And Le Coq and Stein have found that Aramaic writing was travelling the caravan roads from northwest India through Chinese Turkestan to China, in the following centuries. Three centuries were required to change this Aramaic script into the Kharoshthi character.

But the Kharoshthi script did not remain in India, though it became fully developed in Chinese Turkestan. The Kushan empire, in the third century of our era, and various Central Asian languages adapted it in turn. It was displaced by another older script, developed in South India from Phoenician-Hebrew script of the ninth century B.C. of the type familiar through the Moabite

[10] Jackson, *Morocco,* Philadelphia, 1810.

[11] Sir John Marshall, "Where Greeks Once Ruled in India: Excavations at Taxila," in *The Illustrated London News,* November 11, 1922, pp. 754-758, 782. A picture of the Aramaic tablet is given. See A. Cowley, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society,* 1915, p. 346.

stone of King Mesha, about 850 B.C. This Phoenician character came by sea to South India and Ceylon. In that region it was adapted in time into the Brahmî, the parent of all modern Indian alphabets. Again it must be emphasized that this ninth-century adoption of the Phoenician-Hebrew alphabet in southern India does not mean the beginning of contact. We saw in Chapter IV that the earlier form of the Phoenician-Hebrew language reached the coasts of Palestine nearly two thousand years earlier,—its speakers claiming to have been driven from their trading-posts in the lower Persian Gulf by earthquakes. Their commercial relations with India must have persisted through the centuries. It was not till the ninth century B.C. that they had a script which the Dravidian peoples of India thought preferable to any developed from the Indus Valley script of Sir John Marshall's discoveries.

Still more striking is the fact that this same earlier Hebrew-Phoenician alphabet has produced the alphabets throughout Malaysia. In contrast with the open-loop letters which we call Aramaic, originating about 650 B.C., the Batak letters

"must be compared almost continuously with the Phoenician alphabet of exactly the seventh century B.C. . . . The alphabet of the Bataks proves by its forms, which are positively not Aramaean, but a transition stage between Phoenician and Aramaean, that the period of its transference was between the beginning and the end of the seventh century B.C., and we can therefore extend the geographical limits of the Phoenician alphabet to the Indian archipelago."[12]

Thus for South India, we see that the Phoenician-Palestinian alphabet was being adopted there at the time when the Omri dynasty was keeping Israel in close alliance with Sidon (1 Kings 16:31), and when Sidon was planting colonies on the Tripoli coast, as we noted in the last chapter; at the time when Tyrian expansion was founding Carthage, and the Assyrian conquerors Ashur-natsirpal III, Shalmaneser II, Shamshi-Adad IV, and Adad-nirari III were making independent Phoenician trade through the Persian Gulf impossible. Phoenicia had to keep Israel as an ally and go to India through the Red Sea. Will any one contend that no Israelites through all those years could possibly have gone to India with their Phoenician political-commercial allies? And we have seen that two centuries after this the later type of Phoeni-

[12] E. E. W. Gs. Schroeder, "A Phoenician Alphabet on Sumatra," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* March, 1927, pp. 32, 35.

cian-Palestinian alphabet was spreading in the Malay archipelago, challenging us with the same query. We seem compelled to concede very early and influential peaceful colonies in South India, since the script which Israel and the Phoenicians used was accepted as more satisfactory than any local script that might have been developed from the picture-writing that existed in the Indus valley three thousand years earlier.

Then South India confronts us with corroborating ethnological facts. In his *Castes and Tribes of Southern India,* Edgar Thurston devotes forty-six pages to the Mappillas. These are spread from the region of the ancient Jewish colony at Cranganore southward through Malabar. They are especially numerous in some recesses of the foothills. In some of these districts they outnumbered the native Dravidian population a century ago. All agree that they are the descendants of foreigners who intermarried with native women, and that their number is being continually increased by the conversion of Hindus of the slave castes, who find their social position much bettered by accepting this foreign cult. Any recent census discovers some who acknowledge that they are recent converts. To-day the Mappillas are nearly all Mohammedan. But an extensive Mohammedan movement into South India did not begin till the ninth century, and the Mappillas were there long before. The present Moslem Mappillas agree that there has been much forcible conversion of the Mappillas to Islam. With this familiar Moslem procedure we must connect the total disappearance of some Jewish Hindu communities that were very strong four centuries ago.

The community at Cranganore numbered about eighty thousand in 1524, when jealous Moslems assailed it, slew many, burned many houses and synagogues, and captured many slaves. From this reverse Cranganore never recovered, and at last totally disappeared.

One feature of Mappilla social life is the persistence of what Semitists call *beena* marriage, and the custom of inheritance through the female line. In this system the wife does not become a member of her husband's family. She continues to reside with her own. Ancient Semitic traders who wished for native protector-patrons naturally allied themselves in this way to Dravidian families where possible. The Koran and general Malabar custom emphasizes father-to-son inheritance. But even where this is accepted, as by the Mappillas of southern Malabar, seldom does a man take his wife to his own home. In some parts, he is merely a visitor for the night, as in Judges 15:1f.

Dr. Burnell and other modern scholars in ancient Dravidian matters recognize that the "heathen Arabs were there [in the Cochin and Malabar regions] long before [Moslem times] in consequence of the immense trade conducted by the Sabaeans with India." But this takes us at once to the days when Jeremiah and Ezekiel pictured the capture of the Sabaean caravan-trade as a preeminent allurement for post-exilic Israel: a fact we noticed in Chapter V. It takes us to the century when the Phoenician alphabet was planted in the Malay archipelago, as shown by Schroeder above. We have to recognize that Palestinians are travelling with the Sabaeans acknowledged by Dr. Burnell: and we have to deal with the fact of an acknowledged and long-continued infusion of Yemenite elements into Cochin and Malabar Judaism. It is a flagrant vice of most writing about the entrance of Judaism into South India that it ignores the fact that Yahwist traders certainly accompanied their commercial allies on any of the trade routes of the ancient world. We cannot admit the presence of Phoenician and Sabaean and Yemenite traders in South India twenty-five hundred years ago, yet assert that Yahu-worshipping traders would not have accompanied them.

As for the name Mappilla (Thurston's spelling) various explanations have been offered. Lewis Moore, Burnell, and Yule think it a Malabar word for "son-in-law," which leaves the epithet pointless. Some think it Maha-pilla: it is so written by English students of South India a hundred and twenty-five years ago. This is explained as "great child," or "Chief son," an honorary title still occasionally conferred by Malabar officials. But there is no historic evidence that the Maha-pillas were ever a preëminent caste. Another suggestion is that the Semitic immigrants called themselves *muflih* from *falaha* "to plough," and that *muflih* became *moplah*, then *mapilla*. But Semitic traders would not have paraded themselves as "ploughmen." Lieutenant McLean in *Asiatic Researches* a hundred and thirty years ago gives the reasonable explanation. *Mahai* was then the familiar Malabar name of Mocha, the chief port of Yemen. Mahai-pilla meant "Mocha-children," "Yemen people." The historic data support that. There is the historic fact that the older Maha-pillas were the Judaized Hindus. As noticed by Jonathan Duncan and F. Wrede in *Asiatic Researches,* Christians of St. Thomas were distinguished as "Nasarânee Mapilla" or "Suriânee (Syrian) Mapilla." The far later Moslems became "Jonaga Mapilla." It suggests that Christianity followed in the wake of Judaism, and the

Maha-pillas that it won received the qualifying adjective "Nazarene" or "Syrian."

The above facts add greatly to the significance of the presence of Indian words in the Old Testament. Much literary analysis and textual criticism has proceeded upon the theory that Palestinian peoples could not have known India before Greek or Roman times.[13] Ophir, ivory, apes, and peacocks, and almug or algum trees have even been made post-Christian additions to Solomon's voyages. But Evans pictures peacock-plumes as Minoan royal insignia before Solomon's time, Tarshish-Minoans reached India.[13a]

Ophir, once compared with the *Abhirae* of the Indus delta, is Sophara and Sophêra in the Septuagint. The Hebrew text of Genesis 10:30 has "from Meshâ as you go toward Sephārā, a mountain of the east," which the Septuagint renders "from Massê till you reach Sophêrá [or Sophârá], a mountain of the east." This describes South Arabian colonies along the ocean-coast; to India(?). Jerome, about 400 A.D., on Solomon's expedition, calls the land "Sophêra, which is also Sophir: it is a mountain of the east reaching to India." So he saw Ophir meant in Genesis 10:30, and knew that Sophir was eastward from the Arabian coast. Eupolemus, an obscure writer of the second century B.C., cited by Eusebius, says that David sent ships with metal-workers from Elanoi, a city of Arabia, to Ouphrê, an island in the Erythraean Sea, to bring gold. Bochart recognized Ouphrê as Ophir. Since the Erythraean Sea in Greek writings meant the whole Indian Ocean, especially the eastern part, the "island" suggests the peninsula of India. Josephus, on Genesis 10:30, says: "These [Arabians] dwelt from the Kophen River of India, and part of Aria [Arya] adjoining it"; while of Solomon's Ophir he writes: "Sopheira, now called the Golden Land of India."[14]

The general ancient identification of Ophir with the Sephārā of Genesis 10:30, east of South Arabian coast-colonies, is significant. For the Coptic name for India, Sophir, has been declared the original of the Septuagint Sophārā; and others, reversing, declared the Coptic Sophir to be very late, the copying of a Greek copyist's blunder. Both ignored the Genesis passage and the fact that its Sophārā was once the center of South India trade. The epithet "Golden Land" applied to it may be compared with the

[13] See Walter Eugene Clark, "The Sandalwood and Peacocks of Ophir," in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature,* January, 1920, pp. 103-19. He presents an excellent summary of the text-critical objections, all proceeding from baseless historical assumptions.

[13a] *Palace of Minos,* II, 773-77.

[14] *Antiquities,* I, vi, 4; VIII, vi, 4.

Cote d'Or of France. Sophir, the Coptic name for South India, is the Suppara of the *Periplous,* now Sopara, twenty-five miles north of Bombay. From about 1500 B.C. to 1300 A.D. it was the commercial capital of the Konkan. It is named in the Mahabharata, as Sur-paraka, "Hero's trial," referring to Parshuram's conquest of the Konkan. So mighty and holy was its renown in India that Buddhist writers thought it important to declare that Siddartha or Gautama in an earlier incarnation was a Bodhisattva of Shurparaka. The legend of Purna in the early Christian centuries made it a royal capital of several hundred thousand inhabitants. It had eighteen gates; and carved sandal-wood friezes adorned its temples. A great mercantile guild governed the city,—the same system already noticed in the Assyrian trade-posts in Cappadocia. It will be seen in the contemporary colonies of the Cochin Jews.[15]

As the greatest commercial center on the Indian Ocean or Erythraean Sea, it seems impossible that through the centuries of its preëminence it could ever have faded for a time from Jewish mercantile tradition. The transformation of Supara of the *Periplous* and Genesis, the Sophir of the Coptic, into Ouppara in Ptolemy, and Ophir in the Old Testament is due to Iranic influence upon Old Testament compilers. It is admitted that the compilation of Kings is exilic or post-exilic. The Persian changes the initial *s* of the Sanskrit into *h*: the name *Sîndhu,* "sea," becomes Persian *Hindhu*: and the Greek gives us "Indus" and "India." But in Egypt Hellenist Jews found that the ancient Coptic population, whose trade with India was older than Israel, had never lost the initial *s*: so *Sophir,* as the current colloquial name, was placed in the Septuagint translation. It was the natural term among Israelites in Egypt, whose colonies there, as noticed in Chapter IX, were older than Isaiah's time. There is no reason to believe that the Coptic culture had ever so forgotten India in any period that it in later times applied to it a name that it had originally used for a different land. The Coptic *Sophir* for South India has, therefore, to be accepted.[16]

[15] Schoff, *Periplus,* p. 197; Mrs. S. Ghosal, "The Buddhist Relic Mound at Sopara," in *Records of the Past,* October, 1903.

[16] Glaser, *Skizze,* pp. 347-88, locates ten ancient gold fields in southeastern Arabia, and argues that these supplied Solomon's gold. Twenty more fields in other lands could have supplied some, without any explaining of the actual words Suppara-Sophir-Ophir. The total absence from the Old Testament of any place-names in the interior of Arabia was noticed in Chapter V. Israelite adventurers have left no record of their frequenting Glaser's fields. Israelite commercial activity continued in its eastern dispersion as

Further, the term for ivory in 1 Kings 10:27 is *shen habbîm*, "elephants' teeth." But this is a translation of the Sanskrit *ibha-danta.* Its use is the more significant because the elephant existed in the Euphratean regions almost to the Christian era. Assyrian and Egyptian monarchs boast of their hunting them. Ivory is thus several times mentioned in the Old Testament; but only in Solomon's voyage are the teeth specifically derived from the Indian *abhi.* The Assyro-Sumerian shows the route by which the name came to Palestine, thinks Jensen: *shin-* A.AB.BA., in which the ideogram for "sea" is not intended, but the Sumerian adaptation of *âbhi.* In the El-Amarna Letters and in Assyrian, the elephant of Asia Minor is *piru* and *biru;* not the *habbîm* of this Hebrew passage.[17] This name *piru* is also found as *pilu,* Aramaic *pil.* So there is a general Semitic term *pil,* and *fil;* the latter being the universal Arabic word to-day. That the Hebrew text uses a non-Semitic term for ivory is fatal to the effort to get Solomon's ivory through any Semitic people. Then the Indian (small-eared) elephant and bear are portrayed on the tomb of Rekh-mara at Thebes, of the time of Thothmes III.[18] This shows commercial relations between India and Egypt five hundred years before Solomon's time. Again, Frankfort, in his *Studies of Early Pottery in the Near East* (pp. 138-42), has shown that sea-traffic with the Red Sea coast of Egypt was maintained by Babylonia more than two thousand years earlier, before the close of the predynastic period in Egypt. Egyptologists have for some years past recognized the same commerce with the Far East. The original special cultural stimulus in the Thebaid is recognized to have come in early times from Persian highlands by that same sea-route. The daring predynastic Egyptian navigators were but maintaining the traditions of their provenance. India always had such commercial links with the Red Sea. Was the Egyptian name for elephant, *ebu, yeb,* brought in by such ancient immigrants who knew the name *abhî* in India, adopted ages later by the Aryan invaders? The Egyptian does not use any known Bantu or Libyan name for the elephant.

in its Palestinian times. That all widely dispersed Israel suddenly and unanimously agreed to apply the old names Ophir-Sophir to a new land asks too much of our credulity. A certain continuity of tradition is inseparable from continuity of commerce.

[17] But as this is the only occurrence of the word in the Old Testament, is it not possible that an *r* has been omitted from an actual *hab-birim?*

[18] Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romanes,* II, i, 536 ff.; Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians,* Rekhmara.

The Egyptian sources of ivory are important here, for the modern scholarly obsession that Israelites could not have gone far from Palestine has produced a theory that Solomon's ivory came from Somaliland. There is simply no evidence for it. Nubia and Wawat are regular sources of ivory in the Egyptian texts, specially mentioned by Pepi II, of the sixth dynasty. Second to them is Libya. Thothmes III reports receiving seven hundred tusks from Tehenu (Tripoli-Tunis). Third was northern Syria or Rutennu. We are told that Thothmes III received eighteen (twenty-six?) tusks as part of the tribute one year, and that he killed a hundred and twenty elephants as his army came south from the Euphrates. Only once do we hear of a little ivory from Punt—and then Queen Hatshepsut makes no boast of the amount. This is the more notable because seventeen times in fifteen hundred years Egyptian records refer to Punt,—sometimes speaking of "making a highway to an unvisited land," or "when its myrrh-terraces had not been visited by Egyptians," or "when Punt and the fields of sycamore-wood had not been closed up." There was no regular communication with Punt. The passages tell much, as noticed in Chapter IV, of various choice woods from Punt, but of no ivory.[19] Its arid reaches are not favored by the elephant. Greek traders in time of the Axum kingdom got their supply from the Upper Nile *via* Axum to Adulis on the Red Sea, near the modern Massowah.[20]

Further, Solomon's close relations (probably vassal) with the Libyan kings of Egypt should have brought him ivory from Libya or Nubia, but on exorbitant terms. His partnership with Phoenicia was to reach a cheaper supply. Ivory, apes, and peacocks direct from South India avoided the mulcting by royal middle-men.[21]

[19] Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt:* Nubia, I, 369; Libya, II, 321; Syria, 588, 525; Punt, II, 265 f.; Nubia, Rameses II, III, 475.

[20] Dillman, *Die Anfänge des Axumitischen Reiches.*

[21] It has been objected that the Septuagint omits the "ivory, apes, and peacocks" of 1 Kings 10:22, the translators assuming that Hebrew compilers had tried to extend Solomon's ventures far beyond what was possible in his time. The objection is doubly unsound. It was shown in Chapter IV that Israelites settled among a Hebrew-Phoenician-speaking people who had culturally dominated Palestine for nearly two thousand years before Solomon's time, and that Israelite commerce was inevitably coterminous with the Hebrew-Phoenician. Second, an argument from the Septuagint text reverses the theory that the translators "intelligently reduced" the claim of the Hebrew text. The fact is that the translators had a disordered text. In Chapter 9 they jump from verse 14 to 26. In Chapter 10, beginning in 22, they insert some of the matter omitted from Chapter 9, omitting some, and failing to recognize old place-names like Hazor, Megiddo, Tamar. The countries Kuē and Mutsri in Asia Minor they do not understand; one they

Then Solomon has *algum* or *almug* trees (1 Kings 10-11 ff., 2 Chronicles 9:10) made into pilasters for the temple. Semitists compare the *elammaku*-wood of the cuneiform. Scholars generally consider this the red sandal-wood of India. The scholars of India recognize the Tamil *valgu,* Malabar *valgum,* which was borrowed by Sanskrit as *valgu.*[22]

The apes of Solomon (1 Kings 10:22), *kophi,* is the Sanskrit *kapi,* a word probably brought to the Thebaid by early immigrants from the east, and remaining as the Egyptian *kafu.* His peacocks, *tuki-im* are the Tamil *tokei,* Sanskrit *sikhi,* showing specifically that it was South India from which Solomon's traders brought peacocks. The Sanskrit *ibha* for elephant became the Egyptian *ebu, yeb,* Italian *ebur,* "ivory"; and with an Arabic article *el ibha* became the Greek *elephas,* "elephant"; more exactly *al-ibha-danta* "the elephant's teeth" is the form that was slurred into *elephantos, elephantidai.*[23]

make "Tekoah," the other "Egypt." Semitic scholars will hardly accept the evidence of their mangled and misunderstood text against the Masoretic.

[22] The Dravidian culture in South India was far older than the Aryan settlement in North India, and, as we have seen, eventually imposed its Brahmi script on the northern Sanskrit-speakers. When the same name for a local product is found in both Dravidian and Sanskrit, the presumption is in favor of the latter having borrowed from the former. Dr. Schoff suggests that *algum* is a garbling of the Arabic *al mugraton,* Greek *mokroton* of the *Periplous;* one of the many fragrant woods which the Egyptian records show us in Somaliland. He further suggests that some tree from Lebanon was called *almug,* and that this tree used in building was confused with the one used as frankincense, and that Solomon planted the trees on the temple-"terraces" in Egyptian style. Was this the Phoenician Hiram's scheme? I do not know the reasons for these suggestions. No algum or almug tree has been reported from Lebanon.

[23] Rawlinson suggests that *aleph,* the word for "ox" in the Old Testament may also mean "elephant" in some passages. The above etymology has never been very satisfactory to the majority of scholars. It has commercial facts against it. The term *elephas, elephantos* in Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar means ivory only: there is no mention of the animal itself. But it was necessarily familiar to all the old Minoan-Aegaean culture, for the old land-bridge from Africa to Italy swarmed with elephants and hippopotami, as bone-caverns of Malta and Sicily have shown. This land-bridge was the legendary Atlantis, which later times located beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. Plato (*Critias* 1104) says that Atlantis abounded in elephants. In Homeric times the animal was plentiful in northern Syria and Asia Minor, in Sicily, and in Lucania, the extreme south of Italy,—whence the Roman name, *bos Lucas,* "Lucanian ox." It was still abundant in Libyan North Africa, and is shown on the coins of Carthage. Philostorgius, who died after 425 A.D., says that it was extinct in his time. So the Minoan-Aegaean culture-folk had the sources of ivory all about them, and their word for it must have been of local origin. In view of its legendary association with Atlantis, *elephantos, elephanteios,* may have been *eleph Antai,* "the Libyan ox." The legend of Antaios declares him to have been a monster or giant of Libya, who fought all strangers, and erected a temple to

Rice is the Tamil *arisa*, Arab *aruz*, Greek *orudza.* Aloes, the Hebrew *ahal*, is Tamil *aghal.* Cinnamon, Greek *karppion*, is the Tamil *karppu*. The Tamil *inchiver* becomes Greek *zinggiber*, "ginger." The Tamil *pippali* becomes the Greek *peperi*, "pepper."[24]

The preëminence of South India in this current of ancient trade is clearly marked. The Hebrew-Phoenician trade was not going overland *via* Bactra-Balkh through the northwest passes. There is no present proof that it went through the Persian Gulf.[24a] As shown in the chapter on "The Great Schism," relations with the peoples about the head of the Red Sea were of first importance for Phoenician trade. Israel and Judah were more significant in this respect than currently supposed. The fact that "India," "Ethiopia," "Yemen," Himyarites, Abyssinians are confused by some early Christian writers[25] means that any country on the "Red Sea" was "India" (Sea-Land) for them. "Erythrean Sea" originally meant the Indian Ocean, especially south of Persia.[26] This

Poseidon of their bones. He lost his strength when off the earth. In Greek times a temple was erected to him in Upper Egypt, fifteen miles southeast of Asyut; the town was called Antaiopolis. Now four facts are to be considered: (1) The temple for Antai in Libya was made of bones. (2) Arnobius, who grew to manhood before abandoning Libyan paganism, says that he worshipped pictures (reliefs), ancient rag-hung trees, stones anointed with oil, and the bones of elephants. (3) This worshipping monster fossil bones is found among American Indians and other backward peoples to-day. (4) In China, among various Siberian tribes, among the Esquimaux of North America, and by some South American Indians, buried mammoths and monster skeletons are explained as animals that live in the ground and die as soon as they come out, or even sniff the air. So the legend of Antai seems to present this folk-fancy and the bone-worship acknowledged by Arnobius. Antai must have been an old Libyan name for the area submerged in the Egyptian tradition of Atlantis, as Plato transcribed it. The "bone-temples" of Antaeus, by the seaside are the bone-caverns where savage superstition long ago made offerings to the Mighty Dead. Phoenician immigrants dubbed the elephant *eleph Antai*, "ox of Antai." Upon submitting this suggestion to Dr. Schoff he at once wrote that he much preferred it to the *el-ibha-danta* conjecture, or to Pott's *eleph Hindi*, "Indian Ox." Sanskrit-speakers were not in India till long after the Trojan wars, and a Sanskrit term could not be expected in Homer. But it should be remembered that this question of etymology does not touch the question of Solomon's *shen habbim.*

These considerations stand, independent of any etymology of the name Atlantis. But it may be noticed that *ákal* is the southern Tuareg word for land or country, as reported by Barth (749, 752); northern dialects have *átal.* Plato's Atlantis may have been *átal Antai*, "the land of Antai."

[24] Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 ff.

[24a] Rawlinson follows Bent in his theory that the ancient tombs on the Bahrein Islands in the Gulf are old Phoenician. It is generally recognized now that they are ancient Babylonian, Akkadian.

[25] See A. Mingana, "The Early Spread of Christianity," in *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, July, 1926.

[26] Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 50.

fact, not considered by Dr. Mingana, led some poorly informed Christian writers into confusing a country on the east of the Indian Ocean with any at the lower end of what we call the Red Sea. The vital fact is that these writers are thinking of the Red Sea as the road to India.

With the certainty that Israelite traders must have reached South India by the ninth century B.C., and with Aramaic language and script establishing itself in northwest India three centuries later, we have the question of the relative vitality and aggressiveness of any Yahwism or Judaism planted in the two regions. Why should the later exilic type disappear from the Punjab, while that in South India survived? That Jews were in Persian India and living there in full enjoyment of the ancient *zakku* status, not conforming to Persian laws, is maintained by the Book of Esther. Considering it of Maccabean date,[27] it still means that in Seleucid times there were such colonies in the Punjab, from whose northern borders the Jews secured the ethrog. That Darius made the Indus Valley his 20th satrapy and the northwest provinces the 7th is familiar. The 127 of Esther 1:1; 8:9 may be some copyist's blunder for "from India, his 20th and 7th provinces even unto Cush." Herodotus tells of Darius transporting the Greek garrison of Daphnae from Egypt to Bactria, which would include the Jews who had made that garrison their refuge. And when the Greek-Libyan colony of Barca in Cyrene was stormed, its inhabitants also were moved to Bactria. Wolff's reporting Jewish mountaineers in Badakhshan, the frontier provinces east of Bactria, was noticed in Chapter II. This correlates with Josephus' statement that the Jews were in the Median territory, south of the Caspian, on the highroad to Balkh, in Ezra's time, and that Ezra wrote them that their privileged status was assured,[28] and that Alexander confirmed ancient privileges. Still more emphatic is Josephus' statement that the Samaritans with whom Zerubbabel would not coöperate claimed to be related to the Persians: again he says that they were nothing but a colony of Medes and Persians.[29] The Samaritan Chronicles make a like claim; thirty thousand Israelites with three hundred thousand proselytes returned from Persia at that time, leaving thirty-seven thousand in Persia.[30] Both fac-

[27] See Haupt, *Purim*.

[28] *Antiquities,* XI, v, 2; viii, 6. As to the Barcans being deported to Bactria, the term included much of what we call Afghanistan. The fact must come before us again.

[29] *Antiquities,* XI, iv, 9; XII, v, 5.

[30] Cf. Gaster, *The Samaritans,* pp. 34 f. This will be considered more fully in a later chapter.

tions, therefore, agree that there was a great body of Jewish proselytes in 520 B.C., and their reaching India was as certain as their reaching Palestine. Thus Jewish traders variously attested were without doubt well established at certain points in northwestern India. Also, when Darius sent Scylax by sea from the Indus to Suez, to view the trade possibilities,[31] were any more apt to aid the royal "peddler" as his subjects called him, than the Jews who used that sea route?

The disappearance of Judaism from northwestern India is connected with the early Christian church's primary appeal to Jewish proselytes, and with the disappearance of Christianity from the same region. Alexander the Great did not hold India. Within a few years after his death Eudamus formally evacuated it, 317 B.C. But many Greek soldiers and colonists remained, intermarrying with the natives. There were Yavanas in Indian states for a long time, reaching even into South India. The Andhra Queen Balashri in 144 A.D. announces that she "has rooted the Yavanas out of the Dekkan forever."[32] For three hundred and fifty years they had been an element in southern trading ports. Seleucus Nicator, 312-280 B.C., undertook to reconquer the territory abandoned by Eudamus, but was defeated by Chandra Gupta. In 302 he sent Megasthenes, his representative at the court of Arachosia, the modern Beluchistan, to the court of Chandra Gupta. He found Chandra Gupta with a Greek wife and a Hellenized court. Greek dancing-girls were in favor. Greek envoys from the Seleucid court cultivated amicable relations. A throng of foreign merchants were there, chiefly Greek citizens from Syria and Alexandria. In view of the status conceded Jewish colonies by both Seleucids and Ptolemies, this meant a considerable proportion of Jewish Greek citizens.[33] The Aramaic script and language, as we have seen, came into that region three hundred years earlier, and its Kharoshthi descendant was growing. The Hellenic governor of Bactria, Diodotus, about 250 B.C. proclaimed himself independent of the Seleucids, and Parthia did likewise. Antiochus III, in 208 B.C., tried to subdue the Bactrian-Greek kingdom, but failed, and gave the Bactrian ruler Euthydemus a Seleucid princess in marriage.[34] Some twenty years later Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, conquered Ariana, north of Bactria, and then turning south across the Paropamisus,[35] he sub-

[31] Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
[32] Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
[33] Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 63, 71.
[34] Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
[35] Paru-paraesana of the Behistun inscription of Darius I.

dued western India to the mouth of the Indus, including Kathiawar and Surat, establishing his capital probably where Sialkote now is. He extended eastward through Badakhshan and to what is now Chinese Turkestan. All this meant control of trade, especially the silk-trade; and it meant that the great royal center of trade was now northwestern India rather than Bactra-Balkh. The merchants of Alexandria, Greek and Jewish, were attracted more than ever. But about 160 B.C. the Scythian Sakae from Sogdiana seized Bactra from the Greeks and Parthians. The sea route became still more important. Greeks in the northwest of India became involved in wars for control. That meant further disadvantages for the Balkh caravan-route. Of the warring princes, Menander succeeded in establishing himself on the throne of Sagala-Sialkote about 155 B.C. He endeavored to extend the Greek domination eastward from the Punjab, but the Sakae, pushed south by the Yüeh-chi invading Bactria, crossed the Helmund river into South Persia, were joined by allied Parthian or Pahlavi tribes, and entered India from the west through the Bolan Pass. The lost Iranic language of the Sakai is one of those recovered in the epochal excavations at Khocho, in Chinese Turkestan. The language is decisive evidence that they were an Iranic, not a Mongol, people. But the *Periplous* speaks of the southeastern part of Persia, which they occupied, as "Scythia."[36] "Scythians" were Iranic peoples, for this writer. He also calls them "another kingdom of the Persidae" or Persic peoples. From this Sakae-Parthian invasion of India there resulted the Indo-Parthian or Scytho-Parthian kingdom, from about 125 B.C. till near 50 A.D. But these wars and emigrations across the Bactrian road for nearly a century meant concentration of western traffic on the unmolested sea-route.

So under the flourishing Scytho-Parthian dynasty, in the time of Augustus, the population of Alexandria was forty per cent Jewish, the community was powerful, and a hundred and twenty great ships sailed every year from Egyptian ports for India.[37] So the traffic to India was largely controlled by Jews. We have seen the statement of Synesius at a much later period, that in his time a majority of all shipping at Alexandria was owned by the Jews. The condition in the days of Augustus is the natural commercial or historical climax of the events of six centuries which we have

[36] Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 37-39.

[37] J. N. Farquhar, "The Apostle Thomas in North India," p. 13, in *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, January, 1926.

passed in review, and they justify almost anything in the way of traditions of ancient Jewish settlements in India. The eventual disappearance of them is no more mysterious than the disappearance of the Greeks, whose numbers were far greater, or the disappearance of Christian churches.

Considering the early appeal of the Christian church to Jewish proselytes, we have to glance at the traditions that the Apostle Thomas founded the church in India. There are three lines of tradition: those in the surviving churches in South India, those of the ancient church in Edessa, and a much more fantastic one from Alexandria. Dr. Farquhar, analysing these, finds the Thomas tradition well founded.[38] Thomas was urged by a Parthian Jew named Habban to go back to India with him. Habban was the "King's Merchant," or royal trade-commissioner for the powerful Scytho-Parthian king Gudnaphar (Gundoporus of the *Acts of Thomas*), whose capital was Taxila, a veritable university of the time. The Aramaic inscription already referred to was found there by Sir John Marshall, with abundance of Hellenistic art. The first church there Dr. Farquhar recognizes would be of Christian Jewish Parthians.[39] Being a Jewish Parthian himself, and holding one of the most important posts under the Parthian king, Habban's commercial fellows must have been a community of influence in Taxila. But the terrible Kushan migration had begun. In a few years the Scytho-Parthian empire was battling for its life with the hordes sweeping in through the northwest passes. Multitudes fled. Dr. Farquhar conceives Thomas as being advised to take refuge with the Jewish friends in South India, and as reaching them by a ship bound for Sokotra, whence with the change of wind, he sailed for Musiris, later Cranganore.[40] Recent publications based on Tamil annals indicate a continuous dynasty there, dating from some time before the Christian era. The settled and peaceful conditions invited commercial colonies, observes Schoff. By 50 A.D. the Kushans destroyed Taxila, and the Scytho-Parthian empire was no more; its protégés were dead or fled. Neither church nor synagogue of Taxila survived that cataclysm. But there is evidence that Judaism survived for a time in the Kushan empire. As a protégé of the overthrown Scytho-Parthian

[38] See Farquhar, *op. cit.*, and "The Apostle Thomas in South India," in *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, January, 1927.

[39] Compare the Parthians and Medes and Elamites present in Acts 2:9. The whole group includes "both Jews and proselytes."

[40] Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 205. The Tamil name was Muchiri-Kotta.

régime, it was probably persecuted by the earlier Kushans, many survivors fleeing to South India.

Dr. Farquhar's conclusion that St. Thomas must have reached India near 50 A.D. from Socotra may be compared with a tradition Arthur found among some Malabar Jews a hundred years ago. They said their own ancestors had landed on that coast in 69 A.D., and that St. Thomas had come there from an Arabian port seventeen years earlier. This definite, distinct Malayālam Jewish tradition is valuable.[41] As for the fact that no bishops for India appear in the earlier Christian records of Eurasia, Arthur mentions a claim of the Syrian Indian church that up to the year 345 A.D. there had never been a foreign bishop among them. They had been autonomous.[42]

So in Musiris-Cranganore, Nelcynda-Cochin[43] Thomas had a cosmopolitan trading community of Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Arabs, Jews, Persian Gulf folk, and North India merchants, with either Greek or Aramaic as the trader's *lingua franca*. The Phoenician alphabet had been adopted there nine hundred years before, as we have seen, and a Semitic language must have remained a *lingua franca* of the ports through the centuries. Certainly all the Persian Gulf traders of the time of Thomas used the Aramaic, which he spoke himself. And such Persian Gulf traders included energetic Judaizers, like Ananias of Charax-Spasini (the modern Mohammerah), whom we have seen near the same time converting the Assyrian court of Adiabene, five hundred miles inland.[44] There can be no doubt of the cosmopolitan community Thomas could work with while he learned Tamil. The Syrian church at Travancore preserves the tradition that Thomas reached Musiris by sea in 52 A.D. and founded seven churches on that coast: Musiris, Palur, Parur, Gokkamangalam, Chayal, Niranam, Quilon. He then went to the east coast, where he won a king and many converts, and visited the coast of China. Thence he returned to the east coast of South India. Here his success with the natives in the kingdom of Chola aroused the fury of the Brahmans, one of whom in a sudden riot slew him with a lance, 72 A.D.

Dr. Farquhar's acute analysis shows that the Thomas tradition is fundamentally sound, despite mythical additions, and must be considered historic. Dr. Schoff, minutely studying ancient commerce, writes:

[41] Arthur, *Mission to the Mysore*, p. 59 note.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 58 note.

[43] Schoff, p. 208.

[44] Josephus, *Antiquities*, xx, ii, 3 f.

"I never could understand the doubting of the Thomas legend. The sea route was open, the traffic tremendous, South India peaceful. What could have been easier than for Thomas to use that route? India and China led in shipping. The *Periplous* says that ships coming from Chrysê (Malacca) and the east of the Madras coast were much larger than those of the Arabs and Greeks."

But one feature of the Thomas legend, important for our study, has received little attention. The *Acts of Thomas* asserts that Thomas reached the Scytho-Parthian court on the evening when the king was making a great public festival in honor of the marriage of his only daughter, and that as he sat silent and prepossessed at the feast, a Hebrew flute-girl came to him, singing in Hebrew, and tried to seduce him: whereupon Thomas began a rhapsodic speech about the maiden daughter of the King, and the bridegroom. An Indian version quoted in 1923 by Reverend H. Hosten, S. J. in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* agrees that the marriage was that of the king's daughter, Thomas sitting silent and blessing the guests without eating, and also blessing the young couple after the feast. But Faria y Sousa in his *Portuguese India* (II, 230 f.) reports the "Heathen History" of Thomas, which declares that he came with certain merchants to the isle of Socotra, and after converting the people came on to Malabar, where the king was celebrating the marriage of his son. A chorus of Jewish women came in to sing for the occasion, and their scripture-songs included passages which Christians held to be fulfilled by the life and death of Jesus. Thomas sat entranced with delight, unable to eat, during the singing. No heathen could have invented this story. It is evident that Psalm 45, celebrating the wedding of the crown prince and a princess of Tyre (?) was the one the Jewish ladies sang. They may have used Canticles also. One who still hesitates to accept the activity of Thomas in India still has to acknowledge that the Jews were well established at the Scytho-Parthian and Malabar courts before the introduction of Christianity, and that the proper interpretation of scriptures like Psalm 45 or the Song of Songs was a moot point from the first.

Faria y Sousa also reports (I, 363) that in the early sixteenth century there were Christians still in Guzerat. They insisted upon one God in Three Persons, and held to Virgin worship. He calls them *Resbuti,* and in I, 94, *Resbutos:* evidently Rajputs. As showing the survival in North India of a type of Christianity very

different from the Judeo-Christianity of Malabar, the item is interesting.

But this insistence in all the narratives that Judaism preceded Christianity in both North India and South India and that Christianity began by appealing to the Jews, as it did in all the western world, brings before us the fact that much Judaism survived in the church of Thomas. Faria y Sousa, in telling of the Christians whom the Portuguese found in Socotra, calls them "all Jacobites like the Ethiopians" (Abyssinians), worshipping thrice daily with a responsive liturgy in the Chaldaic (Syriac) language, using circumcision, regular fasting, and tithe-paying. Their women went to war like the men, used witchcraft or charms to attract men, and for propagation some of them used any strangers who might arrive. (This cohabiting with any stranger is still practiced by some South Arabian tribes.) They were cave dwellers, subjects of the Arabian king of Caxem (Kasim, in southern Nedjed). This picture shows them fundamentally pagan Arabs, with some Jewish institutions and a Christian liturgy. The heresies of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar were: denying the virginity of Mary; refusing all images; observing the old Jewish law for the churching of women forty days after confinement; holding an eight days' funeral feast of the friends and relatives after a death; denying that the spirits of the just dead could enjoy God till their general resurrection; repudiating confession but having instead a fumigation or incense-ceremony in the churches. Baptism, Orders, and the eucharist were the only sacraments, and these were not gratis: a fee had to be paid. The host was made only with oil and salt (cf. Leviticus 2:5 f., 13). Holy water was made with powdered frankincense and some dust from any place the foot of Thomas trod (cf. Numbers 5:17). Wine for the eucharist could be made from raisins, or cocos (palm toddy) could be used. There was no extreme unction, but priests were called to bless the sick and sprinkle holy water (cf. Numbers 19:17 ff.). Sorcery and witchcraft were practiced, and some rites were the same as those of the heathen Malabars. Priests were ordained at seventeen years of age, and immediately married. Their wives were known by a feminine form of the priestly title, and wore badges of their rank. Priests could not marry a second time. There was no formal or priest-conducted marriage ceremony. There was merely the consent of the parties, or a union by begetting a child. The poet Camoens was among the early Portuguese observers of the St. Thomas Christians. In writing

of his life, Sir Richard F. Burton said that when the Portuguese reached India, they "found the Christians of St. Thomas half Greek, half Judean: probably from their circumcision, their mode of communion, and their sale of the sacraments."[45]

Then we have the fact that some later Jewish institutions were unknown to the Cochin Jews, proving an early arrival on that coast, and a long independence. Some of the black Benî-Israel found by the earlier Portuguese navigators along the Bombay coast had traditions of their own origin from the Cranganore colony, but they had no knowledge of the Chanuka feast held in memory of the cleansing of the temple by Judas Maccabeus, or of a second destruction of the temple by the Romans.[46] It seems decisive evidence of settlement in India long ere the Christian era, and of their keeping aloof from later arrivals, as they still do. Judaism's ethnic conceit appealed to the caste-bound Hindoos; and so these Indian Benî-Israel at Cranganore are divided into castes, the two main castes being those of ancient family name, and those of none.[47] Francis Xavier found the feeling of caste among the Christians at Goa so strong that all impulse to evangelization was dead. They were exclusive, self-contained, keeping scrupulously aloof from their Moslem neighbors, and disapproving any effort for their conversion. This attitude we shall see to be that of a large proportion of the pre-Christian Israel. When Xavier was about to baptize the child of a Moslem, "the people of Socotra began to cry out that Mussulmans were unworthy of so great a blessing: that they would not let them be baptized, however much they deserved it, and they would not permit any Mussulman to become a Christian. Such is their hatred of Mohammedans."[48]

Xavier found that large numbers of the Jews forcibly converted by persecution in Portugal had fled to the colonies. These "New Christians," generally crypto-Jews, lived openly as Jews in the colonies and thus scandalized Xavier. He wrote a letter on November 30, 1545, to the king of Portugal urging the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa. This was done in 1560. Modelled upon the Spanish Inquisition, it became the most pitiless in Christendom. Soon exhausting the supply of Portuguese Jews, it turned upon the Syrian Christian church, which it considered

[45] Faria y Sousa, *The Portuguese Asia,* translation by Captain John Stevens, 1695, I, 117 f.; II, 505; III, 111. Burton, *Life of Camoens* (1881), p. 665.

[46] Feist, p. 71.

[47] Feist, p. 69.

[48] Coleridge, *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier,* I, 119.

saturated with Jewish heresies. Moslems and pagans were also assailed.[49] The infamous years of misery till the Dutch expelled the Portuguese need not be detailed. Our present point is that the church of St. Thomas began with the proselytes to Judaism.

Another important fact is that the language and ritual of this ancient church remained the Eastern Aramaic until the arrival of modern western missionaries among them.[50] Dr. Mingana explains that

"not one of the scores of dialects spoken by India in the first century has been found fit to be raised to the dignity of a sacred language, in which the message of the Gospel could be expressed with dignity and aptitude; it proves also that the Indian Christians were satisfied for the upkeep of their spiritual life with the use of a language which their esteemed missionaries had made familiar to them."

This is a most surprising explanation. Can missionaries to-day not use the native South India dialects? If so, at what period did they become fit for use in spiritual instruction? Is it not of record that this Syrian Indian church sank centuries ago to the caste-bound levels of India, even refusing to countenance the conversion of those not already of their "church-caste"? Had the fervor of St. Thomas remained with them; had they incessantly striven to use the native languages as he did, some would have died as he did; but India would have been Christian to-day. But the use of Syriac by this native church must be collated with the fact that Cochin Jews reaching Central China had some patriarch names in Syriac form.

The facts thus far reviewed, with Judaism still surviving in towns like Parur, Mangalam, Mala, within twenty miles south of Cranganore-Musiris (Muyirik-Koddu; Hebrew Korunnallur), show the early church in India, as everywhere else, planting itself among Jewish proselytes, or winning Aramaic-speaking Jews. For these are points claimed for churches of St. Thomas, and also claimed by local Jews to have been held by their ancestors centuries earlier. Tamil-speaking churches, if there were any, died out. But a Tamil-speaking Judaism survived. Since, however, a Nestorian patriarch of the seventh century says that Christianity was then spread along twelve hundred parasangs of India soil (four thousand miles of Indian Ocean coasts), we must conclude

[49] Lea, *History of the Inquisition,* III, 237, 261.

[50] A. Mingana, "Early Spread of Christianity," in *Bulletin of John Rylands Library,* July, 1926, p. 9.

that scores of early churches using native languages have perished. The struggle between Judaism and early Christianity elsewhere sometimes resulted in each repudiating the language that was in favor with the other. To insist that every Christian church use Syriac was enough to drive masses of Hindu Christians into the native-language Jewish communion, especially when both Jew and Christian practiced circumcision, and had some other rites in common. It seems probable that such an insistence upon Syriac extinguished many Christian communities.

It should be observed that various students of Indian history reach the same general conclusion. Mr. C. M. Whish notices the tradition already cited from Arthur: that certain Malabar Jews claimed that their ancestry reached India in 69 A.D., seventeen years after Thomas did. And the Cochin Census Report for 1901 observes: "In view of the commercial intercourse between the Jews and the people of the Malabar coast long before the Christian era, it seems highly probable that Christianity but followed in the wake of Judaism."[51]

With the historic certainty that commercial colonies employing the Phoenician-Hebrew script were in South India a thousand years before Thomas planted churches among Jewish proselytes there, there should be traditions or reminiscences of various periods of migration or settlement in South India. Any assumption that there could have been but one such in more than a thousand years we must ignore. We may expect various traditions, and should not count them contradictory. One tradition among Cochin Jews is that ten thousand Jews came to India after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. In Chapter IX was noticed the fact that during the reign of Augustus the Roman navy took control in the "Arabian Gulf" and seized the port of Aden about 1 B.C. to end the trade-wars of the Arabian kingdoms that were pirating all rival commerce; and that Strabo says that as a result of this "Roman peace" one hundred and twenty great ships sailed yearly from Egyptian ports for India and the headlands of Ethiopia. We saw that this resulted in Jewish colonies and Judaized Arab kings in the southwestern and southern coasts of Arabia. The tradition of the arrival of ten thousand Jews in India about 70 A.D. when Rome controlled, does not mean that refugees of the anti-Roman faction in Palestine were escaping under Roman protection. They must have been of the pro-Roman party, and the dominance of Yemenite Judaism in Cochin tradition indicates that

[51] Cited by Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India,* II, 477.

the ten thousand actually came from Judaized South Arabia. But the ten thousand may mean that the local Jewish community already at Musiris was increased to that number by the new migration. For the Cochin Census Report of 1901 cites a record that "a Roman ship that sailed regularly from Myos Hormos (Mussel Harbor) to Arabia, Ceylon, and Malabar is reported to have found a Jewish colony already in Malabar in the second century A.D."[52] Sir W. Hunter in his *Indian Empire* also speaks of Jewish settlements in Malabar long before that time. The *Periplous* of the Erythraean Sea, a ship-captain's guide written about 70 A.D., details the whole trade route from Mussel Harbor along the African, Arabian and South Persian coasts to India. Every enterprising Jewish trader knew all about it.[53]

As to the possibility of the ten thousand being refugees from the anti-Roman faction in Palestine, the overland road through Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Bactria would not have been safe for such fugitives then. For over a century northern and eastern Scythian nomads had been overrunning the eastern end of that route. Besides, Josephus says that all Syria was roused against the nationalist Jews, and was ruled by the Romans. No nationalist refugees would have ventured that road at that time.

Logan, in his *Manual of Malabar,* records a tradition of some Malabar Jews that their ancestors were liberated by Cyrus in the sixth century B.C. and came overland to India. This is clearly a variation of the fact that the Persian monarchs conquered northwest India and used Jewish colonies there. But this means that with the destruction of Taxila and the Scytho-Parthian empire, some of the Judaized folk in North India escaped southward to the Bombay, Cochin, and Malabar colonies. The same fact is evident in the tradition cited by Richardson in 1759.[54] The Black Jew settlement at Cranganore had formerly a population of eighty thousand, but had then shrunk to four thousand. They claimed to date from Nebuchadrezzar's time. Richardson cites a translation of their Hebrew history, made by the Dutch scholar Van

[52] Cited by Thurston, II, 477.

[53] Schoff, *Periplus,* p. 15 dated this guide about 60 A.D. Later, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1917, 827 ff., he decided upon 83 A.D., being influenced by the supposed dates of Indian rulers of the time, named in the *Periplous.* But Dussaud and Macler point out that the Nabatean king Malichas in the *Periplous* cannot be other than the last Malichas of Nabat, who died in 70 or 71. So the *Periplous* was actually written about 70 A.D., the time of the traditional migration of the 10,000 Arabian Jews to India. The dates of Indian kings are not sufficiently certain. Cf. M. P. Charlesworth, *Classical Quarterly,* April, 1928.

[54] *Universal History,* X, 490.

Reeda, in 1695. They claimed that a part of the tribe of Manasseh was placed by Nebuchadrezzar in the eastern part of his domain, and that two hundred thousand Jews later travelled thence to India, spending three years in the migration. As Nebuchadrezzar's domain did not reach east of the Zagros mountains, the Median western frontier, the tradition is sound as to the road by which some Jewish colonists reached India, but has lost the fact that Persian policy put them in the northwest provinces. The Dutch Admiral, John Splinter Stavorinus, in his *Voyages in the East Indies,* 1774-78, has the same tradition, a little more accurately stated. Captives who escaped from Shalmaneser spent three years in reaching India: which again means that some Sargonid colonists in the cities of the Medes came with the Persians into India. The number two hundred thousand probably means that Jewish colonies in northwest India once had that strength. Captain Hamilton[55] has the same story with the notion that Nebuchadrezzar's empire reached to Cape Comorin. Thurston[56] finds another Black Jew tradition that their ancestors were not of the original Cranganore colony and were driven out of Palestine thirteen years before the destruction of Solomon's temple. This specifically connects with Nebuchadrezzar's raids. It would mean that two years before the deportation of the Yekan-Yâ colony in 597 A.D. (2 Kings 24:11-16) the oppressive Jehoiakim drove some to go by the sea route to India. More than one royal Israelite oppressor thus scattered his subjects (Ezekiel 34).

The unanimity of these traditions of reaching India overland in Persian times is important. Jost, writing before the time of our newer knowledge of the ancient Orient, was struck with the same fact, and though he recognized that there were several migrations to Cochin, he thought that they all must have occurred under the oppression of the Sassanid king Kobad after 487 A.D. Dr. Wolff finds Persian agency expressed in another way. Certain Cochin Jews, not counting the Persians as oppressors, claimed that their ancestors came under Persian protection at the time of the Esther episode, and that they had converted many Hindus long before any white Jews arrived.[57] Such insistence upon the proselyting activity of their ancestors, with their own doubts as to completeness of the conversion of some more recent members of their community, is evidence of the first importance. The insistence that

[55] *A New Account of the Indies,* 1744; Hakluyt Society Publications, vol. 70. Richardson and Hamilton both depended upon Van Reeda.

[56] *Op. cit.,* II, 482.

[57] *Researches and Missionary Labors,* pp. 308 f.

their pioneer ancestors were not of the arrogant modern white Jew type must have a basis in fact. The entire disappearance in recent times of Musiris-Cranganore with a one-time Jewish population of eighty thousand assures us that many such communities of Jewish proselytes may have disappeared in the past two thousand years.

It should be added that the Yemen Jews themselves, as well as those of Bokhara, count the Black Jews of Cochin as of Gentile slave descent. They told Dr. Wolff that the Black Jews were descendants of the Slaves of Solomon (Ezra 2:55 f.)[58] Their statement may be taken as proof that the Judaized Arabs of Yemen held black slaves, and proselyted them, and that there were once traditional Slaves of Solomon in Yemen.[59] But another explanation of "Slaves of Solomon" was told by Malabar Jews themselves when soldiers at Malta in 1878. They said they were descended from those stationed by Solomon in the east to collect gold and spices.[60]

Turning to the Bombay Presidency where about half the twenty thousand Jews of India are concentrated, we find several traditions of migration. The one most familiar in America is that a shipload of Jews fleeing from persecution was wrecked on an island off the coast of India. The place of shipwreck is pointed out. The bodies washed ashore were buried in two mounds, men and women separately, at the village of Naugaon, near Alibag, thirty miles south of Bombay. Seven men and seven women escaped. Their descendants spread through the Konkan district, and from them sprang all the Marathî Jews of Bombay. Their ancient port is declared to have been Chemul, or Tsemoul—the Symulla or Timulla of Ptolemy, Semylla in the *Periplous,*[61] the Chimolo of the Chinese, Saimur of early Mohammedan travellers—now Chaul, twenty-five miles south of Bombay. The ancient Hindu name was Champavati. In Buddhist inscriptions it is Chemula. The old settlement is said to be Revadanda, two miles up a creek from the sea.

This statement is a little too inclusive, and ignores the important items gathered by the scholarly Dr. John Wilson, whose career in Bombay began a hundred years ago. Taking peculiar

[58] Wolff, *ibid.,* p. 139.

[59] Compare Ebed-melek, "Slave of the king, the Cushite" (= Nubian?) palace-official, who rescued Jeremiah (Jeremiah 38:7), the Ethiopian "Grand Treasurer" Jew of Acts 8:27.

[60] 1 Kings 9:27; 10:1 f.; *Notes and Queries,* 9th Series, iv, 68.

[61] Schoff, p. 200.

interest in the Black Jews of the Konkan coast, he found that they were not all from one original settlement. Those of the shipwreck tradition declared that the other Black Jews of the coast were of later settlements. Cochin Jews who came northward declared that they found these black Benî-Israel already in Rajapoora in the Konkan when they arrived. Particularly interesting was the Benî-Israel's claim that their shipwrecked ancestors came from Arabia and owed their preservation to the protection given them by an Abyssinian chief who had settled in that region. Their claim that this happened sixteen centuries before puts the shipwreck at the time when persecutions begun by Sassanid Persians were driving thousands of Jews to other lands. Since the shipwreck meant the loss of all books, their Judaism meant only the preservation of some traditional customs. With the arrival of Mohammedanism, the native population concluded that they were but a variety of Mohammedans. The term Yehûdî they resent as a reproach. It is one element of the antipathy between them and the modern white Jews. It points to their derivation from a region not dominated by the late post-exilic Judaism. Dr. Wilson traces them to the Arab Jews of Yemen, with whom they claimed to have maintained some communication for a time. They scorned the Cochin Jews as the offspring of Arabian Jews and Indian slaves, not admitting that they themselves are ethnically one with their pagan Marathî neighbors.[62]

Compare this fact of shipwreck on the Konkan coast, twenty-five miles south of Bombay, and the fact that all the traditions of earlier arrivals by sea lead to South India with the fact that the Septuagint reads Sophara, the Coptic Sophir, for Ophir. There was no doubt as to the identity of Ophir among Hellenistic Jews. But was this identity altered by the fact of their learning Greek? What interruption had there ever been in Israelite trade with Ophir or knowledge of it? The persistence of Jewish mercantile adventure through the centuries is historic. There seems no reason to believe that they had ever forgotten where Ophir was. But if the Sophara of the Septuagint is correct, Ophir is the ancient Bombay coast; for Sopara, the Suppara of the *Periplous*,[63] is only a few miles north of the modern Bombay. Like Musiris-Cranganore its ancient commercial glory is scarcely even a memory to-day.

Dr. Wolff visited a community of Black Jews known as Benî-

[62] George Smith, *Life of John Wilson of Bombay*, pp. 71 f., 200 f. Papers contributed by Dr. Wilson to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (of Bengal?) have not been accessible.

[63] Schoff, p. 197.

Israel at Poonah, in the Bombay Presidency. They claimed to be totally distinct from all other Jews of Hindustan, and from those of Europe. They had come from Arabia, had forgotten the practice of the Torah, could repeat a few Hebrew prayers which they did not understand, could read the Pentateuch without understanding the meaning of the words, had synagogues, but kept no parchment "Sepher Torah" in them, because its mysterious magic powers might do mischief to people who did not understand it and could not keep it. They were then the best soldiers in the British army, simple and honest, faithful to wives, and far more moral than the Jews of Cochin. They had many charms or *mumias,* and some Hindoo idols.[64]

Then we have a very few Black Jews remaining in the Punjab. They are dictinct from the Malayālam-speaking Jews of Cochin, and the Marathî-speakers of the Bombay Presidency. They have no clear traditions of their derivation.[65] Being pure native Punjabis ethnologically, they may be regarded as descendants of the proselytes Judaism won in the Punjab in Persian times, and in later Greek and Scytho-Parthian times. The great prominence in Cochin and Malabar traditions of escape from Assyrian and Babylonian colonies into India in Persian times supports his view.

As to the reality of different migrations, Thurston[66] observes that there is no tradition among the Cochin Jews that they and the Benî-Israel of Bombay came to India from the same place, or at the same time. There is no record of direct intercourse in the past between the two communities. The intimate commerce of modern times has not brought them together. At the present time the Benî-Israel scorn the Black Jews of Cochin as proselytes of slave ancestry, not Israelites. For among themselves the term "Black Jews" means adulterous ones, or illegitimate children. Long known as "Saturday oil-pressers" by their Marathî kinsmen, many became soldiers under the East India Company, and ranked very high; a number are now successful professional men. Whatever their origin, they are a living testimony that Judaism has had a foothold among the Marathîs for more than two thousand years.[67]

[64] *Researches and Missionary Labors,* p. 320.

[65] Fishberg, p. 134. [66] *Op. cit.,* ii, 475.

[67] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* III, 17 ff. This encyclopaedia and the article by J. H. Lord in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (VIII, 558) do not collate the various traditions of migration, nor consider the historic data with which this chapter begins. The ethnological facts also are not presented by Mr. Lord. See also his book, *The Jews in India and the Far East,* 1907. From the viewpoint of the historian such omissions are unsatisfactory.

These collated traditions do not connect India Judaism with Yemen. There is much emphasis upon entry into India from the northwest, in Persian times and earlier. No tradition of Grecian agency in introducing Jews into India has been reported by observers read. Yet some writers, exaggerating a Yemenite element in the chronicles of the Cochin Jews, have made a very modern conjectured migration from Yemen the beginning of Judaism in India. A summary of the Cochin chronicles is therefore necessary.

They begin with the deportation of Israelites by Shalmaneser in 2 Kings 17:6, in the year 890 after the Exodus. Four years later, after the destruction of the temple (Jerusalem?) the same Shalmaneser sent four hundred families to Purara, the king of Téminn (Teman? usually assumed to be Yemen). They were reduced to slavery. Three years later their sacred books were destroyed. (A fast is still observed, by Mocha and Malabar Jews, on the 15th Ellout in commemoration of the destruction of the books.) The family of Rabban their Nassi ruled these Jews in Yemen till 526 years after Shalmaneser's destruction of Samaria. (The terms Rabban and Yehudîm were impossible in that early period.) Being much oppressed then (84 B.C.), several thousand with the family of their Rabban fled from King Prusus (Piruz or Perozes of Persia, 459-483 A.D.) and joined their brethren already in Guzerat (east of the Indus or Scinde) and at Poonah (near Bombay) in the dominion of the Great Mogul (!). There they dwelt safely for 584 years. Then frightful oppression by the Great Mogul began: Jews had to abjure their faith or die; so in 2100 after the Exodus (490 A.D.) seventy-two families with Joseph Rabban came south to Malabar and were kindly received by the Perumal (Great Man). The last of the Rabban family died in 1650 A.D. and on the 5th Shebat the headship passed to another family. Add that the Cranganore Jews showed early Dutch traders a letter which they claimed was a copy of those written in Esther 8:9 to their ancestors in North India, authorizing them to protect themselves.

Now this chronicle is impossible as a chronological sketch of a single group or colony of Jews. The very modern compiler knew so little of Indian history that he did not know that North India had ever had any rulers but the Mongols. But the various stages in the chronicle are credible as experiences of different groups of exiles. We can credit the claim that one group came from Teman in northern Arabia, where Jews were for more than a thousand years before Mohammed's time. Another resided for a

long time in Yemen. Another fled from the oppression of Perozes, of Persia, to join those whom they knew to be spread along the coast from Guzerat to the region of modern Bombay. Oppression by North Indian rulers began not long after—by Kushans, according to one of the chronicle dates—that drove survivors down to the Malabar coast. It is quite plain that the simple chronicler has collected the reminiscences of different native Jewish groups that he knew, and anticipated modern blunderers by making them all relate to a single migration. We can accept each tradition, and more like them: we have to repudiate the Frankenstein history produced by the compilation as a whole.

One tradition not included but reported by early modern European visitors, and incorporated in the Mikwe Israel is that ten thousand Israelites wandered toward southern Asia after the overthrow of Israel. A large number of Judaized slaves were taken with them. (Why they were not manumitted is not explained.) These slaves murdered their masters and took their property, and came on to India, holding fast to their Judaism. Benjamin II says he tried to verify this tradition when in India[68] but could find no modern reminiscence of it. As narrated by him, it is impossible to assign it definitely to any one period. Jeremiah 34:8 ff. pictures a society in which such uprising of slaves would be credible. But the story probably relates to some episode in India itself, perhaps an uprising against the parvenu Kushan oppressors. The number is the same claimed for the migration in the days of Titus, about twenty years after the Kushans destroyed the Scytho-Parthian Empire.

Arabian influence has become dominant in the surviving Cochin community. But that is due to continual small accessions rather than to a single ancient migration. Benjamin II found the acknowledgment that many Arabian Jews, from Bagdad, Bassorah, Muscat, Yemen, etc., had joined the Cochin community at different times, and purchased native women as slaves. These they converted, and afterwards married. So Cochin Judaism clings to the familiar Arabian distinction of long temple-locks—hanging down to the neck at times. These could not have come from ancient Persia. We must remember that proselyting by Judaism began long before it reached India. It had been going on in Medo-Persian domains for some two hundred years before the time of Darius I. So the reminiscences of Jews coming into India under early Persian protection must be recognized as including a

[68] *Eight Years in Asia and Africa*, p. 150.

large proportion of Medo-Persian proselytes. Then there were the later Parthian proselytes. The reminiscence of two hundred thousand Jews and proselytes once in Persian or Scytho-Parthian India is not, on *a priori* grounds, unreasonable. But the long side-locks are not a feature of old Medo-Persian art. In modern Persia they are worn only in the Arabized regions. Their universal use by modern Cochin Jews means that any refugees from Persian, Grecian, and Scytho-Parthian India were compelled in time to conform to the organized Yemenite influence. This, as Benjamin II learned, received continual accessions. We have seen that the Jews of Yemen have not increased through the centuries, oppression producing incessant migrations. Besides, the oppressions which the traditions of North India residence preserve certainly destroyed much of the Jewish liturgy and scripture of that region. So the Yemenite Arabian prevails now in Cochin.

This Yemenite influence has been assumed to originate with the arrival of a colony of seventy-two families from Yemen under the leadership of Joseph Rabban. And the arrival of this colony has been assumed by some writers to be the beginning of Jewish settlement in Cochin. The four copper plates granting certain powers and privileges to Joseph Rabban and his descendants have been widely misrepresented. First of all, they do not connect Joseph Rabban with Yemen; second, there is no arrival of a colony even hinted at; third, they actually deal with very old established trading-points, the principal one being Anjuvannam, "The Five Castes." A like misconstruction has been made in the case of the neighboring mercantile colony of Manigrāmam, or "City of Gems." Its copper-plate charter has been assumed to announce the founding of a Christian colony there.[69]

But the fact is that

"the old Malayālam work Payyanur Pattōla, which Dr. Gundert considers the oldest extant specimen of Malayālam composition, refers to Anjuvannam and Manigrāmam. The context in which the two names occur in this work implies that they were trading institutions. In the Kōttayam plates of Sthānu Ravi, both Anjuvannam and Manigrāmam are frequently mentioned. Both of them were appointed along with the six hundred to be the protectors of the grant. They were 'to preserve the proceeds of the customs-duty as they were collected day by day' and 'to receive the landlord's portion of the rent on land. If any injustice be done to them, they may withhold the customs, and the tax on balances.

[69] See A. Mingana, *Bulletin of John Rylands Library,* July, 1926, p. 75. K. N. Daniel dates this plate 235 A.D.

and remedy themselves the injury done to them. Should they themselves commit a crime, they are themselves to have the investigation of it.' To Anjuvannam and Manigrāmam was granted the freehold of the lands of the town (of Kollam?)."[70]

Now we have the evidence, as the writer points out, that these two semi-independent trading corporations are much older than the time of Joseph Rabban or of any of the copper plates in question. Nothing in the plates shows that Anjuvannam was a Jewish and Manigrāmam a Christian principality. But we have the sort of commercial or artisan-colony that the Cappadocian tablets have shown the Assyrians using three thousand years before Joseph Rabban's time. It is the same old Semitic (?) institution, asking and securing entire autonomy in all internal affairs, and subordinate to the native authorities only in such cases as involve its members with natives who appeal to their own courts.

If such trading corporations dated from the time of Solomon's Phoenician partnerships, we should not expect them to be dominated by a single cultus. But with the passing of the Phoenician and the rise of the Aramaean traders, the Israelite and Christian elements in the Syriac-speaking mercantile communities would certainly gain the control for a considerable time. Arab paganism and Arab sidelocks might be there for a long time, but with no one outstanding Arab *numen* before Mohammed, the Arab trader would adapt himself to "the manner of the god of the" corporation (2 Kings, 17:30 f.), adding something to the Arab element already prominent.

Now the copper plate that has been construed as creating the principality of Anjuvannam simply confers the honors and privileges of the ancient corporation upon a Jew named Joseph Rabban. The translations of the ancient Malayālam charter vary a little,[71] but they concede to Joseph and his descendants certain princely honors: to wear long robes of the five colors, ride elephants (or use carriages) like the nobility; to be head of the Five Castes (Anjuvannam); to burn day-lamps upon occasion, use palanquins, walk on spread linen, use Payeng umbrellas, large bent trumpets, drums, official staffs, and covered seats (pavilions?); to be head of the seventy-two families and their temples, both here and elsewhere; and to collect all taxes and duties on both houses (or, "be the Head of all the Jews, numbering seventy-two Houses"). Sub-

[70] Rai-Bahadur V. Venkayya in *Epigraphia Indica,* IV, 1896-97: cited by Thurston, II, 467 f.

[71] See Thurston, *op. cit.,* II, 468 ff.

sequent history does not prove that the "Five Castes" corporation was tax-free, but that it collected itself whatever imposts were laid upon it, in a fashion still known in Jewish communities in the Orient. As to the five artisan-castes, they were the carpenters, braziers, smiths, gold and silver craftsmen, and distillers of cocoa-nut sap, or arrack. Manigrãmam, "City of Gems," would seem a colony of workers of precious stones. Jost says the five colors conceded allowed the leaders to wear red,[72] queens or princesses to wear yellow, children green, scholars white, mourners blue. The original translation made for the Dutch governor Moens specifies that the Jew Joseph Rabban may spread his religion among the Five Castes: which does not appear in later efforts at translation.[73] But our historic data on such ancient merchant corporations have led us to expect the proselyting of any artisans or slaves who might be associated with the community.

Similarly, the small Kõttayam plate of King Vira Raghava has nothing whatever to connect it with the Syrian Christians but the fact that it is now held by them. The entire artisan-corporation may have been Christianized since the grant was made. They might have been Jews or pagans at the time. The charter simply confers upon one Iravikkorran of Muyirikkõddu (Musiris-Cranganore) the title of "The Merchant" of the corporation of Manigrãmam, with special trade-rights and sources of revenue. He may have been a Christian, but the fact does not appear in his name and title. The possession of the plate by modern Syrian Christians cannot prove more than their succession to the rights of the ancient artisan-corporation. Then there is a later Kõttayam charter of five copper plates strung together by a ring through holes in the ends of the plates. It has seven pages of Tamil-Malayãlam, two pages of Pahlawi and Arabic in Kufic characters, and four Hebrew signatures. Both Anjuvannam and Manigrãmam are mentioned frequently in this much later charter.[74] All the witnesses are from Persia or Arabia, suggesting the continued flowing of these racial elements into the old trade-colonies. One Marvan Sapir Iso (Bishop Sabrisho, i.e., "Jesus is my hope") who has secured a grant of land near Quilan, conveys it to the

[72] "Purple" of some Old Testament and classic passages. Such distinction is craved by modern Arab sheiks, as in ancient times.

[73] Thurston, II, 469. Anjuvannam was not already a Jewish community.

[74] Mingana, *Bulletin of John Rylands Library,* July, 1926, p. 75, dates it 824 A.D. Dr. Mingana does not seem aware of Thurston's collection of material. The name of the king he reads Starm Ravi Gupta, = Cheraman Perumal. This is an official title, meaning "Great Man of the Chera people."

Tarasa church and community with the sanction of the Palace-Mayor of King Sthãnu-Ravi. Its special interest for us is its testimony to the long persistence of the merchant-colonies of Anjuvannam and Manigrãmam, which were influential before Joseph Rabban's time.

As to the date of Joseph Rabban, in one of the translations furnished the Dutch governor Moens is "Written by the secretary Calembi Kelapoor, in the year 3481 of the Kali-yuga," i.e., 379 A.D. It does not appear in later translations by European scholars. But all translations agree that the grant is in the thirty-sixth year of the donor, Bhaskara Ravi Varma. Since the Perumals or Permauls were elected for twelve years only, except one Cheruman Perumal who hãd his term extended to thirty-six years, Bhaskara Ravi, who reigned till 378 A.D., is identified with this Perumal. C. M. Whish dates the grant still earlier: 231 A.D.[75] However early the dignities conferred upon Joseph Rabban, the colonies were already well established, and their trade-privileges and internal autonomy conceded. Since the Phoenician-Hebrew script was being adopted along this coast more than a thousand years before, the concomitant type of autonomous mercantile colony may have persisted from this early period.

A certain autonomy of the Cochin Jews did persist for a long time. Rabbani remained the name of the ruling family under the copper grant. After communications with the Dutch were established, the Cochin Jews in a letter written in Hebrew to the Synagogue in Amsterdam said that they had had seventy maliks in succession for over a thousand years. An Arab malik or Hindu raj is rather less than our European word *king* suggests. A mercantile association may have a malik. To call this persistent colony a Jewish kingdom is, therefore, rather misleading. The Cochin letter said that a dispute over the succession finally arose between two brothers, and the neighboring Indian princes promptly subdued the Jews. That should mean that when the regular fiscal organization of the Jewish corporation failed to make the expected returns to the native princes, they resumed control themselves.[76]

[75] Thurston, II, 496. The *Jewish Encyclopedia* has not noticed the Perumal data and speculatively assigns the "colony from Yemen" to 750 A.D. Feist, p. 63, also following the mistaken theory of a new colony, dates it 490 A.D. without explanation.

[76] Basnage, because "king" is so large a word in his mind, is quite skeptical about the statements in the letter. See his *History of the Jews from Jesus Christ to the Present Time,* English translation by Thos. Taylor, A.M., London, 1708.

With the passing of their little autonomy, and the increase of Mohammedanism in South India trading-ports, the Cranganore colony fell a victim to the mercantile jealousy of the Moslems. In 1524 the Moslems stormed the Jewish quarter of Cranganore, razed it to the ground, killed many Jews and drove out the rest to inland villages, while the Portuguese strengthened their Cranganore fort and compelled the Jews to abandon their ancient Anjuvannam. Elkan N. Adler estimates the Cochin territorial population at three hundred thousand of whom about eighty thousand were Jews. The Jewish raj or malik had sent his brother David to Europe to negotiate for aid against the Moslems. He was evidently the David Rubbênî who appeared in Rome in March 1524 with credentials from the Portuguese authorities in India and Egypt. He was received with much honour by the Pope, King John of Portugal, and Charles the Fifth, in turn. Historians have pronounced him an impostor. E. N. Adler rightly calls this a very cheap assumption, and observes that his name seems really to have been Rabbanî, altered by a sixteenth-century interest in the lost ten tribes and a desire to make this Jewish "royal family" spring from the first-born of Israel: Reuben also being a favorite name among the Benî-Israel of India. David Reubênî's mission failed because his little Jewish state was gone before he gained serious attention. He later fell a victim to the Inquisition.[77]

Very briefly must be noticed some features of Indian Judaism that are directly connected with the questions of antiquity and ancient activity in proselyting. The Benî-Israel insist that they are not Jews, and have no tradition of some of the later institutions of Judaism. Their derivation seems certainly from a pre-Grecian period of Israelite development. They had all but merged with the pagan Marathî at one time, and owed their Jewish revival to the visit and energy of David Rahab, a Cochin Jew, about 1000 A.D.[78] Their hatred for the arrogance of the modern white Jews is comparable to the like reported by Wolff among the Afghans, in Babylonia, at Bokhara, and among the Samaritans. "The enmity between the 'House of Joseph' and 'Simeon and Levi,' (Levitical Judaism) is endless," the Samaritans said.[79] J. Bruhl reports that Jews of Persia also regularly reject the term: "We are Benî-

[77] E. N. Adler, cited by Thurston, II, 477 f.

[78] A later and more extensive revival was inspired by Samuel Divekob in 1796.

[79] *Researches and Missionary Labors,* pp. 320, 337; *Travels and Adventures,* I, 221 f.; *Mission to Bokhara,* p. 151.

Israel, not Jews."[80] It seems that this attitude is a survival from a pre-rabbinic or even a pre-exilic stage of Israelite history.

The fact that these Indian Jews are proselytes, simply Judaized Marathîs and Tamil folk, with strong reminiscences of Persia and of Yemenite Arabs to remind us that other proselytes transmitted much of their Judaism, requires a consideration of the most notable feature of their social life. Many of the Cochin Jews are certainly the descendants of the catechised slaves of ancient Jewish emigrants, for a wide social-religious distinction is maintained between them and the white Jews of their neighborhood. The Black Jews in recent times have had no *kohanîm*, or levites, of their own. They must have officials from the white Jews (Sephardic) who consider them as slaves, and do not allow them to study the scriptures, or to wear *zizit* or *tephillîn*, unless they are freedmen who have been voluntarily emancipated (Assyrian *zakku*) by their owners. And such freedmen must chant Haggadah with their former masters on the first two Seder nights, and kiss the hands of former owners at the close of Yôm Kippûr services. And if they die without children, the former owners are their heirs. The present very small group of white Jews posing as masters are of six different stocks, that arrived many centuries later than the early Cochin Jews. The Zakkai came from Cranganore, 1219; the Castilla from Spain, 1511; Ashkenazi and Rothenburg Jews came from Germany in the same century; while Rehabî and Haligua groups came from Aleppo in 1680. Burnell adds that Sephardim Jews from Bagdad were also at Cranganore, until expelled by the Portuguese. Then they went to Cochin.[81] Thus a number of these white Jews did not reach India till after the destruction of Cranganore in 1524. Such foreign surnames as Kindel, Ashkenazi, Sassoon, Koder, Mizrahí, and Roby are additional evidence. But these white Jews retain the copper charter, and the Hallegua family, who came in 1680, now claim the hereditary rank of Mudaliar or noble. They appear as actually usurpers where once they were guests. The Black Jews were not originally their slaves.

Such attitude of the European or Semitic Jew toward Hindus was easily acquired. It differs probably only in degree from the attitude of aloofness maintained by some American Jews toward recently arrived Russian Subbotniki, already described. That aloofness was because of failure of the new Russian converts to

[80] Bruhl, *The Ten Tribes: Where Are They?*, London, 1880.
[81] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 70 note.

acquire the current Jewish speech, learn Hebrew, and accept Israelite historic tradition; a situation sure to be overcome in time, if more attractive social influences did not intervene. But here we certainly have reminiscences of ancient slavery maintained within a Jewish congregation. We recognize the continuation of a social institution found everywhere among Semitic peoples, aggravated by the caste atmosphere that has dominated India so long. White Jews have held slaves since their arrival, and some of these slaves eventually became members of the Black Jew community.

It is especially interesting to find the Cochin Black Jews dividing themselves into *myukhasîn*, "noble-born," and *enam myukhasîn*, "not noble-born": or, those whose ancestry was Jewish for generations and those known to be later additions to the community. The term *yakhus* does not occur in the Old Testament. The term then did not come to India with pre-exilic immigrants. But it is familiar in Rabbinic literature, and is used by Ben Sira, Ecclesiasticus 26:21, and might have come to India with any post-exilic migration. The *enam myukhasîn* include *m'shukhararîn,* or manumitted slaves, the offspring of the union of Cochin Jews with female slaves, and Gentile slaves that have been Judaized. "The question having arisen as to the religio-social status of some of these, modern rabbins advised that all disqualifications be removed by a *tebhilah* or Baptism, and a certificate thereof. But this left the social question a burning one."[82] But this explanation does not go to the bottom of the matter. Thurston explains that the *myukhasîn* are simply converts from the higher Hindu castes, the others are from lower castes.[83] This is in harmony with what Benjamin II reported: that Arabian Jews from various ports come to South India, purchase women as slaves, convert them, and become members of the Black Jew community. But such purchased slaves are necessarily of the poorer and lower castes, and the social antipathy between them and the higher-caste proselytes is not ended in a day. Judaization cannot end it. How should they who assert themselves The Race of all races, The Caste of all castes, put an end to caste-distinctions in any people?

This burning social question, as Mr. Lord concedes it to be, we have seen is not local, peculiar to India. It has ever been one of the largest questions before ecumenical Judaism. The attitude of the white Jews toward the Black Jews, both at Cochin and Bombay, puts before us the whole question of the attitude toward

[82] J. H. Lord, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* VIII, 558.
[83] Thurston, *op. cit.,* II, 491.

each other of ethnic and social factions in ancient Palestinian Yahwish, and of their attitude toward any outsiders. To this attitude toward each other of the social castes among the Black Jews should be added their attitude toward the more cultured Judaism of Europe and America. An American merchant friend, Mr. James A. Thomas, tells me that he met Black Jews in Madras and Trichinopoly who had much general information concerning leading American Jews. "They are not real Jews—they are all *meholah*—just as bad as Christians—all *meholah*," was their repeated assertion.

It is plain that the Judaism of any Hindu community could not have persisted through the centuries without some community life, synagogues, and ministry. The Dutch Admiral, John Splinter Stavorinus (III, 225) says that the community had three synagogues when the Dutch reached Cochin, with central reading-desks, and swinging seven-light candelabra, and tiled floors. Their being without synagogues and ministry in recent times seems the result of the attitude of the white Jews, who assume that they only are orthodox and competent to provide proper rabbinic service. For the letters of Canter Vischer from Malabar show friction on the point in the time of Portuguese and early Dutch settlements. "The blacks have a dark-coloured rabbi, who must stand back if a white one enters, and must resign to him the honor of performing the divine service in the synagogue. On the other hand, when the black rabbis enter the synagogue of the whites, they must only be hearers."[84] The Black Jews formerly had Levites and other clerical functionaries. A colony of Jews with Syriac or Aramaic traditions went from India (?) to China in the twelfth century. The statement in the Chinese memorial tablet is that the colony was headed by the Levite Yentula, their Chief of Religion and Master Artisan. And the Cochin Pentateuch Codex was the one finally used in the Chinese temple where this colony settled.

The modern lack of Levites or rabbins or teachers of their own does not mean that the Black Jews are indifferent to education. Chailley[85] records that the Cochin Jews, availing themselves of the school opportunities provided by the Government, register one hundred and twenty-seven per cent of the possible legal attendance, while Cochin Christians score only sixty-six per cent. That is, the Black Jews begin earlier than the legal school age, continue more

[84] Vischer, *Letters from Malabar*, XVIII; ed. Major Heber Drury, 1862.
[85] *Administrative Problems of British India*, 1910, pp. 53, 249, 381.

regularly, and also continue after the legal age, averaging about twice the Christian utilization of the opportunity. They are also content to accept the Anglo-Indian secular code, as Christians do, pointing to an origin when rabbinism had not made the Torah the master of secular details. By contrast, the Jews of Aden, who are in the British India official jurisdiction, insist on maintaining a Mosaic régime. The Cochin Black Jews in 1911 numbered twelve hundred and forty-eight, the white Jews one hundred and ninety-two.

Similarly the Black Jews of Bombay have proved ready to avail themselves of any educational advantages, and under British encouragement many have become successful professional men. Seeing the ultimate significance of the situation of the Bombay Black Jews, the British government has latterly encouraged them to remove from the vicinity of the white Jews and to establish synagogues of their own.

The situation thus detailed is of first importance for an appreciation of Jewish history. How many extinctions of communities of Jewish proselytes have been due to the refusal to allow such communities a ministry of their own, and worship in their own language? America's Central West was sinking toward paganism a century and a quarter ago, under the restriction of ministerial functions to seminary graduates and ordained churchmen. The refusal to allow proselytes a ministry of their own would certainly operate to their ready absorption by other cultus-organizations. The early Christian apostles everywhere found the Jewish proselytes their most receptive audience. The early church was certainly offering such proselytes a social standing and acceptance that many Jewish communities failed to allow. James 2:1-9 puts a Jerusalem situation before us, familiar to him, for he adhered to "them of the circumcision" (Galatians 2:9.) And where there was no such Christian invitation, communities of proselytes without their own ministry could never withstand the social pressure of a highly-organized pagan community.

This study of the rise and decline of ancient Yahwism in South India, with its modern attempt to compile a sectarian history by fusing unrelated historical traditions into a narrative of a single community, enables us to deal briefly with the same process in northwest India and Afghanistan. The Afghan claim to be Benî-Israel now involves five elements:

(1) The settlement of Israelite garrison and trading colonies in northwest India and Afghanistan in early Persian times.

(2) Extensive proselyting among the native populations, resulting in some fusion of Palestinian and local historical traditions.

(3) The scattering of the Judaized communities when the Scytho-Parthian empire was destroyed by the terrible Kushan invasion, about 50 A.D., after six centuries of Jewish influence centered at Taxila. We have seen that some of the Hindu Jews fled south into the Bombay and Malabar coasts. But many more were driven into the hill-country of the northwest across the Indus. Hence some of the current Afghan Benî-Israel traditions show that the narrators are the descendants of refugees from northern India.

(4) The intrusion of Islam, early in the eighth century, with the usual Moslem effort to rework older traditions in its own interest.

(5) The very recent effort to combine the reminiscences of ancient Yahwism among widely different races that have settled in Afghanistan. The result is a Frankenstein history in which the various racial elements are represented as the descendants of a single Israelite ancestor.

We are reduced to the suggested careful examination of the Afghan tradition of Israelite descent by the fact that no known monuments of Afghan history are older than the sixteenth century. What archaeological exploration may discover remains to be seen. Nor have we any native histories of the pre-Islam period of the country. The Arabic invasion about the beginning of the eighth century destroyed records as well as cults. The land abounds with the ruins of Buddhist occupation; their history and meaning has been lost. But we confront the fact that the language is generally Iranic, and the population dominantly Iranic with much Rajput infusion and with Mongol Hazaras and Aimaks and Uzbeck and Ghilzai Turkomans in the west and northwest. A considerable element of the aboriginal Hurrian stock is spread through the country into northwest India. This element was called "Hebraic" by early observers. But the religious lore and conceptions are not Iranic nor Buddhist but an amalgam of Semitic or Palestinian and Hindu pagan lore. The fact suggests that the immigrant earlier Iranians were not organized in religious matters, and that they were in consequence easily assimilated by an already existing Semitic-Hindu amalgam.

Modern Jewish scholars acknowledge the present existence of some sixty Jewish congregations in Afghanistan, numbering about four thousand persons. These are chiefly in the cities of Kabul,

Kandahar, Balkh, Herat, and Ghazni.[86] They all speak modern Persian, and depend upon Persia and Muscat for religious books and teachers. But there is no effort by western Jewish scholars to determine the connection of this contemporary Afghan Judaism with the widespread Afghan claim of ancient Israelite antecedents, though some of the recognized congregations claim an origin in Achaemenid times.

It must be remembered that Islam does not ask its proselytes to believe that they are "Benî-Israel." This stubbornly held Afghan tradition is one that Islam did not originate, and has not stamped out. Its origin in pre-Deuteronomic conditions is shown by the fact that the million of non-Jewish "Bání Israîl," though fond of old Hebrew personal names, have no trace of rabbinism; there are no Cohen and Levi clans. The survivals, religious and social, seem from a time when "every man did that which was right in his own eyes," as in the book of Judges. The insistence that a widow should marry her deceased husband's brother, the sprinkling of blood upon door posts and lintels, the stoning for blasphemy, the serving for a bride, as Jacob did for Rachel, the maintenance of blood feuds between clans, the use of a scape-goat or scape-cow in time of pestilence, the social division into petty *kheils* (Hebrew *khayil*) with an eponym-hero or Gibbôr (Hebrew) and petty *maliks* (AV "king") as the community heads, strongly suggest Palestine. But these are institutions that could easily survive in military colonies policing a lawless frontier, while in everything else the colony might become one with the pagan brigands whom it policed and proselyted. Such sword-swinging propagandists could maintain a boast of Israelite antecedents, though later accepting Islam. Such result of frontier police-duty by Israelite militarists was vividly manifest in our study of Berber Judaism. But peaceful mercantile communities when Islamized could not easily perpetuate the Israelite tradition.

For details of the Banî Israîl tradition, we find the best collections of material are those of Sir Thomas Hungerford Holdich, and Dr. Henry Walter Bellew.[87] Each of them tells us much of

[86] *Jewish Encyclopedia, s.v.* "Afghanistan." There are no articles upon the cities mentioned.

[87] Sir Thomas Holdich is author of the article upon Afghanistan in the latest *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* of *The Indian Borderland* (London, 1901), and of several other books not cited in this study; and of the article "Afghan Claim to Descent From Israel," in *The Nineteenth Century,* July, 1919. Of several books by Dr. Bellew, only *Afghanistan and Afghans* (London, 1879), and *The Races of Afghanistan* (London, 1880), are cited in this study. Other important books of his have not been accessible. He was

Durânis, who call themselves also Banî Israîl.[88] This term Durân is quite modern. Without detailing Afghan history, as the Mogul power in India and the Saffavi dynasty of Persia declined, a savage Saddozai chief of the Abdali Afghans at Kandahar succeeded in making out of the chaos an empire that extended from Mashhad in northeast Persia to Lahore in India. When crowned as Ahmed Shah in 1747, he announced himself *Durrî Durrân,* "Pearl of Pearls." The Abdalis wore a small pearl stud in the right ear as their distinctive badge. Since then, they call themselves Durânis,—"The Pearl People."[89] All the Durânis speak the Pukhtu language, and are Pukhtuns. In the south and west, these terms are softened to Pushtu, Pushtun. But all Pukhtuns are not Banî Israîl, or Durânis. The term Pukhtun seems to mean "piedmont people": those who dwell in the lower hill country as contrasted with the *ghor,* or high mountain ranges. The term is as old as Herodotus, who tells us that the *Pakhtues* held the whole northwestern frontier of India to the Indus: their country was *Pakhtua* or *Pakhtuika,* occupied by four different nations. This was the most eastern province of Darius Hystaspes.[90]

Both Holdich and Bellew fail to take into account the immemorial proselyting in the ancient Orient. Further, a vast body of ethnological and archaeological data now available was unknown in their time. The "Hebrew face" that so often impressed them and associated observers we now know to represent the aboriginal Hurrian stock, spread from central Asia Minor to northwest India. It cannot be used as evidence of Israelite ancestry. But we are no longer confined to an inquiry into the antiquity of the persistent Israelite tradition, for the explorer is recovering concrete evidence.

Remembering that in the early part of this chapter abundant evidence was presented to show that communities using an Aramaic script of the seventh century B.C. in northern Palestine or

born in India and became a medical officer in Bengal in 1855, and was sent as one of an important political mission to Afghanistan in 1857. Resident at Peshawur, he became famous for his philanthropic labors and historical and ethnological studies among the natives. He retired in 1886 with the rank of Surgeon-General. Sir Thomas Holdich was for many years a Colonel of the Indian Survey Department in Afghanistan, thereby gaining a wider contact with the populace than Dr. Bellew, but one less specially intimate. No other two men provide the student an equal volume of information concerning the Afghans.

[88] Dr. Bellew regularly writes "Banî Israîl," indicating a local pronunciation very different from the "B'nê," "Beni," and "B'nai," and "Yisroel" heard among various western groups of modern Jews.

[89] Bellew, *Races of Afghanistan,* pp. 25, 31.

[90] *Ibid.,* pp. 57 f.

Syria were in northwest India at that time, we may consider the Afghan versions of the fact. The Cochin Jews' compilation of their own history included two different migrations of Jew colonies from Media or Persia into northern India. One of these was in the time of Nebuchadrezzar. The Afghan tradition is very insistent upon the latter fact. One Jewish congregation in Kabul insists that its ruined synagogue was founded there in the time of Nebuchadrezzar.[91] Dr. Bellew points to the known fact that when Darius Hystaspes crushed the Cyrenian revolt he planted the Barkai or people of Barca in colonies in northern Afghanistan: Dr. Bellew counts the Baraki Rogan in the plains south of Kabul as one of these colonies. They are exceptionally favorable to Europeans.[92] But Bellew did not know that the Egyptian Pharaoh Psamtik I had planted Israelite garrisons on the Cyrene caravan roads one hundred and forty years before Darius destroyed Barca; nor did he know that one point in the quarrel between Barca and its neighbors was that the Barca women would not eat pork. It appears then that Darius' colonizing Barkai in Afghanistan actually brought some Israelite and Judaized Berbers and Helleno-Berbers there. The claim of the Kabul Jews that one of their old synagogues dates from that early time has some historic support.

Again, Sir Thomas Holdich notices that the Afghan Benî-Israel insist that they were in the land when Alexander the Great arrived. And the Kafirs or pagan Afghans declare that some of their ancestors welcomed Alexander as a coreligionist. Sir Thomas was encamped among them one evening, when they sang a song to their war-god Gish. With the aid of translators, he discovered that it was an old Greek song to Bacchus! It set Sir Thomas to speculating upon the antiquity and provenance of Hellenic culture.[93] Some of these Kafirs were certainly of Greek origin. But the Helleno-Israelite-Berber character of the Barkai colonists brought by Darius is a sufficient explanation. The early Achaemenian policy of favoring Jewish garrisons we have already seen. As the subjugation of Barca was actually accomplished by Arianda, the Persian satrap of Egypt, who had Jewish garrisons at Elephantiné and on the Libyan frontier established by Psamtik I long before, Jewish guardsmen may have formed part of the convoy that conducted the subjugated Barkai to Afghanistan.

Now the Institute of France has been excavating in the valley of the Kabul river and recovered an overwhelming body of evi-

[91] *Jewish Encyclopedia, s. v.* "Afghanistan."
[92] Holdich, *The Indian Border Land,* pp. 40 f.
[93] *Ibid.,* pp. 54, 270, 276. See also the Bibliography below, *s. v.* Bosshard.

dence of Greek and Persian colonizing policy. Fifty ancient settlements have been located by Foucher and Barthoux, and thirteen have been excavated. More than six-thousand statues and statuettes have been found and more than five hundred Buddhist stupas or places of relics and worship, each several stories in height. And the statues show a commingling of various Asiatic peoples, from Palestine to Mongolia and India, with Scythians, Greeks, Teutons, Slavs, Gauls, and other European barbarians: all done by Greek artists. The largest city found is the ancient Hadda, chief of a confederation of flourishing cities. The presence of vast bodies of deportees or of mercenary troops is now beyond question. The splendid development of the cities and temples in this region is mentioned by Chinese pilgrims who came through this region from the north in the fourth to the seventh centuries of the Christian era. Thus the splendid culture endured for twelve hundred years after the conquest by Darius; for a thousand years after Alexander's career. But when the Moslem fanatic appeared, all rapidly disappeared.

Entirely independent of the Barkai deportation is the tradition of the Israelite settlement in the Ghor or "mountain chains": the lofty mountains northeast of Kandahar, and west of Kabul. These Moslem Banî Israîl assert that they came there from Media, from colonies planted by Nebuchadrezzar, and that from this base they have spread eastward through the country.[94] That there has been a large eastward migration from this base in the last four centuries is well established. But this group is originally distinct from those settled in northwest India, as it is from the Barkai. There is documentary support. In the Afghan historical work, *Tabacati Nasiri,* which is late enough to include the conquest of the Ghor by Genghis Khan, and his settlement of Mongols there, it is stated that in the time of the old native Shansabi dynasty a people called Banî Israîl lived in the Ghor, and that some of them were extensively engaged in commerce with the countries around.[95] It would seem that they dominated the caravan road from Seistan *via* Kandahar to Kabul. Again, Arab historians assert that when the Khalif Walid early in the eighth century sent an army from Bagdad to conquer the Ghor, they found Banî Israîl long established there.[96] Some support may be seen in the fact that these border-tribes on the northwest India frontier are collectively known as Povinda, a corruption of the Persian *parwinda,* "a bale

[94] Bellew, *Afghanistan and the Afghans,* pp. 210 ff.
[95] Bellew, *Races of Afghanistan,* p. 15.
[96] *Ibid.,* pp. 97 f.

of merchandise." They are "pack-train people" having a monopoly of international or inter-tribal carriage or transportation.[97] Such protection and convoy of border trade we have repeatedly seen placed under Jewish guardsmen.

Take next a case where the Benî-Israel tradition has been adopted in modern times. Sir Thomas Holdich tells of his discussions with Moslem Yusofzai chieftains in the region of the junction of the Kabul and Indus rivers, from Peshawur northward to Chitral. These Durâni chieftains bitterly hate the Jews, such as may be found in the city synagogues. "We are Benî-Israel, but not Yehûdî": the same declaration that we have seen made so persistently by the Benî-Israel of Bombay. Their hatred of the Yehûdî dates from the time of Rehoboam, they insist. Burly Ghulam Haider, Commander-in-Chief of the Amir of Chitral, was very insistent about this, but he would not discuss the significance of sprinkling blood upon doorposts, and other Jewish ceremonies. These Yusofzai chieftains insist that they could not have invented their tradition, which includes descent from the royal family of Saul son of Kish.[98] Sir Thomas urges that there was no difficulty in the Yusofzai reaching the Kabul and Swat rivers from Persia by the immemorial caravan road to Balkh and Kabul. But he overlooks the fact recorded by Dr. Bellew, that the Yusofzai are of recent origin. At the time of the first settlement of the Banî Israîl in the Ghor, adjacent to the Kandahar-Kabul caravan route, the contiguous Banî Afghan were a distinct people, and were spoken of as such. It was only gradually that the Banî Afghan accepted some Israelite customs and traditions.[99] Again, in native books on the subject the Mandar and Mahmand, who now call themselves collectively Yusofzai, were not originally Banî Israîl or "Afghan." About four hundred years ago, they were on the headwaters of the Tarnak and Arghasan rivers, that flow southwest from the southern Ghor, past Kandahar to Lake Helmund. Lower down were the powerful Tarin, true Banî Israîl Afghans. But it is also known that the Tarin are a Ghilzai Turkoman tribe. In time of a protracted drought, the powerful Tarin Banî Israîl pushed northward, and drove the Mahmand and Mandar tribes out of their "fat pastures." The expelled tribes pushed eastward, south of Kabul, where the Baraki (Barkai?) had been for two thousand years, and into the plains at the head of the

[97] Bellew, *Afghanistan and the Afghans*, pp. 219 f.

[98] T. H. Holdich, "Afghan Claim to Descent From Israel," in *The Nineteenth Century*, July, 1919, pp. 111-115.

[99] Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan*, p. 24.

Khyber pass. Contentions over the water supply soon arose there: the immigrants moved on across the Kabul river and into the Swat valley north of Peshawur, and in twenty years of struggle succeeded in enslaving or expelling the older population, driving most of them across the Indus into India. Since then they have called themselves Yusofzai, but the old native names of Mahmand and Mandar persist.[100] The Yusofzai boast their royal descent; other Moslems denounce them as base-born modern brigands.

Now the interesting feature of this narrative is that Ghilzai Turkoman Tarins who had come in contact with Banî Israîl in the southern Ghor became Banî Israîl themselves, and that the Mahmand and Mandar accepted Banî Israîl customs and traditions from them or from other Banî Israîl through whom they migrated, or with whom they fraternized, and so became fervid Yusofzai—"Sons of Joseph." This declares their affiliation with Josephite Hebrews. The House of Saul still hates the House of David. Other Afghan Benî Israîl do not claim to be "Sons of Joseph." And Swatis who did not abandon their valleys when overrun by the Yusofzai invasion, but accepted absorption are now good Yusofzai Durânis: "true Benî-Israel."[101] The fact seems to be, as among Berber brigands and nomads, that it was a very primitive type of Yahwism that was spread by the earliest Israelite settlers in Afghanistan. We are reminded again of Asmonean proselyting of the neighboring brigands. A Yahwism without schools becomes little more than paganism.

Considering next the legend of descent from the royal house of Saul the son of Kish, several stages of the legend are of record. In volume II of *Asiatic Researches*[102] is a translation of a Persian abridgement of the Arabic *Asrar ul-Afaghîna,* or "Secrets of the Afghans," which was originally written in the Pushtu language by "Kusain son of Sabir, son of Khizr, disciple of The Noble Shah Kasim of Sulaiman, whose tomb is at Chumargur." This account begins with Saul, who was seeking a lost cow, when he was met by Samuel, and told that he was chosen by the Lord to rescue the ark, which had been captured by the Amalekites.[103] In this Iranic version there is no effort to construct a pedigree and a quasi-history that will please the Islamic Arab. Nor is there any tracing of

[100] Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan,* pp. 63 ff.
[101] Holdich, *The Indian Borderland,* p. 345.
[102] Begun in 1794 by the group of scholars that in time became "The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal." Reprinted in London, 1807.
[103] The confusing of 1 Samuel 4:17, 9:3 ff., 11:7 ff., 10:1 ff., and 15:3 ff. shows that the compiler had no Hebrew text: only oral traditions.

the lineage of Saul back to Adam, such as Dr. Wolff found a hundred years ago. The Genesis-compilations seem unknown. But later Arab legend makers got to work. They turned Kish into Kais, an early disciple of Mohammed, who dubbed him *Abd-ur-rashîd,* "Servant of the Guide" (or "the splendid?")—that is, "God," and sent him to India as a *pahtan* (Syrian, "rudder") to steer the Afghans in the proper current.[104]

Discarding this Moslem foolery, we see in the sons of Kais a conflation of traditions of aboriginal, Mongol, and Iranic and Hindu proselytes. The Benî-Israel Afghans say that the three sons of Kais were Batan, Ghurghusht, and Saraband. This genealogical history is of the same sort as that in the tenth chapter of Genesis. The Afghans cannot explain the disappearance of the first two, nor account for the Afghan population that existed before the arrival of Benî-Israel from Media and Persia. But Dr. Bellew explains that "Ghurghusht" or "Ghirghisht" is simply "Kirghiz"; a term applied to nomad Mongols of the steppe.[105] But he fails to recognize that the legend means that one division of the Afghan Benî-Israel were Judaized Kirghiz Mongol immigrants. The Kirghiz are in the northeast of Afghanistan still. As Genghis Khan is known to have had a corps of Judaized Mongol troops, the Hazara whom he settled in the Ghor may have included some of them. Jewish travellers have repeatedly reported Jewish tribes and customs among the Hazara. Special attention will be given to some of them in the next chapter. As for the lost Batan, they evidently appear in the legend of Sheikh Batan, who was a prince among the Afghans of the northern Ghor, when the Arab army of the Khalif of Bagdad approached.[106] The Banî Israîl dwelt in the same region, a distinct people. It must be that the Batan were the aboriginal Hurrian stock who, acording to the legend, felt themselves degraded by intermarriage with immigrant Persians.

But the third son of Kais, the surviving division of Saraban, Bellew explains is simply the Hindu Surya-ban, which means "Sun-people," or "Solar people." This division of the Benî-Israel were defeated in the battle of Kurukshetr, near Thanesar, north of Delhi, in a great battle with the Chandrabans or "Lunar people," and were driven across the Indus into the highlands. But

[104] Bellew, *Afghanistan and The Afghans,* pp. 210 ff. Perhaps the Arabs were trying to eliminate Gish, the war-god of the pagan Afghans, when they made their Arab Kais the Afghan ancestor. They certainly never thought of Saul's father as a disciple and apostle of Mohammed.

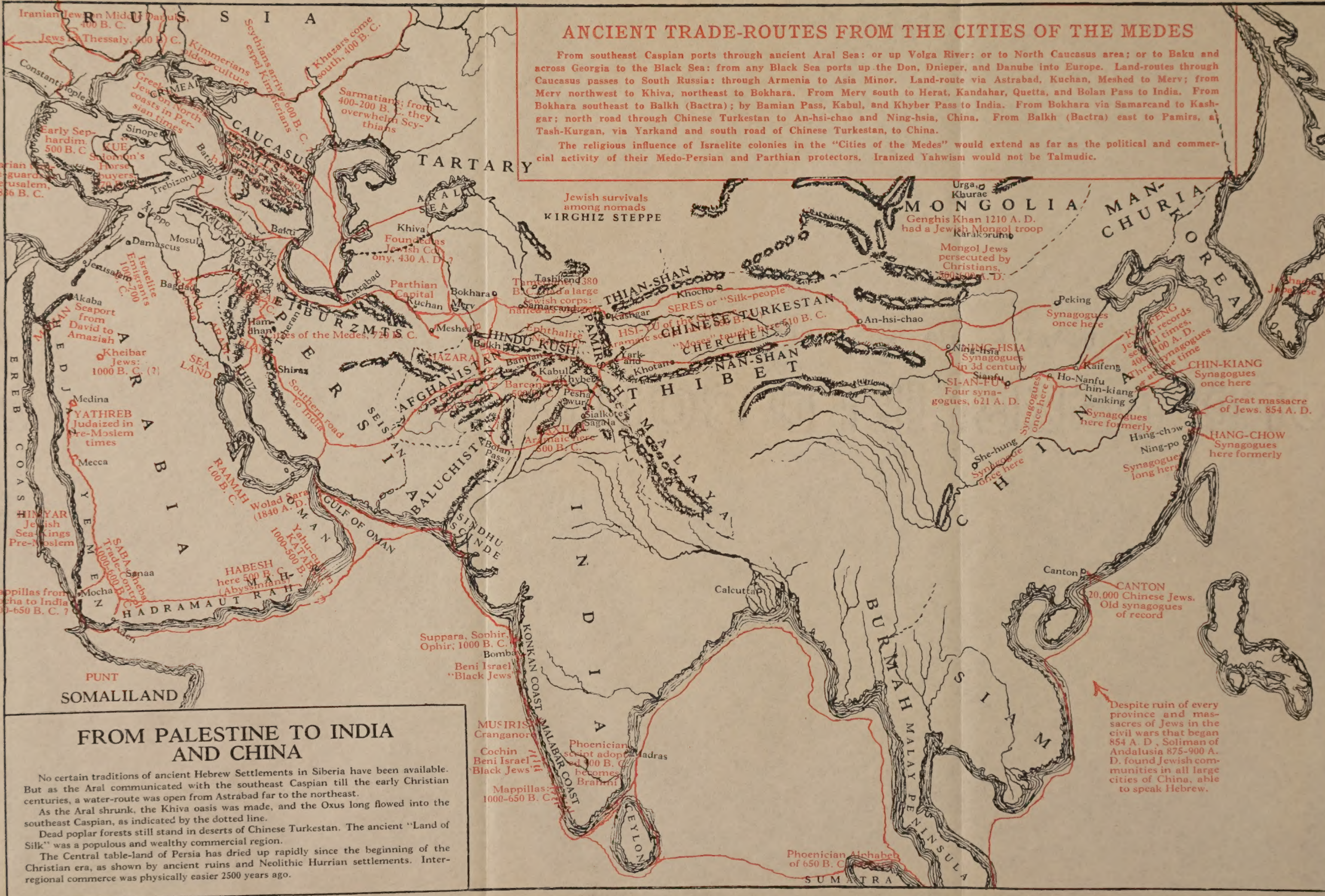
[105] Bellew, *Afghanistan,* p. 211; *The Races of Afghanistan,* pp. 91 f.

[106] Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan,* p. 98.

this battle of the Solars and Lunars with the defeat of the Rajputs belongs to the Mahabharat epoch. The legend is further enlarged by the statement that five Pandu kings of this Mahabharat epoch emigrated to the Panjab and into the Afghan highlands as far as Kandahar.[107] But this is a confusing of the chronological order. Any Rajputs or other refugees from Hindustan who became Afghan Benî-Israel did so long after Mahabharat times, instead of before. The fact that a large element of the present Benî-Israel pride themselves at once upon their Israelite antecedents and upon their Rajput lineage is illuminating. Bellew further observes that the Afghan sons of Saraban, Sharjyun, and Khrishyun, are the Rajput names Surya-ban, Surjan, and Krishan, and that the Moslems adapt the last two to Sharf-ud-din and Kheyr-ud-din. As for the North India origin of many of the Afghan peoples, Bellew and Holdich and various ethnologists fully recognize that. As already stated, the overthrow of the Scytho-Parthian empire by the Kushans in A.D. 50 certainly drove multitudes into the Afghan highlands. Those who then had the Benî-Israel faith could still be proud of their Hindu lineage and epics.

In conclusion, this examination of the Benî-Israel traditions of the Afghans warrants the assertion that they are in a large measure worthy of credit. That there were early colonies of Israelites in Afghanistan with much consequent proselyting or semi-proselyting seems historically established. The traditions that make the Benî-Israel of pre-Moslem times to be an aggregation of proselytes from the Hurrian, Iranic, Mongol, Turkoman and Hindu stocks are to be accorded full credit. The modern Semite-inspired effort to explain all these as the "sons" of a single ancestor is to be rejected. But we have seen Berber and Cochin

[107] Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan*, pp. 91 ff.; *Afghanistan and the Afghans*, pp. 210 ff. It is interesting in this connection that some modern scholars believe that the great legend of the struggle between the Rajputs and the invaders reflects the racial migrations that the cuneiform and Egyptian literature have put before us. Thus H. Bruce Hannah, writing upon "Indian Origins" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1925, pp. 21-26, suggests that in the Mahabharata struggle, the allied Pūrūs or Paurāvas, Yādūs or Yādavas, Tūr-vasas, and Ānūs or Drūhyūs are four peoples from Western Asia. The Pūra-Setiu (people of Pūra or Pūla) are the Philistines of Keftyu (or Kilikia). The Yādūs are Amorites (Hurrians) of Yadai or Ya'udi in Naharin: the Tūr-vasas, those "dressed like the Tūr" (Tyrians). The Ānūs are a phallus (= mazzebah)-cult people: "people of the pillar." These Hannah suggests are some of the "Sea peoples" whom Rameses III failed to check as they came down the eastern Mediterranean coast. Hannah does not notice that the gods Mithra, Varuna, Indra, and Nasatya were also in Asia Minor in the era preceding.



ANCIENT TRADE-ROUTES FROM THE CITIES OF THE MEDES

From southeast Caspian ports through ancient Aral Sea: or up Volga River: or to North Caucasus area: or to Baku and across Georgia to the Black Sea: from any Black Sea ports up the Don, Dnieper, and Danube into Europe. Land-routes through Caucasus passes to South Russia: through Armenia to Asia Minor. Land-route via Astrabad, Kuchan, Meshed to Merv; from Merv northwest to Khiva, northeast to Bokhara. From Merv south to Herat, Kandahar, Quetta, and Bolan Pass to India. From Bokhara southeast to Balkh (Bactra); by Bamian Pass, Kabul, and Khyber Pass to India. From Bokhara via Samarcand to Kashgar; north road through Chinese Turkestan to An-hsi-chao and Ning-hsia, China. From Balkh (Bactra) east to Pamirs, at Tash-Kurgan, via Yarkand and south road of Chinese Turkestan, to China.

The religious influence of Israelite colonies in the "Cities of the Medes" would extend as far as the political and commercial activity of their Medo-Persian and Parthian protectors. Iranized Yahwism would not be Talmudic.

FROM PALESTINE TO INDIA AND CHINA

No certain traditions of ancient Hebrew Settlements in Siberia have been available. But as the Aral communicated with the southeast Caspian till the early Christian centuries, a water-route was open from Astrabad far to the northeast.

As the Aral shrunk, the Khiva oasis was made, and the Oxus long flowed into the southeast Caspian, as indicated by the dotted line.

Dead poplar forests still stand in deserts of Chinese Turkestan. The ancient "Land of Silk" was a populous and wealthy commercial region.

The Central table-land of Persia has dried up rapidly since the beginning of the Christian era, as shown by ancient ruins and Neolithic Hurrian settlements. Inter-regional commerce was physically easier 2500 years ago.

Judaism make similar attempts at history, combining the traditions of groups historically and chronologically remote into a quasi-history of a single community. With Afghan Benî-Israel showing the like procedure, we are impelled to inquire, How much of the Old Testament history is really a fusion of historic doings of very different peoples?

CHAPTER XIII

Persian, Turkoman, Mongol, and Chinese Jews

We must not leave Asia without noticing the Judaized Chinese. They are pure Mongolians—Chinese in body, dress, language, habits, customs, in everything but religion. Yet occasionally some Jewish writer discovers some who have preserved "pure Jewish features"—whatever he means by that.[1] But no modern ethnologist has recognized in any of these discoveries anything that was distinctively "Israelite."

But since the question of Chinese Judaism involves the possibility of Judaism in each land between Palestine and China, some archaeological facts must be stated to clear the ground of obstructive prepossessions. The reader has had before him the fact of a culture and commerce of great antiquity, extending back into neolithic times, originating it seems in the Persian highlands, and at present known as Hurrian. Now between 1895 and 1913 the Japanese scholar R. Torii found in southern Manchuria and eastern Mongolia many strata rich in neolithic stone artifacts such as hatchets, knives, lances, and rings. The type suggested a time earlier than 3,000 B.C. Bronze had not yet appeared. Then in 1921-1924 the Swedish geologist J. G. Andersson found in southern Manchuria, in the province of Honan, China, and as far west as Kansuh, many strata rich in the same neolithic artifacts. Especially significant was an abundance of the beautiful painted pottery and sherds of the Hurrian type: geometric designs in black or red on white. It is the same pottery that is found in the Persian highlands, Trans-Caspia, southern Babylonia and the lowest levels at Susa. Here is the concrete evidence that this culture was pouring into China from the northwest before the bronze age, just as it poured westward into Asia Minor.

The other fact revealed by the explorers of the past thirty years is that vast regions of Central Asia that are now desert were once densely populated, with a peaceful agricultural and industrial population and many prosperous cities. The physical difficulties in intercommunication four thousand years ago were by no means what they are to-day. The camel and the horse had not reached Asia Minor by 2000 B.C.: yet two thousand years before that a traffic carrying Hurrian pottery was reaching northern and western China.

[1] Fishberg, p. 136.

The immediate point for the present purpose is that there was never any physical impossibility of commercial relations between China and Palestine. The only question at any time was, Who controlled the trade? One people after another might seek to monopolize it, or divert it to new routes. Some sort of intercommunication was always possible, and some was maintained perhaps in every century. The discoveries nullify one Chinese assertion that China's contact with the western world did not begin till about 200 B.C. The oldest literary traditions of China do not go back to her neolithic times. She is already in possession of gold, silver, iron, steel, lead, copper, and bronze. But western trade was reaching her in far earlier times. The popular western myth of the independence and isolation of the early culture of China has to be abandoned.

It seems that we must recognize several origins of Judaism in China, and that we must begin by recognizing Israelite trade with China as early as the eighth century B.C. Amos 3:12 has the luxurious of Samaria lolling on *dmsk,* "damask"—the "silken cushions" of a couch, reads Moffatt. The name tells us that Aramaeans of Damascus were the silk-importers of the time. In their trade-war with Jeroboam II (785 *et seq.* B.C.), he was driven from Samaria for a time (Hosea 10:3-8; 2 Kings 14:25 ff.) but eventually mastered the whole land from the Hittite states to the Gulf of Akabah. This victory placed his royal merchants wherever they found Aramaean ventures profitable; and we have seen that the Aramaeans were already in Central Asia and northwest India by that time. Then Ezekiel 16:10 mentions *meshî,* considered "silk" in rabbinical readings and modern versions. But Aramaean writing was already being adopted by the peoples of northwest India and Central Asia when Ezekiel wrote; so that there can be no objection to Chinese "silk" here on the ground that Palestinian trade could not reach China. Again, Isaiah 49:12 in the same generation speaks of Israelites in the land of Ssînîm. It is conceded that this is the Sirai of Ptolemy, the land of This, with its city Thin-ai, of the *Periplous.* This is very close to the ancient Chinese name *Ts'in,* the great western province whose capital was Hien-Yang, later Sian-fu, capital of Shen-si. During the Chow dynasty, down to 255 B.C., this powerful state of Ts'in actually dominated the country, and western peoples naturally called all China the land of the Ssînîm or Tsînîm.[2] It was Chi-Hwangti, of the Ts'in princes, who began the Great Wall and

[2] Schoff, *Periplus,* p. 261.

pushed Chinese caravan protection across the Gobi desert to Hami in Chinese Turkestan. This very late westward push of Ts'in was because Persian military dominance of the Central Asian roads had passed with the advent of the Greeks, and another strong power was needed to keep order along the immemorial trade routes. But Persian and Aramaic remained the trade languages of Central Asia, as they had been for centuries. Because of this fact, Hsi-Yü, which simply meant Chinese Turkestan in Han times, becomes the name of the Persian language later, and is sometimes reported by modern western scholars as the country of Persia. But Bactria-Persia, which was all one for the earlier Chinese annalists, is Po-ssu in their records. For our immediate purpose, an Iránic trading people and *lingua franca* seems dominant in the oases of this Central Asian route, even before the time of the Persian empire that we know. As Israelite colonies had been in the Iranic Median trade-cities for nearly two hundred years when Isaiah 49:12 was written, we should certainly expect their own mercantile adventurers to have followed the Iranic and Aramaean adventurers to Ts'in, which was the center of silk production in that earlier time. We must also remember the earlier Assyrian or Akkadian adventurer. In Chapter III we saw him as early as 2750 B.C. in western Asia Minor and in the Mediterranean as far as Crete. Deniker writes that the Assyroid face is still seen in Bokhara, Bactria, and southern Turkestan. The ancient Assyrian trader certainly went that far: the Aramaean simply followed him.

The Old Testament then gives us ample justification for a host of reminiscences of ancient Israelite activities in Central Asia. And there are many. The Cochin Jews of India compiled an historical roll. As we have seen, their colony began long before the Christian era, and had accessions at various periods. Of western Jews they had no history, but they recorded that eastern Jews went through Media and Persia into Chinese Tartary. They had Simeon, Ephraim, and Manasseh settled among the Khazar Tartars, and becoming the ferocious Tartar horsemen. Since the Jewish Khazar dynasty adopted Jewish names, we recognize that this records the retirement into Chinese Tartary of the Khazars who were driven from Russia early in the tenth century of our era; and in the stories of the immense spread of the ten tribes in Central Asia we recognize that the Judaization of the population, which had begun fifteen hundred years earlier, was probably much increased by Khazar official activity. The item is of real value as proving that Jews of the Khazar kingdom in southeast Russia maintained some communications with those in southern India, and

that the latter still had definite knowledge of those who left Russia and were finally merged with Tartars of the Chinese domain.

Such records are not so detailed as we should like. But we have to remember the Jewish habit of announcing anything as done by Israelites, if the performers have been induced to accept Hebrew names. And we must remember that the congregationalism of the Jew results in there being no systematic record of Judaism's conquests and no comprehensive records of its own current ecumenical history in any given period. An Oriental Jewish community knows something notable once done by a neighboring community, such as a migration or conquest. The later history of that achievement is unrecorded; a great Jewish community or emigration could perish with no knowledge of the fact on the part of distant communities. So the claim that Judaism once swayed a region that it has since lost is always entitled to respectful consideration. There is often no other extant record.

Particularly valuable then are any local reminiscences of former Jewish dominance, when reported by peoples now hostile to the Jews. Wolff found a report that some of the Khiva Jews had emigrated to Kamtschatka;[3] again he found these Khiva Jews were Turkomans who mingled a Hebrew slogan or two with their Turkoman war-cries, and intermarried with Moslem Turkomans.[4] And Khiva was founded by a Jewish Persian Prince.[5] But the Jewish population of Babylonia and Persia that followed the prince thither, 400-422 A.D., was from a region where the pure-blooded Israelite was extinct, according to the aristocrats of the Talmud.[6] It was a proselyted commingling that settled at Khiva. The Turkoman and Mongol tides centuries later overwhelmed this Persian Judaism. The Jewish brigands in the mountains about the ancient capital of Parthia in Benjamin of Tudela's time, 1173 A.D., were probably Judaized Turkomans. He was told they were in league with the Turak against Persia. Wood mentions a nameless Jewish traveller who had spent years about the Aral and Caspian and in China gathering records of "lost tribes";[7] and he had heard of some in Kashmir and Thibet. Wolff was told that the Samarkand and Bokhara Jews had been expelled by Jagatai, successor of Genghis Khan, who had favored the Jews; many then emigrated to China. This is important, because none of the few

[3] *Travels and Adventures,* II, 152, 379.
[4] *Mission to Bokhara,* p. 380.
[5] See Chapter XXV, below, on The Babylonian Academies.
[6] See below, Chapter XV.
[7] *Journey to the Source of the Oxus,* pp. 280 f.

records thus far gathered in China mentions this particular migration. Others emigrated to eastern Persia, whence Timour later encouraged them to return. Their knowledge of the Torah was gone; Joseph the Maghrebî from Tetuan revived it.[8] It is a case of partially Judaized Persians and Turkomans. Wolff was told by Bokhara Jews of other Jewish tribes in the Aral mountains;[9] pretty certainly these were Judaized natives. We have noticed the old Cranganore legend of Jews of the tribe of Manasseh being placed in the Far East by Nebuchadrezzar, and many wandering thence to India. Cardinal Meignan[10] cites the tradition that some of the tribe of Asher, moving through the Afghan country, descended into the valley of the Indus.[11] Manasseh was on the borders of China and Tartary and in five centuries had spread Judaism through all central and eastern Asia; which means among Tartar, Turkoman, and Mongol peoples. With this must be grouped the statement of Dr. Wolff that Genghis Khan had a corps of Jewish troops; some to-day claim him as a Jew.[12] Gibbon also records that Genghis Khan had followers of Moses among his Tartars.[13] O'Donovan recorded that to-day on the Turkoman frontier of Persia the Moussai, or "followers of Moses." are numerous, though they may refuse to be called either Jews, or "Benî-Israel." Wolff, as we saw in Chapter III, found Khivans making it a religion to curse Israel and Joshua in their prayers, yet classed as Jews by the Moslems and by other Jews. Tamerlane was hailed with great acclaim as the Messiah,[14] which is quite intelligible, if we think of Judaized Tartars, Turkomans, or Mongolians. We have already noticed the large infusion of Mongolian blood in European Jewry. Weissenberg found Mongolian traces in 23 per cent of his measurements, and in almost any class in New York East-side schools some Mongolian strain is noticeable.[15] The correlate of this is that Judaism was adopted by many Mongolian peoples. The recognition of the fact by modern western Jews is before us in a recent handbook of ecumenical Judaism. "The Chinese Jews and other similar groups are distinct types . . . wholly distinct from their brothers in Europe in respect to all their inner life."[16] With an ethnological certainty before us, we have to consider by what roads and agencies Judaism entered

[8] *Travels and Adventures,* II, 12 f. [9] *Ibid.,* pp. 15 f.
[10] In *Le Correspondant,* vol. 171, pp. 3 ff.
[11] Wolff heard of Asher in Badakshan, northwest of Cabul.
[12] *Mission to Bokhara,* p. 283. [14] *Mission to Bokhara,* p. 218.
[13] Milman's Gibbon, VI, 206. [15] Fishberg, p. 119.
[16] J. Kreppel, *Juden and Judentum von Heute,* 1925: 890 pages.

Mongolia and China, and what evidence remains of the extent of its spread.

The question of roads and methods is largely answered by traditions cited above, and by what has been stated in preceding chapters concerning ancient trade routes to the east. At any time after Israelite colonies had been placed "in the cities of the Medes" south of the Caspian in 720 B.C. Israelite traders might have settled also in the ancient emporia of Merv,[17] Bokhara, Samarcand, and Balkh-Bactra. We have seen later colonies sent to these districts. Any such colonies meant trade-expeditions farther east. At any time along this whole northern and western frontier of China Jewish trader-colonies could have been entering, after once planted on the great caravan routes to the east. Judaism could have come to China from India, for we have seen the Aramaic script planted in northwestern India by 550 B.C., and its development into Kharoshthi script begun there; yet this modification was completed long afterward in Chinese Turkestan; which means that the Kushans who overthrew the Scytho-Parthian empire in India in 50 A.D. promoted the settlement in their Chinese Turkestan base of those who were using this script in northwestern India. And the notable racial migrations that we have seen begin in that Asian region before the Christian era meant deportation or extinction of some Jewish communities and migration of others. But deportations might carry Judaism farther east, and Judaize in some degree some of their captors. What has been noticed in other lands makes that certain.

Direct evidence of an immense eastward extension of Judaism comes to us from the first century of our era. In Agrippa's appeal to Caligula in behalf of the Jews at Jerusalem he says:

"I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates, for all of them, except a very small portion, and Babylon, and all the satrapies around, which have any advantages of soil or climate, have Jews settled in them. So that if my native land is, as it reasonably may be, looked upon as entitled to a share in your favor, it is not one city only that would then be benefitted by you, but ten thousand of them in every region of the habitable world: in Europe, in Asia and in Africa: on the continent, in the islands, on the coasts, and in the inland ports. And it corresponds well to the greatness of your fortune that by conferring benefits on one city you should also benefit ten thousand others, so that your renown may be celebrated in every part of the habitable world, and many praises of you may be combined with thanksgiving."[18]

[17] The Antiochia Margiana of the Seleucid period.

[18] Philo of Alexandria, *Ambassadors,* 36. Yonge's translation, IV, 161 f.

The actual eastward spread of Judaism is further evidenced by the Babylonian Talmud, which recognizes the necessity of the scriptures in the cuneiform Assyrian, Elamite, Median, and Persian languages, as well as Aramaic,[19] that is, over the whole of what is now Persia and Bactria. Media includes the region later known as Parthia, the seat of the kingdom of an Iranic people nearly the same in language as the ancient Persians. In fact Pahlawi or Pehlevi, which term we use for the Persian literature, is the Persian corruption of Parthawa, the Scytho-Iranic founders of the Parthian empire.[20] Taken with Darius' provinces in northwest India, Judaism is planted in post-exilic times in the dominant languages of Persia from the Elburz mountains southeast of the Caspian to the Indian Punjab. Such was its base for advance through Asia. In Acts 2:9, the proselytes assembled at Jerusalem include "Parthians, Medes, and Elamites." These Jewish proselytes are to return home, work among their fellow-proselytes, and begin the advance of Christianity toward Central Asia. How well they did it is attested by Arnobius of the province of Carthage, who two hundred years later tells of the conquests of Christianity "in India, and among the Seres, Persians and Medes."[21] Bar-Daisan, a hundred years earlier, 196 A.D., wrote: "Our brethren in Parthia do not take two wives, nor do our sisters among the Gilanians (Geli) and Bactrians have intercourse with strangers; nor do those in Media abandon their dead, bury any alive, or give the dead to the dogs."[22] This area of Christian achievement is exactly the area of Jewish proselyting and translating of their scriptures shown by the Babylonian Talmud. We seem compelled to think of Christianity as having taken over an immense army of Jewish proselytes there, as all scholars, Jewish and Christian, admit that it did in Asia Minor, North Africa, and Mediterranean Europe.

Another important fact is to be correlated here: the tremendous achievements of the later Nestorian Church, spreading all over Tartary, Turkestan, into Mongolia, through North China, down the coasts of the Persian Gulf, to southwest Arabia and Sokotra, century after century. Metropolitans and bishops were in China in the fourth and fifth centuries.[23] The Nestorian Church has been called "Far the greatest missionary church that Christianity

[19] Rodkinson, *Babylonian Talmud,* IV, Megilla, p. 49; V, Baba Kama, p. 180.

[20] Meyer, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* XX, 870 f.

[21] *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* VI, 438. [22] *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* VIII, 733.

[23] *Hist. Tart. Eccles.* 819: Assemani III, 109, 407, 411, 441, 449; IV, 73, 426; Mosheim, V, 493, 499; II, 118, 123 f., 161, 319.

ever produced." But an overlooked fact is that the immense majority of the Nestorians east of the Tigris were Persian, not Semitic. The Pahlawi was the constant reliance of these Persian Christian scholars. Where they had Syriac Scriptures, they translated them into Pahlawi, 420 A.D. and 490 A.D. Even the canons of the church were often written in Pahlawi, and translated into Syriac later.[24] We cannot attribute these centuries of fervor to the peculiar excellencies of Nestorian views. Nearly all the area had been occupied before Nestorianism existed. What has been cited from Agrippa in the first century of our era should make that clear. Metropolitans and bishops in China in the fourth century are decidedly pre-Nestorian in time. Nor can we consider the missionary zeal a peculiar ethnic quality, characteristic of the "Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and dwellers in the uttermost parts of the earth." That these eastern Nestorian Christians clung to Pahlawi was because they were primarily appealing to Pahlawi-speaking communities. Aramaic was secondary with them; yet Aramaic-speaking trade-colonies were in Central Asia a thousand years before Nestorius was born, and several hundred years before the Christian era. We have to find an impulse that spread Pahlawi-speaking Christians through Central Asia, and did not equally urge Syriac-speaking missionaries thither, yet made the Pahlawi missionaries eventually recognize the necessity of translating into Syriac.

And the answer is simple: the furious persecution of both Jews and Christians by the Sassanid Persian kings. In Chapter VIII was noticed the murder of sixteen thousand Christian clergy, teachers, and devotees in Adiabene, with an unknown number of the laity. Great numbers fled the country. It is a leading Jewish tradition that great numbers of Jews did the same thing, going to India or into Central Asia. From the accession of Artaxerxes I, 226 A.D., the condition of Jews in Persia grew steadily worse, writes Feist. Sapor I, 240-271 A.D., was a persecutor. Six feeble sovereigns with Roman wars and long-continued Persian-Gulf-Arab raids of western Persia tell the tale of the next forty years. It meant that many would escape into Central Asia. The terrible persecutions of Sapor II, 325-371 A.D., are those above mentioned. Tolerance and favor marked the reign of Yezdegird I, 399-420 A.D. Bitter persecutions were made by his son Bahram V, 420-440 A.D., by Yezdegird II, 440-457, and by Firuz, 458-465. During much of

[24] A. Mingana, "Early Spread of Christianity," in *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, July, 1925, pp. 6, 53.

this century both Christian and Jewish schools were forbidden. Various persecutions of Christians by Persian kings in the next century are specified by Assemani,[25] and the Persian Christians poured their energy into Central Asia and China.[26] The Saracens conquered Persia in 636 A.D., and immediately we hear of new Nestorian energy in Tartary, Central Asia, and China. There is specific mention of Barsabas fleeing from the persecutions of Sapor II in 334 A.D. into Khorassan, and there becoming bishop of Merv; which position he held fifteen years. In 420 A.D a metropolitan was sent there: whence it is clear that there were bishoprics and many Christians there.[27]

The story of the thousand years following the beginning of Sassanid persecution need not be detailed. The tremendous eastward impulsion of Pahlawi-speaking Christianity into the trade-colonies of an earlier Pahlawi and Aramaic-speaking Judaism is an historical fact. But how old were these Iranic trading-posts in Central Asia? Were they the agencies through which the Israelites in Isaiah 49:12 reached Ts'in before the Medo-Persians displaced the Assyrians as a political power? If so, how were such Iranic trade-colonies related ethnically, religiously, and socially to the various nomad peoples of Central Asia? Why has neither Pahlawi nor Syriac become the language of the nomads? Were the latter influenced at all by the presence of old Iranic colonies in the oases? Why is Judaism a tradition concerning them, rather than a present fact?

We begin with an outstanding fact about the so-called Jews of China. One ancient popular Chinese name for them is Hwei-Hwei. Chinese Moslems are known by the same name. The Jews are "blue-cap Hwei-Hwei," the Moslems "white-cap Hwei-Hwei": epithets referring to the head-covering worn when at prayers. But the term Hwei-Hwei is simply a Chinese adaptation of the name that the Turkomans applied to all their tribes between Kashgar in the modern Chinese Turkestan, and Kami, the territory that is now the Chinese province of Sin-Kiang. Islam was not known in all this region until about fifteen hundred years after Isaiah 49:12 spoke of Israelites in China. The same name Hwei-Hwei applied to these ancient Turkomans and to the so-called Jews of China merely means that the latter were Judaized Turkomans. Hwei-Hwei is a racial term, not a religious one. The Ouighour Turks occupied the Karakorum region, eventually de-

[25] *Bibliotheca Orientale,* III, 109, 407, 411, 441, 449; IV, 73.
[26] Mosheim, I, 499.
[27] Assemani, IV, 477.

veloping a kingdom there that reached to Kashgar in Chinese Turkestan.

Briefly, this is the historical connection. Kashgar and its domain up to the Chinese frontier was not converted to Islam till about 1000 A.D.[28] Moslemizing of Karakorum was later: the date is not known. But Chinese contact with, and occasional domination of, the Ouighour territory was at least fifteen hundred years older. China considered the Ouighours her vassals. Between 760 and 780 A.D. the Khakhan of the Ouighours asked the Chinese to have their national designation changed to a more warlike Chinese form, Houi-Ghour, Hui-hur—"Swooping Hawks." In Genghis Khan's time, four hundred years later, all Moslemized Tartars were called Oui-whour (Wei-wu-r); and this new term was later applied to new Ouighour states and the original Karakorum region: then both terms became slurred into Hwei-Hwei.[29] So the term Hwei-Hwei now applied to both Jews and Moslems really distinguishes two kinds of ancient Turkomans, not two creeds. Of these, the Israelite Turkoman was some fifteen hundred years the older.

But since Persian became the *lingua franca* for the Turkoman trade, the reason must be found in the population of the trade-oases. We are at once introduced to the Yüe-chi of Chinese annals, often accounted as Turks or Tartars, because of their adoption of the Turkish title *Yabghu* for their chieftains. But they prove to be Iranic. In 176 B.C. Moduk, Prince of the Hiung-Nu, wrote to the Chinese emperor that he had conquered the Yüe-chi and twenty-nine smaller peoples and incorporated them into his own empire. But the Yüe-chi began to move west along the southern slopes of the Thian-Shan—the northern boundary of Chinese Turkestan. They ousted the Sai, Sek, Sök (Sakai), from their territory between Kashgar and Lake Issi-kul. About 160 B.C. the Wu-Sun pushed them further west, into Bactria, which they dominated. They were a mixed people, including the Tokhari—the Tuholo of the Chinese, the Indian Tukhara. The Chinese annals tell that the Yüe-chi divided Bactria into five parts, each under a *hi-hou*. Over a century later the *hi-hou* of the Kuei-Shuang (Kushans) attacked and conquered the other *hi-hou,* and made himself "King of Kuei-Shuang," but the Chinese simply called them "Great Yüe-chi" (Tu-ho-lo, Tokhari). Sir Aurel Stein found that the oldest culture in Old Tu-ho-lo, a hundred and

[28] E. H. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars,* p. 213.
[29] *Ibid.,* p. 204.

forty miles east of Ni-Yang, on the Endere River, was that of northwest India. All the oldest documents were in Indian dialects: India was reaching China by that route. The old language of Khotan was a late form of Tokharian, an Iranic language related to High Persian and the Pamir dialects about Sir-i-Kol. We simply find one Iranic people displacing another in Chinese Turkestan and Bactria.[30]

We noted above, citing Dr. Mingana, the fact that Pahlawi remained the missionary language in all this region for a thousand years; from this it is plain that the ultimate reason did not lie in a sudden first migration of persecuted Iranic peoples into Turkoman territory. An official school for teaching Mandarin linguists the Pahlawi was long established in Pekin. Marco Polo spoke it himself in 1290. But because it was the commercial *lingua franca* for the whole Ouighour country, the Chinese called it the Hwei-Hwei language.[31] Thus the term Hwei-Hwei, surviving as a modern name for the Chinese Jews, tells us that the Persian-Turkoman traders of Ouighour were in ancient Chinese eyes Jewish, not Christian. Judaism was brought into China by Persian and Turkoman converts or proselytes, speaking Pahlawi.

What we really face, in this persistency of Pahlawi, is the fact of an aboriginal Iranic settled people contrasted with non-Iranic nomads. Three terms to-day—Tat, Tajik, and Sart—mean the same thing: "city people" or the agricultural and trading-settlements as opposed to the nomads. Each of these speak a Persian dialect. The Tajiks are the Iranic peoples from the southeastern curve of the Caspian Sea, south to Yezd, then southeast via Kerman to the ocean; in northern Afghanistan, Bactria, and the Pamirs into southern Turkestan. Indo-Afghan blood is apparent, with many Assyroid faces.[32] They are preëminent as traders and agriculturalists. The Sarts are not so numerous. They are the principal element in the trade-oases of Chinese Turkestan. Like the Tajiks they are sedentary as contrasted with the nomad Uzbeck Turkomans. They are simply Uzbecks who have adopted Tajik life, largely married Tajik wives, and in some places found it best to accept Iranic speech. These Uzbecks established a kingdom on

[30] Sten Konow, "On the Nationality of the Kusans," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft,* 1914, pp. 85-100; "The Home of Paisaci, *ibid.,* 1910, pp. 95 ff.; citing Pischel, "The Indo-Scythian language was Tokharian," in *Berliner Sitzungsberichte,* 1908, pp. 932 ff.; Vincent A. Smith, "The Indo-Parthian Dynasty," ZDMG, 1906, pp. 49-72; "The Sakas in North India," ZDMG, 1907, pp. 403-21.

[31] J. Edkins, in *Chinese Recorder,* August, 1891, pp. 377 f.

[32] Deniker, *La Grande Encyclopédie,* xxx, 864. "Assyroid" is now "Hurrian."

the ruins of the Persian Khiva (Kwarezm) when overthrown by Genghis Khan in 1231 A.D., but it seems that the Iranic element will prevail.[33]

This Iranic element is regarded by some as aboriginal.

"As far back as history goes, we find a string of cities from Harashar to Kashgar, and from Kashgar to Khotan, governing 'Sart' populations of cultivators, apparently of old Persian stock, and probably ethnologically very much what they are now. . . . All roads from China to the west were known to the Chinese long before the Christian era. The same places, oases, and watered valleys that were known to the Turks and Ouighours were known a thousand years before by the Chinese."[34]

This is substantiated by the Chinese Bamboo books. Over one hundred thousand of these tablets were exhumed in 218 A.D. from the tomb of Hsiang, king of Wei, who died 295 B.C. Among their records is the statement that Mu Wang of the Chow dynasty, 984 B.C., went west to the Hsi-wang-mu, or "West-king-mother." This has puzzled Sinologists, but Prof. Chavannes and others since consider that an important historic event is referred to. It is suggested that the conquests of Duke Mu Kung in 650 B.C. are meant. This prince of the Ch'in state made enormous conquests among the nomad Tartars, clearing the caravan roads westward to the Tarim River in Chinese Turkestan.[35] Duke Mu Kung died 621 B.C., the year the Deuteronomic revolution under Josiah began, after the Iranic Scyths had overrun Asia Minor, and when the Iranic Medes were massing for the destruction of Nineveh nine years later. How intimately was this westward push of China related to the westward migration of the Iranic peoples? But this conquest of Duke Mu Kung links China with the Iranic trade route from the cities of the Medes to the Pamirs; and Israelite colonies had been in those cities a hundred years.

The "West-king-mother" of 984 B.C.[36] is not perplexing to the Semitic scholar who is accustomed to reading of "mother countries, mother cities, mother colonies" in the Orient as early as 3000 B.C. The emperor Mu Wang may have visited the Iranic state that claimed to be the "mother state" of various oasis kinglets of the western trade routes. Almost eleven centuries after this imperial visit to the mysterious Far West, the Chinese ambassador Kan Ying, who had gone as far as Antioch in Roman Syria, wrote

[33] Zaborowski, *La Grande Encyclopédie*, XXIX, 526.
[34] E. H. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, pp. 32, 31 f.
[35] Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 384, 108.
[36] Cf. Hirth, *Ancient History of China*, pp. 144-51.

that "to the west of that country lay the stagnant waters and the drifting sands near the residence of Hsi-wang-mu (West-king-mother) where the sun sets." He seems to have in mind the Sahara and Maghreb (Western Morocco) reaching to the sunset Gardens of the Hesperides. The "Far West" is always farther west. "The sunset frontier" for Chow Mu Wang in 984 B.C. was probably near the Pamirs. That his West-king-mother was the Iranic state whose trade-kinglets were in the oases of China's western domain has a parallel in the much later Ta-tsin, "Great Syria"; for "Great Syria" contrasts with many "little Syrias," or trading-posts in Chinese domains. Kan Ying suggests that Ta-tsin meant "tall Syrians." The name really refers to the Assyrians, whose modern survivors call themselves Sürayî—whence the Greek "Syria." The Chinese puts *n* for *r*, making *Tsin*. Incidentally, here is shown acquaintance with ancient Assyrian power before the Iranic political domination.

Kan Ying also shows us why in his time and later the Parthian or Pahlawi was the *lingua franca* for Jew and Christian in Central Asia, translations later being made into Syriac in some cases, as emphasized by Dr. Mingana. The various kings of Syria had always wished to send trade-expeditions to China, but the Parthians wished to control the trade in Chinese silks, and for that reason cut off their communication. After the Parthian domination came the Sassanid Persian control; Syrian traders had more freedom when that passed. Kan Ying's mission was probably to urge Rome to trade directly with China, instead of through Parthian intermediaries. The Medo-Persians had doubtless maintained a like monopoly; but that favored the enterprise of Israelites colonized "in the cities of the Medes," while making Persian their trade-language.[37]

Thus China was certainly interested in keeping open the roads to the west at least a thousand years before the Christian era. The political method varies. In ancient Chinese records the question is whether local chiefs can be depended upon to keep the caravan routes open in Chinese interests, or whether the Chinese must station officers and troops in Chinese Turkestan. They place military colonists as far west as Khiva in 90 B.C.[38] The chiefs of Chinese Turkestan (Hsi-Yü) are reminded they are part of the Chinese Empire in 53 A.D.[39] The antiquity of these camel-caravan routes is shown by the fact that the camel, a native of Central Asia, is known in ancient Babylonia by 2000 B.C.

[37] See "Annals of the Han Dynasty" in Hirth's *China and the Roman Orient:* quoted by Schoff, *Periplus,* pp. 275 ff.

[38] Parker, p. 36.

[39] *Ibid.,* pp. 66 f.

Another fact illustrating the ancient intercourse between China and the Bactria-Medo-Persian area is to be remembered. Despite Chinese conservatism, Scytho-Sarmatian art was largely influencing northern China as early as 400 B.C. The organization of the Chinese army was affected by the Sarmatians. But it seems clear that central Turkestan and northeastern Persia was the homeland of the Scytho-Sarmatian influence in northern China.[40]

An inquiry, therefore, for the reason of Iranic activity and the use of the Pahlawi in the early spread of Christianity in Central Asia brings us back to what was suggested in the beginning: that when Israelite colonies reached the trade-cities of the Iranic Medes in 720 B.C., a direct road to China had long been marked out for them by a line of Iranic oasis trade-colonies reaching clear across Central Asia. They had no task of pioneering through uncharted deserts, battling with unknown savages. In every oasis, by means of Iranic speech, they were in contact with nomads who came to trade; and all the nomads who inclined to the sedentary life of the Iranic oasis in time adopted the Iranic *lingua franca* and social institutions, and the popular traditions more or less identified them with the oasis peoples.

An excellent illustration of this is afforded by the many traditions of the tribe of Naphtali, as reported to Benjamin of Tudela in the mountains about the ancient Parthian capital, north of Nishapur; in later times in the mountains beyond the Aral Sea; also in the wilds of Bactria and in the Badakshan region of the Pamirs. These traditions originate with the Ephthalites. The name is said to come from a famous eponym chief, Ye-ta-i-li-to, which the Chinese shorten to Ye'-ta. Byzantine Greeks called them Ephthalites. Among the popular adaptations by various peoples are Evthalides, Elevthes, Talites, Hidalites, Hidarites, Ha-yetah, Heïtal, Yetal, Aïetal, Aïetala, Attila, Idala-ghan, Hephthag, Thedalites, and Nephthalites.[41] The last form is sufficient for any enthusiastic mediaeval Jewish etymologist.

For these Ephthalites the actual connection with Judaism began with their southward migration from regions "beyond the Caspian," where they were in the time of the Persian Yezdegird II. In the time of Bahram V (420-440 A.D.) they crossed the Oxus, but were defeated by Bahram in a great battle. He then ordered his Jewish brother to guard the Oxus frontier against them: this he did by the re-founding of Kwarezm (Khiva). As already ob-

[40] Helen E. Fernald, "Two Colossal Stone Chimaeras from Chinese Tombs," in *Museum Journal,* University of Pennsylvania, 1927.
[41] E. Drouin, *La Grande Encyclopédie,* XVI, 145.

served, this latter became a guard-colony of Jews migrating from the persecutions of Bahram. Thus the Ephthalites had to make friends of the Jews of Khiva, if they would settle in that oasis. Piroz had to defeat them again in 468 A.D., but they crushed Persia in 482 and ruled from the Chinese frontier to the Black Sea. Judaism in all that domain was the protégé of these Finno-Turkish (?) peoples. When the Persian king Kobad or Kawad was deposed in 496, the Ephthalite king was strong enough to restore him. But in 558 the Ephthalite kingdom was overthrown by a Turkish invasion in a great battle in Chinese Turkestan, and the Persian Khosrou Nushirvan followed them north of the Oxus, 562-567, killing their Khan in a great battle, and pillaging all his treasures. Some of the Ephthalites remained in the mountains about the ancient Parthian capital on the upper Attrek. Many retired southeast to the upper Oxus, and maintained a little independent state of Kunduz and Badakhshan. Thence they sent tribute to China in 612 and 645. But Armenian authors, treating He-ithal as a geographical expression, continued to use it for the succeeding Turks, and identified their Khagan with the preceding Kushans—whence resulted much ethnological confusion of history.[42]

How such events were twisted by Jewish speculators into "lost tribes" is illustrated by the Jewish geographer Abram Ortelli, who says that the Little Kirghiz horde, in the plains of Tartary, is Dan, and the Great Horde further north is Naphtali, and that these tribes were settled (!) there 476 A.D. under Perupias (Perozes), king of Persia; while Guy Helmo Chicardo wrote that the Nephthalites who conquered (!) King Piroz were of the tribe of Naphtali, and cited Pracupi (Procopius) as saying that these Nephthalites were fair, and civilized folk, very different from the Huns.[43] Such etymological fictions partially explain Matthew Paris, 1240 A.D., upon the terrible ravages of the Mongols under Genghis Khan:

"It is believed that these Tartars of cursed memory are the ten tribes, who having forsaken the Mosaic law, followed the golden calves, and whom Alexander the Macedonian endeavored to shut up in the rugged mountains of the Caspians with bitumen-covered rocks. . . . There is a doubt whether the Tartars now coming from there be really they, for they do not use the Hebrew tongue, nor do they use the laws of Moses."[44]

[42] E. Drouin, *loc. cit.; Cambridge Mediaeval History*, I, 466-81; II, 269.

[43] Cited by Benjamin II, French edition, pp. 129 f.

[44] Wright, *Geographical Lore of the Times of the Crusades*, p. 268. For the legend that Alexander built the wall from Derbent through the Caucasus, see Cordier's edition of Yule's Marco Polo, I, 57 ff.

But while "lost tribes" are ever proving to be myths, we remember that Genghis Khan had a corps of Judaized troops, and was considered by some a Messiah. The incessant proselyting by Israel has left traces amongst the Asiatic nomads. A Bokhara Jew told Benjamin II that there were Jews in Tartary, north of Bokhara. A merchant from Tabûr in that region (probably Turba, three hundred miles north of Bokhara, and a hundred miles east-southeast of the Aral Sea) told him in Teheran in 1850 that there were twelve thousand Jews in that region, with cities in Great Tartary. They had settled there in the sixth century to escape Chinese persecution. (This suggests the expulsion of the Ephthalites from Chinese Turkestan at that time). They dwelt with Tartars, chiefs being chosen alike from the Judaized and non-Judaized. They had no books, no liturgies; and when a Polish Jew, Simcha Rubenstein, about 1810, sent them some, they could not use them. They simply had some Jewish ceremonies which they did not understand. Far from having any traditions of Palestine, they did not know that there were any other Jews in the world.[45]

Similarly, a Bagdad Jew told Benjamin II that in 1847, when, with a caravan bound from Bokhara to Kabul, he and a comrade were seized by nomads (whom Benjamin styles "Hagarites"), they were held for six months, and then taken to some Jewish nomads about six days distant and ransomed. These Jewish nomads had a tradition that their ancestors came from Babylonia, but they had never before seen a Jew from there. They said that there were several other Jewish tribes about ten days from them, in the robber-infested desert. A caravan came by, and brought the two adventurers in seventeen days to Kabul. That is the time which Lieutenant Wood's party required ten years before to travel from Kabul to Balkh. As the adventurers learned that Jews in Balkh raised the money for their ransom, their captors were probably some of the robber tribes that Wood mentions as haunting the roads near Balkh and Tashkurgan. The "Hagarites" of Benjamin II were probably the Hazara Mongols of the Paropamisus region. Wood[46] wrote that the most of them then dwelt east and south of Balkh, and had to pay a tribute of slaves either to the Uzbecks of Kunduz, or to Kabul. He enumerated twenty-six tribes, generally Shîah Moslems. Of the ten western tribes he learned no details. Kabul traders visited them. As for the nomad Jews among them, Wolff was told at Bokhara a few years before that (Tajik-Turkoman) Jews of Bokhara and Persia,

[45] Benjamin II, 171 ff.

[46] *Journey to the Source of the Oxus,* pp. 196 ff. Wood wrote "Tartars."

when exceptionally persecuted, took refuge with these very Hazara tribes and with the Turkomans at Merv, and with other nomads about Sarakhs, some eighty miles southwest of Merv on the northwestern Afghan frontier. Incidentally, while remaining nominally Jews, they intermarried a great deal with the Moslem Uzbecks, who dominated the whole region south of Merv.[47] This is pretty positive evidence as to the provenance of the Jewish nomads reported to Benjamin II as haunting this northern Afghan frontier. Moreover, Wolff was told at Bokhara that the tribes of Naphtali, Dan, Zebulun, and Asher were still in the heights of Badakshan and the Hindu Koosh, and lived by brigandage, "but they know the Shema Israel!"[48] So a tradition of the ancient Ephthalite or "Nephthalite" state of Badakhshan-Kunduz still survived—and Naphtali's Palestinian neighbor-tribes were added for company! Remnants of the "Nephthalites" were still thought to be there among the Hazara and Uzbecks. It is very interesting that Wood, when in Badakhshan-Kunduz at the same time, met a Jewish seeker for lost tribes and wrote of the ancient "Nephthalites" displaced by the Uzbecks, without either himself or his Jewish visitor being aware that they were in the region where "the remnant of the tribe of Naphtali" survived for a time after the overthrow of the Ephthalite empire.[49] Possibly some remnant of them were among the "Jewish tribes" of whom Benjamin II was told. And there may have been some of the Hazara group who had adopted some Jewish customs. Benjamin II etymologized the Hazara into "Hagarites." No later investigation seems known to Jewish statisticians.

This whole Naphtali legend is invaluable to the historian. On the one hand, we have Iranian Judaism spreading Jewish rites and customs and Hebrew names among nomad tribes, but without any literature or systematic education. On the other, we have Jewish enthusiasts with a genealogical obsession seizing upon the results and with the aid of some very original etymological announcements manufacturing myths of genealogical descent from Palestinian patriarchs. And the Iranian Tajik and the Persian language survives all the nomad migrations, invasions, and desolations of the past three thousand years. Neither Tartar nor Mongol nor Turkoman has destroyed him. The ancient indigenous Tajik is still the reader and writer and business man among the waves of nomads.[50]

[47] *Mission to Bokhara,* p. 207; *Travels and Adventures,* II, 15.
[48] *Mission to Bokhara,* p. 230, 380.
[49] *Journey to the Source of the Oxus,* pp. 219, 280.
[50] Wood, pp. 220 f.

An intelligent Judaism could not survive among illiterate nomads who never learned more than certain ritual institutions. Though once numbering hundred of thousands, they would in time be exterminated by nomad conditions. Nor could such nomad conditions ever produce modern western Judaism. What we have seen happen to Berber Judaism, once dominant in nomadic North Africa, and to nomadic Arab Judaism, parallels the fate of Central Asian Judaism, and assures us that an organized and cultured Judaism did not spring up fully formed in ancient times among savage Israelite Aramaean nomads in a North Arabian wilderness.

But why did Iranic intellectual dominance suddenly disappear from Central Asia? The Mongol wave led by Genghis Khan gives us the explanation. The Oxus had been the dividing line for centuries between Scytho-Iranic peoples and the Mongol Turkoman and Tartar hordes. There had even been a Scythic kingdom east of the Oxus in Chinese Turkestan, an advanced base for the Iranic oasis-colonies across Central Asia. But the rise of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane swept all away; the eastern hordes poured over the Oxus and across Persia into Babylonia, massacring many millions of Iranians and Semites. Genghis Khan is estimated to have destroyed twenty million people, Tamerlane twelve million. These raids left the eastern hordes dominant west of the Oxus, and over much of eastern Persia. Two sons of Genghis Khan, through the influence of their zealous mother, daughter of the last Prester John, became Christians.[51] While Genghis Khan theoretically recognized all religions, and announced himself as a sort of monotheist, specifically persecuting none, he swept away innumerable devotees of all religions. Tamerlane assailed particularly the West Tartar churches. All Christian conquest east of the Oxus perished. Since that day Yamud and Tekké Turkomans have carried off a million captives from northeast Persia in a single recent century. They have seized hundreds of thousands of women in Persia and from the Kirghiz or Buriat Mongols for their slave markets in Turkestan. They have done this for centuries, so that other Turkoman tribes now scorn them as all being of slave descent.[52]

With a very clear picture before us of ancient Israel's Iranic base in Central Asia for an advance upon China, the preëminence of the ancient silk trade requires that we know its Asiatic center at the time when Christianity began to absorb the Jewish proselytes. Passages already cited from the Syriac Bar-Daisan and

[51] *Hist. Tart. Eccles.*, 40.
[52] *La Grande Encyclopédie*, XXXI, 484b.

African Arnobius put before us the progress of Christianity in the far east among the Seres, Indians, Gilani, Parthians, Persians, Medes, and Bactrians (the latter also styled Kashans). The Geli or Gilani dwelt at the southwest of the Caspian, south of the region where "mountain Jews" still are to-day, south of the Mogan steppe. Their name still clings to the area. The identification of Kashans with Bactrians is because the powerful Kushans, the Yüeh-chî of the Chinese historians, had settled Chinese Turkestan, overrun Bactria, and by 50 A.D. had overthrown the Scytho-Parthian empire centered at Taxila, in northwest India, as noticed in the preceding chapter. In the Apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* we find them called "the Kushans." The Seres of Arnobius probably means the same Kushan-Turkestan. The name is from *seri,* "silk"; it only reveals the region from which Europe was procuring its silk. Menander, in his Indo-Greek kingdom, "had access to the sea on one side, and to Seres on the other."[53] With capital at Sagala-Sialkote, Kashmir lay immediately north of him with roads up the Indus valley, across the Pamirs to Turkestan. Pliny has the Seres "beyond the Himalayas," but seems to confuse them with the Cheras of South India.[54] Strabo has the Greek Demetrius conquer Ariana north of the Oxus, and northwestern India, then extend his kingdom eastward to Seres.[55] Ptolemy (VI, 16) has Serikê bounded on the west by Scythia beyond Imaus, on the south by India beyond the Ganges, with north and east limits unknown.[56] In a Syriac MS. translated by Dr. Mingana, the land of the Christian Turks to whom the letter is addresed is Sericon; its king is Idi-Kut, a nickname of all the kings of the Ouighour Turks; its eastern frontier town is Karagur(am), five days beyond the Christian town of the Ouighour Turks. Beyond is "Magog," a term used by Syrian Christian writers to include the whole of the eastern Turk, Tartar, and Mongol folk.[57] All this means that Seres was Chinese Turkestan, and fixes definitely for us the region where Chinese silk-merchants then met the traders from the west.

For the present point, we have Chinese Turkestan as a conquest of Judaism and Christianity equally with Parthia, Persia, Media, and Bactria. We seem required to think of the same precedent proselytes there as in the case of "the Parthians and Medes and Elamites—and dwellers of remoter parts of the earth." The tre-

[53] H. G. Rawlinson, *op. cit.,* p. 79 note.
[54] Rawlinson, p. 152. [55] Rawlinson, p. 71.
[56] A. Mingana, in *Bulletin of John Rylands Library,* July, 1925, pp. 32 f.
[57] *Ibid.,* pp. 53, 70 f.

mendous significance of this region is just beginning to be recognized. The expedition of the Berlin Ethnological Museum in 1913-14 excavated Khocho, the capital of the Ouighour Turks, who began their conquests about 750 A.D. An enormous number of manuscripts in seventeen languages and still more numerous scripts were recovered: (1) Greek; (2) Syrian Christian, Estrangelo, and Sogdian Syriac; (3) Middle Persian dialects in Manichaean writing, and Sassanian, Pahlawi and Turkish Runic; (4) New Persian in Manichaean and North Arabic script; (5) Sogdian, a lost Iranic language in Sogdian and Manichaean scripts. This is of special importance, since some historians have clung to the theory that Sogdiana—the region centering about Samarkand—had a Tartar or Mongoloid population. The discovery of their Iranic language is decisive. (6) Saka, a lost Iranic language in an Indian alphabet.[58] (7) Sanskrit, in various Indian and Central Asian Indian alphabets; (8) Tokharian, a lost European language of the Centum group: two dialects in Indian script. This is another important reverse. Some have claimed that the mysterious Tokharians, with capital at Bactria, were Tartar or Mongol. They now appear related to the Graeco-Roman world. From these Tokharians the Nestorian Olopun carried Christianity into China. (9) Hephthalitic, the lost language of the "White Huns," the Nephthalites, or "Naphtali" folk, in their own curious script; (10) Ouighur, in Sogdian, Manichaean, Syriac, Tibetan, Turkish Runic, and Central Asian Brahmi scripts; (11 and 12) two unknown languages; (13) Muydian, in Sogdian and "square" script; (14) Tibetan; (15) Tangutan, the language of the once powerful Tangut people of Tibet; (16) Chinese; (17) wooden tablets in Kharoshthi script, of some Indian tongue.[59] Observe the total absence of any form of early Moslem Arabic writing.

The cosmopolitan mercantile character of this ancient "Land of the Seres" is beyond all scholarly dreams. Rome or Tarsus or Alexandria in their palmiest days hardly gathered such a variety of peoples and writings. It will be noticed that four of the scripts are Persian, five are forms of Syrian or Kharoshthi; and the Cen-

[58] Another important and decisive discovery. The Sakai, acknowledged as Scythian, have also been claimed as Mongol. They swept through southeast Persia with the Parthians into India, founding the Scytho-Parthian empire, with capital at Taxila, as we saw in the preceding chapter. Their base in Persia, around Lake Helmund, was Saka-Stana, now Seistan. The discovery that their language was Iranic emphasizes what has already been pointed out as to ancient Iranic dominance in western Asia.

[59] A. von Le Coq, in *Art and Archaeology,* November, 1926, and *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan,* London, 1928.

tral Asian scripts are derivatives of the Aramaean. What it meant for ancient Israel to secure a footing in this silk-market a thousand or twelve hundred years earlier may be left to the imagination. Almost anything was possible in the way of spreading through Asia. Dr. Mingana says that early Christianity reached the neighboring Turks by tens of thousands; Keraits, Ouighurs, Naimans, and Merkites. Ouighuria was a civilized Christian community, with a script derived from the Nestorian Syriac characters. Byzantine armies captured multitudes of Turkomans with crosses upon their foreheads. A curious new Syriac manuscript purporting to be from Philoxenus of Mabug, near 500 A.D., says that the Christian Turkomans do not make any distinctions between clean and unclean, know nothing of Nestorian error, use only Syriac script, and kill any who circumcise like pagans.[60] Since Islam was not yet born, and circumcision was never a custom of any Central Asian peoples, we seem compelled to recognize a Turkoman Judaism as the object of the fanatical intolerance which has the approval of the pseudo(?)-Philoxenus.[61] We may remember Genghis Khan's corps of Jewish Mongol troops, and his invitation to Jews driven from Samarcand and Bokhara into Persia to return, while he fanatically stamped out Christian churches in Tartary and Turkestan, etc.; as well as the like attitude upon the part of Timour one hundred and fifty years later,[62] with each hailed as a Messiah by some of the Jews. We certainly have a glimpse of the same battle between Judaism and the Christian church that is so largely recorded in the western world, with methods that our present western sentiments would not consider creditable to either party. Modern Jewish writers speak of Chinese Judaism as absorbed by Mohammedanism, not considering the relation of Nestorianism to the "proselytes." Corvino, sent by the Pope into Mongolian regions in 1289, found the Nestorians so powerful that they would allow no other Christian denominations to build

[60] Dr. Mingana thinks Moslems must be meant, because he has no notion of Jewish activity in Asia, and thinks that the Christian communities could not have been powerful in 450-500 A.D. This is against the evidence of his own records, and ignores the fact that little *zakku* colonies managed their own affairs. So he proposes a date about 760-790 A.D., "after the Arabic invasion" (*Bulletin of John Rylands Library, loc. cit.,* pp. 47, 56 f., 69, 72). But Prof. Pelliot, E. H. Parker, and others, as already cited, tell us that Islam was not dominant in this region till after 1000 A.D. And the thousands of manuscripts recovered at Khocho, in Chinese Turkestan include none in Arabic or old Arabic script. The Arab was not there.

[61] This name in Semitic would be a "lover of *gêrim*," or Jewish proselytes! It is curiously suggestive. Is he announcing his approval of the uncircumcised proselytes as against the fully Judaized?

[62] Mosheim, II, 459.

churches or proclaim their doctrines.[63] We may imagine its attitude toward Judaism in Kashgar, Karkam, Tangut, Ergimuth, Kerguth, and Tenduk, where Marco Polo found Nestorian churches.[64] Yet the Chinese Jews were still numerous and commercially influential in China in 1286. But they almost disappeared in the next four centuries.

In the period preceding the Mongol advance under Genghis Khan the legends of Prester John arose. The title is a Western Christian name for the Christian Khagans of the Karaite or Kerait or Kerrit or Karith Turks, the last of whom was slain by Genghis Khan, 1202 A.D.[65] It seems that these Turks were Christians for nearly two hundred years. The second Prester John is reported to have undertaken in 1046 a Christian crusade and to have advanced westward from Karakorum to Kashgar, a distance of sixteen hundred miles. His son reached Trans-Oxiana and Persia. The appearance of this Christian Turkoman dynasty is coincident with the expulsion of the Jewish Khazar Turkomans from Russia and their retirement into Central Asia. Whether there is any historic connection between the two events is not known. A Karaite Judaism was prominent in Khazar domains, and still exists in Russia. As for the title Prester John, the name John is probably a Syriac or Armenian blunder for the term Khagan, or Khaghan, the Turkoman official title. Witness the Hebrew Yokhanan turned into Hohannes or Khokhannes: one who did this would take Khakhan for the same personal name. The only point here is the fact that the term "Karait" has caused perplexity. Some have suspected Karaite Jews. In folk-tales they are confused with the Kirghiz, and legends connecting them with Japhet have been made. At present we cannot tell if some of the folk-lore of the region came from Nestorians or Jews. The claim of one-tenth of cattle by the Khakhan is most interesting. It is possible that much of the lore traceable from Euphrates to Kamtschatka, which some scholars have thought indicative of the immense direct influence of ancient Nippur, has really been carried along the trade routes which have been so important from immemorial times. How much was carried in the time of Jewish Diasporic propagandism will be clearer perhaps when the immense body of Khocho manuscripts has been read, and when the cultures partially revealed by the explorations of Sir M. Aurel Stein have been thoroughly in-

[63] Assemani, IV, 529. [64] Assemani, IV, 503.

[65] See *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* x, 272 f.; *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* xv, 828; Forster, *Voyages,* p. 141: Marco Polo, I, ch. 44; Howorth, *History of the Mongols,* I, 534 ff., 696 ff.

vestigated. At present, it seems that the cultures of Chinese Turkestan may prove as significant as those of the Euphrates and Tigris, or those just found in the valley of the Indus and in South Persia.

Two Jewish fragments already illustrate the significance of Chinese Turkestan for Judaism. Sir Aurel Stein found at Dundan Uilik, on the northern caravan route, a Persian business letter, written in square Hebrew characters. Professor Margoliouth dates it 708 A.D. It proves that the Jewish trader spoke Persian and that he was probably a Judaized Persian; that his correspondent used the same language and script; and that the Arabic or Cufic characters were not yet generally adopted by those speaking Pahlawi. It suggests that we may find much Jewish material in the tons of records recovered at Khocho. The other manuscript came from the southern caravan route, some fifteen years earlier, from the ancient city of Tun-Hwang in eastern Turkestan. In a buried cloister library Professor Paul Pelliot, the French scholar, found a sheet of paper with antique Hebrew writing. M. Schwab, who published it, dates it also in the eighth century.[66] It is then the oldest Hebrew manuscript thus far known. It is a simple Selichah or devotional sheet, composed of passages from the Psalms and prophets. But it is written on *paper,*—which at that date was made only in China. This old junk-heap, therefore, tells us that Jewish merchants from China were using that caravan route then.

Is any synagogue or Jewish temple likely to be found in the buried cities of the Central Asian oases? Where the city was of some pretensions and permanence, it is possible; for we have seen in the old Cappadocian tablets that an ancient Semitic trading-post liked to have a quarter of its own, with a sanctuary. But in minor settlements, or in those of proselytes of the native populations, and in camps of the nomads, none will ever be found, because the nomad peoples never built any. Their place of assembly is of the most simple and primitive kind.

"It is an oblong platform of beaten earth, twenty-five feet by twelve, encompassed by a shallow trench, and elevated some fifteen inches above the surrounding surface. On each side a broad plank, thrown across the ditch, gives access to the platform. The *muezzîn* takes his stand in some open space close by, and putting his hands to each side of his mouth, utters the long-drawn call to prayer at the appointed hours. I noticed several similar praying-

[66] "Le plus Ancien Manuscrit hebreu" in *Journal Asiatique,* 1913, pp. 139 ff.

stations in different parts of the village, one being evidently quite inadequate to accommodate all the inhabitants. In no Turkoman village did I observe any covered structure devoted to religious worship. The nomad habits of the people entirely preclude the possibility of making use of the domed and minareted structures of more sedentary Mussulmans."[67]

Similarly ancient Mongol sanctuaries are mere stone enclosures. The pretentious temples at Ourga are very modern. The name Ourga—Mongol *Khurae*—means "enclosure": the enclosure *par excellence*.[68] Among Persian peoples, moreover, the house of the religious head of any community may serve as an asylum, or as a place of assembly for worship. All these facts will come directly before us in considering the records of Israelite influence in China.

First, we may notice three parallels to the story of Moses, published by Professor H. A. Giles, of Cambridge University, in his *Adversaria Sinica,* 55-57. One from the time of the Chin dynasty, 265-419 A.D., is as follows:

"A girl who was bathing in the river Sheng (= conquest) saw a section of bamboo come floating along with the stream. When it neared her, she pushed it away, but it came back again, and then, hearing a sound from within, she took the bamboo and carried it home. On opening it she discovered a little boy, who on growing to man's estate adopted Bamboo as his surname, and afterwards rose to be ruler of the state."

The local color, with no reminiscence of Egypt or Palestine, will be recognized. The "Conquest River" suggests some legends of the generalship of Moses, as told by Josephus. The Egyptian papyrus reed becomes the Chinese bamboo. All early Chinese books were written on strips of bamboo. The "papyrus of the law," or Book of the Law, would, for the Chinese of the time, be the "Bamboo of the Law."

Another version is:

"It was under the reign of Wu Ti of the Han dynasty (B.C. 140-86) that King Bamboo arose from the river T'un. A girl, who was bathing from the bank, found that a three-section piece of large bamboo had floated between her legs. She was trying to push it away, when, hearing a sound, she caught hold of the bamboo, and carried it home. On breaking it open she discovered a boy who grew up to be very strong, and adopted Bamboo as his surname. The broken receptacle grew into a grove of Bamboo,

[67] O'Donovan, *The Merv Oasis,* I, 130.
[68] Gilmour, *Among the Mongols,* passim.

known as King's Words. This king was once resting on a large rock, and called for soup, but there was no water to make it, whereupon he struck the rock with his sword, and water gushed out."

The river T'un is not identified. But the very definite date surely records the entry into China of people bringing the books of Moses. There seems no other plausible explanation. The river T'un may have been the oasis-stream from which the immigrants came. And they themselves may have had the story localized there. That the Bamboo books of Moses came to be considered the words of the King needs no comment.

A third version is given by the writer Wang Chi, of the sixteenth century:

"The country of Mo-Ka was formerly an uninhabited wilderness, and there the Tajik patriarch Pu-lo-hou, who had been of strange appearance since his youth, had a son born to him by the wife whom he had married on reaching manhood. No water being at hand to wash the child, the mother laid it on the ground and went in search of some. She was unsuccessful; but on returning, she found that her child had scratched the ground with his foot and that a deliciously clear spring was bubbling up. The child received the name *Ssu-ma-yen* and a well-wall was built around the spring, which never fails even in time of drought. Stormy waves at sea may always be stilled by pouring some of this water upon them."[1]

The mixed elements of the Moses-saga are apparent. But the story is known to this writer through the Iranic Tajiks, and he supposes Moses was a Tajik patriarch: a conception that will appear again in the records. *Pu-lo-hou* is a good Chinese approximation to Per-ao, Hebrew Phar-aoh. The country Mo-Ka (black + increase?) looks like an attempt to translate "Ham," Egyptian *Khêm,* "The Black Land." *Ssu-ma-yen* = stupor + hemp or opium + smoke. There were certainly devotees of Israel who taught that oracles or visions were obtained through "pipe-dreams," and used Moses as an authority for the practice. The mother's search for water seems a reminiscence of Hagar and Ishmael.

Taking up directly some of the Chinese records relating to Israelite communities in China, we may observe that some important inaccuracies have long been current, repeated from earlier mistranslators. In the oft-discussed inscriptions of the Jewish community at Kaifeng, there is no such word as Jew, nor any that technically means "rabbi," nor any technical equivalent for the

Hebrew *kahal-kenisat*—"synagogue." Earlier translators, knowing only western rabbinic Judaism, read that into their translations. A careful examination will eliminate these features and show the influence of Persia and Central Asia.

In reviewing previous publications I have exchanged views with Bishop William C. White of the Canadian Anglican mission, who has been eighteen years in Kaifeng, collected much material, secured the ancient sanctuary site with the remaining inscriptions, and is planning to bring out a new book on the subject. Professor Chen Yuang, of Peking University, has begun some special researches into Chinese records, which have been brought to me by Mr. W. Y. Chen, of Foo-Chow, who is pursuing graduate studies at Duke University, Paris, and Oxford. Mr. Abbott Lloyd, of Durham, N. C., who was twelve years in Kaifeng, has aided me in examining the copies of the inscriptions published by Père Tobar. Mr. James A. Thomas, who was also many years in Kaifeng, has put historical material of various kinds into my hands. All this courtesy makes it possible to venture corrections of previous publications.

Beginning with Chinese records, Professor Chen Yuang cites a passage from a Buddhist polemical work, *P̦ien-Wei-lu,* of the year 1291 A.D. Marco Polo was then in China. W. Y. Chen translates, "The Hsieng-Sheng (Taoists) say that the Taoist teaching is the highest; the Hsiu-tsai (Confucianists) that Confucianism is first; the Tie-hsie (Christians), honoring Mi-shi-ho (Messiah), trust for celestial abodes; and the Ta-shi-man (Jewish scholars) praying to Heaven, thank it for its gracious deeds." Professor Chen explains that *Ta-shi-man* is the Persian *danishmand,* a "learned man" or *mûllah* (Arabic) and cities as authority the *Pe-lu-ye-yen,* a Chinese dictionary of foreign terms in Marco Polo's time. That the Israelite community's religious teachers are known by the Persian term *danishmand* enables us to recognize the presence of Israelites or proselytes in some Chinese records.

E. H. Parker reports a decree in 1329 that "traders belonging to the Erkuns (Christian, Archons) the Shuh-hu (Cantonese, Shut-fut) and the danishmands should still pay duties under the former laws."[69] Here we have the old special privilege contended for in Persia seventeen hundred years before: that clerics, no matter how wealthy or how great their mercantile activities, should not be taxed (Ezra 7:24). In 1264 the Erkuns, danishmands, bonzes, and Taoist priests are told they must pay land taxes and

[69] Parker, *China and Religion,* p. 176.

trade taxes. The same four classses in 1267 and 1292 are exempted from military service. In 1276, it is decreed that if these classes marry contrary to their own disciplinary laws, they shall be taxed like lay folk. In 1262 Kublai Khan decreed that the Elkoen (Archons) and the danishmands had to pay taxes. So the period of Marco Polo's sojourn was one of much agitation by "Israelite" danishmands about exemption from taxes.[70] In 1340 the Censor decreed that uncles (paternal cousins) of danishmands, Buddhists, Mussulmans, and the Chu-wu people should not be allowed to intermarry.[71] Marco Polo says that the Jews were numerous and commercially powerful in his time, and that some lived in Cambaluc (Peking) in 1286.

Professor Chen Yuang's citation of the actual colloquial significance of the term *danishmand* at this period is decisive, and the persistence of this Persian term in Chinese Jewish organization is a matter of first importance. It had been two thousand years since Israelite colonies were first placed in Iranic territory. Fourteen hundred years later, with Islam dominant in Persia, Arabic technical terms are being infused into Persian speech, and the mûllah displaces the danishmand for the Persian Moslem. But the Persian Jew does not accept this term. Six hundred years have passed since Persia yielded to Islam. But the Chinese government, when it issued a decree relative to the Chinese Jewish clergy, has to call them danishmands to be understood. The Arabic term *mûllah* is not in current use with them. It answers decisively the theory that Judaism entered China long after the Moslem. Two hundred years after Kubla Khan's time we will see Chinese Jews using *mûllah* (Chinese, *män-la*), suggesting that Moslem influence is then increasing.

This long conservative attitude of Chinese Iranic Judaism is emphasized by the fact that Chinese Moslems still use the term *A-hêng* or *A-hung* for the chief priest or head of a Moslem community. This is the Akhund of Persia—the term still current there for the chief of a shrine or asylum-community. The term shows Islam entering China over the old Iranic colony-route through Central Asia, with Iranic Judaism refusing this new thing from Persia.

Since the danishmands in the cited Buddhist polemical work are represented as praying to Heaven, we may next notice that a foreign "Heaven's chapel" at Ch'ang-an, now Sian-fu, in the province of Shan-si, is mentioned 621 A.D. in the work of the

[70] Parker, p. 183. [71] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

Chinese chronicler Wei-shu. A later expositor of this record, Min-Kuh in the time of the Sung dynasty, says that the chief functionary of this temple was known as the Sa-pan. "Modern Chinese scholars judge this to be the phonetic equivalent for the Hebrew Sopher, 'scribe,' who is known as a chief figure in later Chinese Jewish synagogues." That Ezra, the Jewish chief from Persia, was officially "the scribe" will be remembered.[72] Bishop W. C. White reports that Chinese records show at least four possibly Israelite sanctuaries in Ch'ang-an, but he gives no dates. The mention in 621 A.D. is the earliest that has come to hand. But we must remember the Central Asian habit of using a simple earthen platform or enclosure as a place of worship. Small Chinese Jewish communities may have contented themselves with such for long periods.

The Chinese official recorders did not always report Jewish sanctuaries. Père Cibot two hundred years ago complained that though the Jews then had a new and elegant synagogue built with public authority and decorated with marbles carved with mandarins' seals, the new geography of the city made no mention of it. And Wylie in 1863 also complained that "the Kai-feng-fu-ché, a topographical and historical account of the city which enters largely and minutely into a description of the public buildings and remarkable objects, makes not the slightest mention of their (the Jews') existence."[73] Professor Chen Yuang, searching the official records of the earlier time, finds variable treatment by the editors. The sanctuary at Kaifeng was not mentioned either in the record of Kai-Feng-Fu or the record of Honan. W. Y. Chen reads that it was a great negligence on the part of the Chinese who edited the records. In fact, most of the editors knew of the existence of the sanctuary. It was repaired by the decree of the emperor, and the banners in the sanctuary bore the names of some of the editors of records. Leading members of the Jewish community were high Chinese officials. Professor Chěn finds that the records show that the magistrates of Kaifeng bestowed special honors upon the Jews there in 958 and 965. Their attitude was quite different from that of the above later officials. It is recorded that the Kaifeng sanctuary is mentioned five hundred years earlier. The Chronicle of Tung Ching Chi, by Sung-Tzu-ao, names a cloister there for prayers to "the Spirit of Heaven." This was in the time of the Southern Sung or Liu Sung dynasty, ruling at

[72] Ezra 7:6, 11 f.; Nehemiah 8:1, 4, 9, 13.

[73] Cited by Tobar, *Inscriptions Juives de Kai-Fong-Fou,* p. 45 note.

Nan-King 420-478 A.D., when North China was divided among Tartar princes. It is the oldest reference to a Jewish sanctuary at Kaifeng that has come to hand.[74]

As for the term "cloister" above, the word so often translated "synagogue" is the regular Chinese word *Ssu,* a shrine of any kind, of any sect or religion. It has no suggestion of a popular assembly. It is applied to a cloister of Buddhist monks. The only *assembly* idea in it is an assembly of clerics. It was thus that the Jewish sanctuary seemed to impress the Chinese public. Another term often used is *tien,* "hall," sacred or secular; royal residence or public auditorium, great or small; or one room of a building.

With this plain record of occasional official unfriendliness, actual notices in Chinese records must be accorded larger significance. Some Jewish communities may never have received official notice. We have above several official references to the Kaifeng community before the reconstruction of 1163; none since. There is a still earlier mention of one in the Ning-Yuen square of Kaifeng, reported as erected about the time of the incursion of the Western Tartars during the Tsin dynasty, third to fifth century of our era. Bishop White adds that there were probably three synagogues at one time in Kaifeng; at least one each in Chin-Kiang, Hangchow, Ning-po, Loyang (now Ho-nan-fu), Nanking, Peking, Ning-hsia, Canton, and She-hung. It may be observed here that two Jews of Kaifeng who were brought to Shanghai in December, 1850, to interview the agents of the London Missionary Society, stated that their own ancestors came secretly to Ning-hsia, in Kan-su, in the third century. Later some of the community came to Kaifeng, where there was an earlier community.[75]

At this point we may notice another imperial record. When the Mongol dynasty was assailed in 1355, the emperor Toghun Timur summoned all the good archers of Ning-hia, and all the rich men of the Moslems and Shuh-hu to come for military service.[76] This probably puts again before us the contention of certain Jewish communities that they should be exempt from military service. It is clear that this Jewish community in Kan-su, some six hundred miles northwest of Kaifeng, is a very powerful one, and is assumed to be Turkoman-Mongol, or of Mongol-im-

[74] Three German Jewish writers report this, not naming the source of their information.

[75] Cited by Benjamin II, pp. 167 f., from *Zeitung für Nord-Deutschland,* Hanover, March 1, 1858.

[76] Parker, *China and Religion,* p. 176. Ning-hia is now Ning-hsia.

perialist sympathies. What appeals were made to other Jewish communities? The systematic examination of all Chinese records is yet to be made. The next year the Emperor repaired the Jewish sanctuary: probably an expression of appreciation.

The Jewish habit of segregating themselves into a distinct community is suggested by Ibn Batuta, who wrote about 1346 that the second division of El Khansa (Marco Polo's Kinsai, or Hang Chow) was inhabited by Jews, Christians, and Turks who worshipped the sun. The Moslem quarter was separate.[77] Only a compact and organized community could easily be reached by a royal summons. Mediaeval Ning-hia's position on the northern frontier, exposed to Tartar invasions, probably explains the emphasis upon its good archers.

The several imperial decrees prove numerous and prosperous Jewish communities at this period. The evidence of ancient travellers is corroborative. The Spanish Jew traveller, Soliman of Andalusia (875-900 A.D.) records that he found in all the large cities of China Jews who understood Hebrew, and who received him hospitably. Their understanding Hebrew tells nothing of their racial character. The famous Nestorian monument of Sian-fu is dated 1092 Seleucid era (= 781 A.D.) It was erected by Yezd-bouzid, priest and chorepiscopus of the Chinese capital Khum-dan, and son of a priest who came from Balkh in Tokharistan. Khum-dan is the Turkish and West Asiatic name for Ch'ang-an, the modern Sian-fu. It is colloquial for Khan-t'ang, "Emperor's Hall."[78] It is interesting that this monument in the royal city uses the West Asian name instead of the Chinese. With the erector's origin from Balkh and his Persian name, the whole is of value as showing the steady religious invasion of China by the Persian overland route. The Tokhars, Aryans who were in Armenia in Sennacherib's time (?), had moved eastward to Balkh. Their long-lost language is one of the seventeen found at Khocho. Two Moslem travellers in 851 A.D. wrote that the Jewish colonies they saw had been there from time immemorial. Arabic-speaking Oriental Jews are now in the ports of Hong Kong and Shanghai, but they came later from India; adherence to Arabic suggests derivation from Yemen. New colonies are known to have come by sea from India between 960 and 1126, that is, long before the arrival of any known white Jews in India. These must have been Black Jews from Tamil or Marathi ports. An Arab writer, Ibn

[77] Lee's translation, p. 217.
[78] Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica,* p. 272.

Khordhâdbeh (817 A.D.) records the western Jewish energy of his time. The Jewish traders he calls Radanites: a term unexplained. Rhodanîm or Rhodians, Jews of the Aegaean islands, may have been intended.[79] They spoke Persian, Roman, (Byzantine Greek), Arab, Frankish, Spanish, and Slavic. They thronged from east to west, and from the west to east, by land and by water, bringing silk, skins, and swords from the east. From the Frank lands, they went by sea to Farama (near ancient Pelusium), thence by caravan to Kolzum (Suez), thence by ship to India and China, returning with musk, aloes, camphor, and cinnamon. This was in the palmy days of the Jewish Khazar dynasty in southeast Russia, when the Jewish trading-colonies reached from their important city Samkarsh (the Greek Phanagoria on the east of the Kertch Straits) far into China. Along this overland route the Pahlawi remained the commercial *lingua franca,* as we have seen. Persian and Slavic were not needed along the sea-route detailed by Ibn Khordâdbeh. He does not detail the land-route because he had not travelled it. Islam at that time had not converted Chinese Turkestan and all Central Asia. The thousands of Khocho manuscripts of the period show no Arab there. But this preëminent Jewish activity along the Central Asian highways meant new Jewish immigrants to points in northern and western China. Ibn Khordâdbeh ("Excellent Gift of the Sun") was a Persian himself, and commissioner of the post-roads in the mountain districts of Media. He compiled much about Persian geography. Kolzum is also a Jewish name for the Caspian. The route from the Aegaean Sea *via* the Black Sea to Samkarsh and Batûm, thence by caravan to the Caspian Kolzum, is the Central Asian route. It is notable that Arab geographers do not give it the attention that they do to others. Even the famous Ibn-Batuta tours Asia Minor, crosses Persia to Bokhara, then turns south through Afghanistan to India, and reaches China by sea.

The evidence of the much-discussed inscriptions of the Kaifeng Jewish community may next be considered. There were three tablets when Jesuit missionaries first discovered the community in the seventeenth century. The inscription of 1489 tells of Jews reaching Kaifeng in ?420-478 A.D., restoring a sanctuary in 1163. The inscription of 1512 tells of Jews arriving under the Han dynasty, 25-206 A.D. The inscription of 1663 tells of arrivals under the Chow dynasty, eleventh to third century B.C. As the data already reviewed show official notices at various early dates,

[79] Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible,* I, 615; Dodanim of Genesis 10:4.

and show that many such arrivals were probable after 720 B.C., all criticisms of the differences in the inscriptions as contradictions may be dismissed as ridiculous. Still more ridiculous is the claim that the long one of 1663 was an invention that tried to match the antiquity of Mohammedanism. One who claims that Israelite migrations from 720 B.C. onward could not have reached China till after Moslem Arabs did simply forfeits the respect of all Semitic scholars. The differences in the three inscriptions are such as should be expected from descendants of several different migrations, and all have value for the constructive historian. The stone erected in 1663 has disappeared, but a perfect rubbing of it remains, in addition to the original translations made by modern scholars.[80]

As to the question of provenance, expressions in the tablets have been construed as pointing to Persia, or to India, and arrival by sea has been inferred. India is a very vague term in the ancient Orient, and to use it in translations without explanation misleads the reader. The inscription of 1512, telling of the colony that came in the time of the Han dynasty, says that it was from *T'ien-chuh Hsi-yü.* *T'ien-chuh* is familiar as "India": but what is *Hsi-yü?* "West lands" and "Persia" are common guesses. The matter is important, because one of the memorial tablets placed in the sanctuary a hundred and fifty years later (1664) announces: "From Hsi-Yü [the West] came the Superior Religion."[81] And the name Hsi-Yü has survived in their tradition till modern times. Dr. W. A. P. Martin in 1865 found a few survivors who claimed that their ancestors came from Hsi-Yü, which he explained as Persia. The Jesuit, P. Gozani, found some with the same tradition in 1704. Father Domenge in 1723 found some who still understood Persian, and who claimed that correspondence had been maintained with Persian-speaking Jews in the west till about two hundred years before; and Persian furnished some technical terms of the cultus. Where was this Persian-speaking land of Hsi-Yü of the Han times? It was not Persia: that was Po-ssu. This name continued under the Wei dynasty (386-543 A.D.) and was still in use at the time of the Nestorian Olopun's settlement at Sian-fu. The ancient pronunciation was Pa-sï.[82] Olopun came

[80] See Père Tobar, *Inscriptions Juives de Kai-Fong-Fou,* Shanghai, 1912. This presents all the known stone-inscriptions, with translations and review and criticism of previous writers, and plans. Other bibliography may be found in the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* article "China."

[81] Tobar, p. 15.

[82] Par-si. Cf. J. Edkins, in *Chinese Recorder,* XIII, 356 ff.

from Bactra. By Pa-sî the Chinese meant the whole southern part of the region between the Pamirs and the Persian Gulf. Hsi-Yü was east of the Pamirs.

A passage in the Han annals, giving the geographical extent of Hsi-Yü is decisive. We are told that Hsi-Yü is bounded on the east by the barriers of Yümen-Kuan and Yang-Kuan, and on the west by the Tsung-ling, or Pamirs, "from which mountain ranges extend, enclosing Hsi-Yü on the north and the south; and these same ranges bound the districts of South Road and North Road on the south and the north." But this is simply describing Chinese Turkestan. And again, "The land along the South Mountains (Kuen-lun) is called Nan-tau, and that along the North Mountains (Thian-Shan), is called Pei-tau. Both these provinces lie to the south of the North Mountains. . . . Hsi-Yü extends six thousand *li* from east to west, and one thousand *li* from north to south."[83] That is, Hsi-Yü is all Central Asia from about one hundred and five degrees east longitude, westward to Afghanistan, or the Pamirs, between the mountain-ranges indicated. The Persian language was its commercial *lingua franca* then, as we have seen. But the whole area is what we call Chinese Turkestan. It is important that commercial intercourse with Parthia was maintained by China at this time, and Parthia was An-hsi, a Chinese approximation to Ar-sha (Arsacid dynasty).[84] Now the eastern terminus of these Hsi-Yü caravan-roads to-day is An-hsi-chao. Is this still "the Parthian district"?

How is this Hsi-Yü connected with India? The Iranic Sakai that swept from Chinese Turkestan through southeast Persia into the Punjab founded the Scytho-Parthian kingdom with capital at Taxila about 120 B.C. and counted Hsi-Yü a province of their Indian kingdom. The Kushans from this Hsi-Yü a hundred and seventy years later overthrew the Taxila empire, as the Sakai had previously overthrown the Greek kingdom of Bactria. The Chinese general Pan Chao between 73 and 94 A.D. reconquered Hsi-Yü, from which the Kushan king Kadphises II was ruling northwest India, and forced the conquered Kadphises II to pay tribute. But by 94 A.D. Kadphises II had extended his authority in India to Benares on the Ganges.[85] The sum of it is that Hsi-Yü or Chinese Turkestan and India were politically one for Chinese of the Han times, and any who came from Hsi-Yü then were com-

[83] Quoted from Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 269.

[84] See Han Annals in Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient;* quoted by Schoff, pp. 276 ff.

[85] Schoff, pp. 186 f., 263. See also the Bibliography, below, *s. v.* Bosshard.

ing from a province of India. Ignorance of ancient political conditions and of the millenniums of Iranic dominance in Central Asian trade-oases has resulted in much recent misrepresentation of the inscriptions.

Then the records recovered by Sir Aurel Stein show that when the Sakai were establishing themselves at Taxila in India, where Aramaic monuments were familiar for four hundred years earlier, the Chinese Emperor was offsetting the Hiung-Nu raids on the northern route by garrisoning the southern route through Chinese Turkestan. And Stein found the above statement of Scytho-Parthian empire corroborated by the fact that an Indian language and art, with Graeco-Scythian modifications, was dominant about Khotan in the century before the Christian era: Kharoshthi and Sanskrit prevailed. Then came the dominance of an Iranic *lingua franca*. And among the many dated Chinese documents about the beginning of the Christian era were many pieces of silk inscribed in Kharoshthi, others in Brahmî or South India script, and still others in Aramaic characters. The Aramaic-writing traders at Taxila certainly must have travelled that Turkestan route with their competitors from the days that the Persians placed them in northwest India.

Thus the descendants of the Han migration have emphatic official record that their ancestors came from Chinese Turkestan. But the other inscriptions, telling of immigrants in ancient Chow times and mediaeval Sung times, also report ancestors from T'ien-chuh. No other region is known in the inscriptions or official records or more ancient traditions.

With this must be linked another outstanding fact: the total absence of any connection with Hebrew history. More than one modern Jewish observer has been struck with this. Palestine and all its hero-sagas are unknown. Jerusalem and Samaria and Gerizim are unheard of. Solomon and David are unnamed. The patriarchs of the Pentateuch are localized in Central Asia. Israel (I-tzu-lo-yie) is simply a religious fraternity. There is no identifying Israel with Jacob. "As for the Itzuloyie religion, its first patriarch was Adam (A'-tan), who originated in Hsi-Yü T'ien-Chuh." "As for Itzuloyie, the founder of the religion and first patriarch was Abraham (A'-wu-lo-han), descended from the P'an-ku Adam in the nineteenth generation."[86] Here Adam does

[86] Inscriptions 1489 and 1663; Tobar, pp. 57, 36, 65. Much perplexity is produced by different transliterations in different languages, and by typographical errors. Where the characters are accessible, this chapter follows the Wade system, used in McGillivray's and all other recent dictionaries.

not come from Hsi-Yü, but is identified with China's legendary first man, P'an-ku-shih. Then the same inscription of 1489 says that after careful research it had been shown that Moses wrought in the year 613 of the Chow dynasty (510 B.C.).[87] Perplexed Sinologists have not seen that this may mean that the religion of Moses began to work that year in Chinese Turkestan—or China. The appropriating of Hebrew traditions has been ignored.[88] This is sufficiently illustrative. The religion that came from Central Asia originated there in one version: in the other its traditional originator is identified with early China. It is clear that the original immigrants from Chinese Turkestan must have lost all historic traditions of Palestine and localized in their own land the patriarchs of the Pentateuch to which they were proselyted. As already noticed, the legends collected by Giles make Moses a Tajik, and the nomad Tartars with a few Jewish customs reported by Benjamin II did not know that there were any Jews in the world but themselves. Judaism for them originated with their own ancestors, who were driven out of Chinese Turkestan by persecuting Chinese.

Thus we have three times, "As for Itzuloyie, the origin of the religion"; once, "I have long known the religion of Itzuloyie"; once, "The followers of the *Ts'ing-chen* religion have the Itzuloyie hall."[89]. And one tablet over the gate with "Itzuloyie" in golden letters was long ago given to a Mohammedan mosque. But of "Benî-Israel" we read nothing. There is no thought that the worshippers are the descendants from a Palestinian past. There is no restoring Messiah for them, because there is no exile from which to be restored. The only designation for themselves in the inscriptions is the term *Ts'ing-chen.* This is applied to themselves, to their religion, to their sanctuary, and once to their ancestry. It is translated by Tobar "Pure-True."[90] It is not the Chinese for "holy" which is applied to persons several times in the inscriptions; and this makes it doubtful if meant as an equivalent of the Semitic *kadosh.* A marble tablet announced the sanctuary as the *Ts'ing-chen-ssu.* The inscription on the stone erected in 1489 was headed "Rebuilding of *Ts'ing chen-ssu*"; similarly, the stone of 1663; while that of 1512 was the "Honoring the Noble-Way-

87 Tobar, p. 38.

88 Similarly, American rustics have protested against a Greek New Testament: "the good old English was good enough for Jesus and Paul!"

89 Tobar, pp. 52, 81.

90 The Truly Pure? The inscription of 1489 explains that *Ts'ing* means a perfect vision of the Divine unity, and that *chen* means pure of heart or purpose; Tobar, p. 39. The combination then seems to mean "The Orthodox."

Book-Shrine." Five times in the body of the inscriptions the sanctuary is the *Ts'ing-chen-ssu.* But we also have "the followers of the *Ts'ing-chen* religion have the Itzuloyie hall," emphasizing the fact that "Israel" is not applied to themselves; and the erectors of this stone announce themselves as *"Ts'ing-chen*-descended men."[91] One of the shrine tablets announced, "We regard only the *Ts'ing-chen,"*[92] which might mean God or their doctrine. As applied to themselves, the term cannot mean genealogical purity, for they were a proselyting community. After a great disaster and years of distress, by imperial order their sanctuary was restored. "Then the multitude of followers of the Religion increased daily: they thought only of honoring Heaven and imitating their ancestors." That no Old Testament passages are quoted in the inscriptions, while Chinese books are quoted several times, shows constant effort to win the pagan Chinese and to adapt Yahwism to China.

This insistence that they are a Ts'ing-chen people with a Ts'ing-chen religion and Ts'ing-chen shrine, and their weekly round of effort to do special benevolences strongly suggest the old Israelite Chasidim. As already stated, there is no "Jew" or similar adjective in the inscriptions. The Chinese idiom merely speaks of "the Religion," "a Religion-man," "a Religion-disciple," "the Religion's humble followers," and so on. "Jewish," thrust into translations everywhere, is simply the translator's interpretation. As above, the religion is Itzuloyie, but the community does not call itself Itzuloyie.

These Chinese offered sacrifices. The ritual procedure is not important here. The fifty-nine remaining liturgical books have been secured by Dr. A. S. Oko for the Hebrew Union College at Cincinnati, and we may expect some further light from their publication and discussion. But a passage about sacrifices in the 1663 inscription is of peculiar significance. It declares that Moses (Mî-shêh) gained the Law through long fasting and meditation "on Hsi-na mount. He did not erect booths, he did not use houses. The (Book of) Rites says, One does not raise earth-mounds, one does not dig trenches: one levels the soil and sacrifices there—which shows the simplicity of The Cult."[93]

Now this public enunciation has in view Exodus 20:34, where anybody may sacrifice anywhere, on a simple earth-altar. It repudiates the custom already described as general among Turkoman nomads of making a raised earthen platform surrounded by

[91] Tobar, pp. 52, 54. [92] Tobar, p. 22. [93] Tobar, p. 66.

a trench, as a place for worship in camp or village. "The Rites" declares that leveled earth proves the simplicity of sacrifice; this pointedly repudiates the nomad Moslem platform-places of worship. But this means to tell us the custom of the Itzuloyie religion. There is no controlling priest, no centralizing worship at one sanctuary. Anyone makes an offering anywhere, as need may urge. It explains why its prominent members could fill important official positions for years at distant points, without feeling themselves cut off from sanctuary privileges. Small immigrant bands of The Religion probably contented themselves for years with enclosed levels (Mongol style) as sanctuaries.

Another passage in the same inscription is interesting. "The Book has a true meaning to be sought with care. Hence those who explain it must not dare to mix with it their numerous and embarrassing comments."[94] This is distinctly anti-rabbinic, or anti-Talmudic. Some Talmudic Judaism was in the coast regions when this 1663 inscription was composed.[95] The passage savours of the early right of private interpretation of which Karaism was one expression.

The clerical organization has been generally assumed to be rabbinical. But, as already stated, there is no technical equivalent for rabbi or synagogue in the inscriptions. All such terms in the translations are interpretation. And some observers just as regularly say "high-priest" instead of rabbi. A Jewish officer in the German army of occupation of Kiao Chow visited Kaifeng. His interpreter introduced him to "the high-priest." This "high-priest" knew no Hebrew, his predecessor knew none.[96] "The high-priest" showed their secret literary treasures.

The term *Wu-ssu-ta* occurs twice in the inscriptions: was it a proper name, or a rabbi? M. Deveria recognized it as the Persian *ústâ* (ustâd), used sometimes in Persia in addressing rabbis, or for the head of any kind of assembly or community.[97] That is too general and does not specify rabbinical duties. As to Persian-Turkoman Asia, whence The Religion entered China, "the ustâ man" is of much importance. He represents all arts and handicrafts: smith, tinker, dyer, goldsmith, jeweller, farrier, surgeon. As jack-of-all-trades the community views him with awe and respect, consults him in all emergencies, and may charge him with

[94] Tobar, p. 80.

[95] Chinese ships were active in Persian Gulf ports, 200-500 A.D.; Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 84.

[96] "The Jew in China," in *American Hebrew*, New York, Jan. 12, 1900.

[97] Tobar, p. 44.

impossible commissions requiring sometimes miraculous powers for their accomplishment. Any little community where handicrafts are not specialized must have one such Chief Artisan. He has no necessary connection with religion.[98] A recent photograph offered for this book shows the introduction of the modern western factory system into Persia. The employer, superintendent, or foreman of the group of women workers shown was called the *ustâ*. But in some modern Oriental or north African communities the leading merchant or artisan may still become the rabbi of his community, as well as its economic head. We are reminded of the Chief Merchant or Father Artisan of the old Assyrian trade-posts in the Cappadocian tablets; of the fact that Bezaleel in Exodus 31:1-5 is supposed to be skilled in all handicrafts, as Hiram of Tyre was in 1 Kings 7:13 ff.; and that the ancient Jewish artisan colonies in Cochin had a Chief Merchant or Artisan at their head. We saw that the ancient Syriac Christian community there had a similar Industrial Chief. But the one who sends envoys to China in 1282 is styled *Ustâ* in the Chinese records.[99]

Now in the Kaifeng inscription of 1489, we read *Lie-Wei Wu-ssu-ta ling-chang-ch'i chiao Yen-tu-la shih chien ssu,* which seems to mean, "A Levite, the Chief Artisan and their governing Master of religion, Yentula,[100] began to build the sanctuary." There appears to be only one person in the text, with his titles of high rank preceding, in Chinese style. In the 1663 inscription, it is repeated that Yentula built the shrine in 1163, and that it was rebuilt by the *Wu-ssu-ta* (Chief Artisan) in 1356.[101] In various passages describing the restoration of damaged copies of their books, no *Wu-ssu-ta* appears. All that work is undertaken by the *Chang-chiao,* Master of Religion, and his assistant *Män-la* (Mûllahs: the earlier danishmands). Several of them are named. Thus nothing in the context warrants calling the *Wu-ssu-ta* a rabbi.[102]

[98] O'Donovan, *The Merv Oasis* (1881), I, 130 f.; II, 153 f.

[99] Parker, *China and Religion,* p. 167 note.

[100] Lacouperie says Yentula is a familiar Djurtchen name.

[101] Tobar, pp. 4, 72.

[102] Bishop White sent me a passage copied from a MS. secured from the community in 1851, and now with London Society for the Jews. It has nothing to do with the Ustâ question; but since it was in mixed Chinese and "Hebrew," the title "rabbi" was claimed. The passage reads, "Chao Hung, and Chao Tsun, *sons of* Chao Shang Cheng, *son of Rabbi Joseph, the son of* Chao Yün Peh." The italics are for the "Hebrew." As written by the bishop, the Syriac *Bar* occurs three times for "son" and "sons." Nothing remains to represent "rabbi." Either that or "son" is supplied by the translator.

This "Master of Religion" is clearer when we observe that *Chang-Chiao* is regularly used to-day for the principal or president of a college. Reading their own organization into the past, the inscriptions give the title to Abraham, Moses, Adam, Noah—there is a difference of opinion in various passages as to who was the first Chang-Chiao. The popular impression seems to be that each ancient Pentateuch patriarch was a "Master of Religion." Ezra *(Ai-tzu-la)* made The Religion to shine forth with new brilliance, but no detail of him is mentioned. Several persons in the inscriptions hold the position at different times. The early Jesuit fathers often mentioned the Chang-Chiao. None named the Wu-ssu-ta: he was not their "rabbin." Religiously, the community's organization seems just what is familiar still in the Semitic or Moslem Orient: a shrine or asylum or holy city with a head-functionary—an *akhund* in Persia—and a corps of attendant *mûllahs.* There is no present evidence that the Chang-Chiao had more than local authority.

What of a "hereditary Levite" order? The man Yentula who was first of all a "Levite" and "Master of the Religion": had he any successors? When Chinese names were adopted some of the Jews used the first syllable of their own names as a Chinese patronymic. So in the list of seventeen families on the stone of 1489 appears Yen, not a Chinese name; probably the first syllable of Yentula. Bishop White writes me that this surname was, by imperial order, changed to Chao as a mark of honor to that family; and that this Chao family produced the Master of Religion of the community right up to the present time. The inscriptions show a Master of Religion of the Li patronymic. Professor Chen Yuang, pointing out that these patronymics were assumed since Marco Polo's time, observes that nearly all priests, teachers, and scholars in the early history of the community were of the Li clan—shortened from Lie-Wei, "Levite." It seems that an ancient Levitical order with the headship in a particular family, usual among Semites, is well established. The notion that such should not marry outside the clan has been reported by some modern Jewish visitors. The headship of the order was in Yentula's family, who later took the patronymic Yen till the emperor conferred the honorary patronymic Chao. The contention for the untaxable status of clerics in Mongol times has been noticed.

The organized artisan-mercantile community that we have repeatedly seen needs a considerable body of community land; and this cannot be assured by individual purchases. We have seen that

in the ancient Orient it required official grants. The inscription of 1489 says that the seventy families that arrived in the time of the Sung dynasty (?420-478 B.C.) were welcomed by the emperor and told to reside at P'ien-liang.[103] Mr. Abbot Lloyd, twelve years resident in Kaifeng, was told by his Moslem Chinese teacher that the community originally had a large tract of land, which they farmed as a silk-raising and manufacturing community—perhaps invited to Kaifeng for that purpose. This tradition of their ancient social organization has not been noticed by those who were interpreting the community as a modern western rabbinical one. The district assigned was probably regarded as a sacred city, since "at the end of one of the Hebrew books formerly in the Kaifeng synagogue, and probably dating to 1620 A.D., there is a Hebrew record of rabbis (?) and scribes which speaks of 'the city anciently called P'ien-liang, the Divine City, by Divine help.' "[104] Political revolutions are not detailed in the inscriptions. But when T'ai-tzu overthrew the Mongol line of Genghis Khan in 1368, it certainly meant disaster for the Jewish communities that responded to the summons to support the Mongols in 1329 and 1355. So the inscription of 1489 continues that as soon as Ming T'ai-tzu was victorious he began pacifying his army and the empire, awarding lands for residence and vocational activities to all that submitted to his beneficent authority. It acknowledges a divided, dispossessed, and disorganized community; for fourteen persons "and others" are named to act as män-la (mûllahs) for the new régime. To them is credit given that the ancient order of service did not disappear. But royal permission to rebuild the sanctuary was not given till 1421.[105]

Mr. Lloyd also reports that the emperor ordered tablets set up at the boundaries of the land, announcing that these were "good people" and must not be disturbed. Other observers have not reported this, simply through failure to inquire into the historical-social-political relations of the community. The district bounded by royal warning tablets is identical with the *zakku*[106] districts bounded by royal *kudurru*-stones that are so familiar to every student of the cuneiform. All the ancient parallels from Jewish communities in Iranic territory urge that these from Persian-speaking trade-posts in western Asia must have come as just such

[103] The ancient name of Kaifeng; Tobar, p. 43.

[104] From a private communication from Bishop White.

[105] Tobar, pp. 45-47.

[106] Could the *Ts'ing-Chen* phrase be an effort to translate the Semitic *zakûtu, zekûth,* expressing the status and merit derived from the ancestors? Moslem appropriation of it points that way.

a segregate community. The imperial concession that the immigrant community of seventy families in Sung times was to be permitted to maintain its own ancestral institutions[107] shows Persian Judaism insisting upon what is complained of in Esther 3:8, but conceded in Esther 8:15 ff. These "came at commandment." It suggests that they came when Bahram V was driving the Jews out of Persia, and his Jewish brother, holding the Balkh-Bokhara-Khiva frontier, was colonizing Jews, holding the Ephthalites in check, and strengthening his relations in Central Asia. Bahram V's reign and the Southern Sung dynasty began 420 A.D., and the Persian phrases remaining in the Kaifeng liturgies thus far examined are of the Bokhara dialect, according to the Jewish scholar Elkan N. Adler. The "commanded" Jewish immigrants must have been sent by the Khiva-Bokhara governor to extend his trade. Their reception by the Chinese emperor reminds us that *zakku* communities were always royal protégés, summoned to support the dynasty at need; and that when a "new king arises that knows not Joseph," the protégé colonies may expect trouble: exactly as the Kaifeng inscriptions guardedly admit. Their total silence about the recent Mongol dynasty is very suggestive.

We have a hint as to the actual strength of The Religion People after the reorganization at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty. The Tartar brigands besieged Kaifeng in 1642. Father Martini reports the population then at 1,000,000. Twenty to thirty per cent perished of famine and pestilence; then the Chinese decided to cut the Hwangho levees to drown out the invaders; and the latter, learning the scheme, cut the dikes of the river by the city to drown out the city. Scarcely 20,000 of the original population escaped—about one-fiftieth. Now the Jewish quarter was next to the river; its sanctuary was some five hundred feet from it.[108] The roaring waters (heard twelve leagues away, says the Chinese record) left the site buried with mounds of mud and sand. Now the inscription of 1663 says that only two hundred families of the Faithful (to the Emperor?) escaped. If they suffered no worse than other Chinese, their original number was about 50,000 people. It was eleven years before the scattered remnant of The Religion at Kaifeng were reassembled by a great Jewish imperial officer, Chao Ch'eng Chien, with imperial permission.[109]

[107] Tobar, p. 43.

[108] "The Jews in China," in *American Hebrew*, Jan. 12, 1900.

[109] Tobar, pp. 74-77. Bishop White writes me that the restored Kaifeng is several miles from the present Hwangho. The river by the present city is the Huai-Chi.

Probably immediately after this re-assembling by Chao Ch'eng Chien a census was taken, and an effort made to reëstablish family records. Among the remnants of the community records obtained by Dr. A. S. Oko for the Hebrew Union College is a register of the Jewish congregation. Dr. Berthold Laufer, examining this, finds that the seven clans reported are those mentioned on the back of the stone of 1663 as contributing funds to rebuild the sanctuary, and that several of the personal names are mentioned on the 1663 stone. Dr. Laufer concludes that the register was compiled between 1660-1670. Each person has two names: a Hebrew name, and a Chinese name which has no connection with it. This marks a period of transition not considered by Dr. Laufer. There were probably many discouraged persons who did not report their Hebrew names at all: many who in the twenty years preceding had merged with the Moslems or Confucianists. The register gives first the names of four hundred and fifty-three men: then the names of two hundred and fifty-nine women; and no children. Why were there nearly twice as many men as women? Had more women than men perished in the flood? Or had surviving women been sold to Confucianists? Proselyting is shown by the fact that there are family names for women that are not those of the seven clans of the men. One woman is of the Kong (Confucius) clan; another of the Mong (Mencius) clan. For men, favorite personal Hebrew names were Ben-Mosheh, Ben-Josef, Ben-Aaron, Ben-Jehosha, Abraham ben-Israel. Few personal names of women are given: "Daughter of Adam" and "Daughter of Israel" being the commonest additions to the family name. The whole suggests little knowledge of Hebrew names: descent from a few traditional patriarchs is the popular ideal. Dr. Laufer thinks the total community not more than a thousand. Father Gozani forty years later found the same seven clans, and made the same estimate of numbers. The clans were Chao, Chang, Kao, Li, Shih, Chin, Ngai.[110]

The adaptation of Yahwism or Judaism till it would not offend the Chinese by posing as a distinct and unassimilable foreign people of divine pretensions resulted in the loss of the meaning of the term *Levite*. So long as Hebrew was read regularly, liturgically, every one was sure to know what a Levite was; for some understood his activities when they heard certain sections read.

[110] Berthold Laufer: "A Chinese Hebrew Manuscript," in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, October, 1929. He transliterates "Ai" for Bishop White's "Ngai"; "Kin" for "Chin." Bishop White finds the seven still surviving. Dr. Laufer has not seen the data cited in this chapter proving that Judaism entered China in very ancient times through Turkestan.

In 1163 the Lie-Wei Chief Artisan was known. In 1663 it is doubtful if the term was understood. Professor Chen Yuang points out that Jews in China clung to the use of old Hebrew or Persian names till the time of Marco Polo, and were accordingly readily identified by travellers from Europe. That is why Soliman of Andalusia in 875-900 A.D. so easily found strong Jewish communities in all the larger cities of China. But since the Yüan Dynasty, 1368 A.D., Chinese Jews have used Chinese names, and have not been at once distinguishable by casual travellers. One way of forming acceptable Chinese patronymics was by using the first syllable of a name as a family or clan name. In the inscriptions Abraham is A-wu-lo-han; and if immediately mentioned again, he is simply Lo-han. Seventeen Chinese patronymics are named, of the seventy original families in the inscription of 1489: Li, Yen, Ngai, Kao, Mow, Chao, Chin, Chow, Chang, Shih, Huang, Nie, Li, Chin, Chang, Tso, Pe. As already stated, almost all the priests, teachers, and scholars in the history of the community were from the two Li clans, from one of which the Yentula family became a Yen clan, and later a Chao clan.

Another indication of provenance from a period of Levitical influence is the official called "the Sinew-Extractor." A popular name for The Religion is Tiao Chin-Chiao, "Sinew-extracting Religion," referring to Genesis 32:32. Animals were slaughtered in rooms on either side the sanctuary quadrangle, and this cutting out the sinews impressed the spectators. A recent Jewish writer, some years resident in China,[111] is at some pains to explain why the people of The Religion chose this name. There is no evidence that they ever did. The epithet does not occur in the inscriptions: of these the said Jewish writer shows no knowledge. Early Jesuits, like Father Gozani, observed the Chang Chiao, and the Män-la, and reported the Sinew-Extractor as the third official element in the community. It did not seem to occur to them that Sinew-Extractor was simply a Chinese equivalent for the familiar Hebrew *shokhet,* or butcher, which every *Kosher*-observing Jewish community needs. In North Africa we saw that this position is a distinction among cave-dwelling and nomadic Jews. The aspirant learns by heart a few pages of Judeo-Arabic, takes a few lessons from an established *shokhet,* and immediately becomes an authority and honorary instructor in the community. Some never get any other "religious" instruction.[112] It is enough to make him a rabbi in some localities. That the Chinese Sinew-Extractor is

[111] Perlman, *The Jews of China,* pp. 5 ff.
[112] Slouschz, *Travels in North Africa,* pp. 144, 305.

simply the *shokhet* is submitted without discussion. As in earlier Israel each family killed animals without Levitical superintendence, the Sinew-Extractor represents the later stages (Leviticus 17:4 f.) when it was expected that each Israelite would bring his animals to the Levitical butcher. The assertion that nearly all the pedagogical class of The Religion belonged to the Li families probably counted the Sinew-Extractors as in the learned class. The side-rooms of the Kaifeng sanctuary, where the Sinew-Extractors officiated, parallel the side-rooms for priestly butchery in Ezekiel's plan (Ezekiel 40:38-43). Priestly eating-rooms were also on the north and south sides (42:13). And excavations at Ur show that the temple-kitchens six thousand years ago were essentially as in modern Semitic sanctuaries there.

It is clear that the sanctuary of The Religion was not of the synagogue type, but of the general Semitic *mikdash* type: a large quadrangle or *maidan,* with buildings for various purposes arranged around it. These latter may vary in number and importance, according to the pretentiousness of the shrine. The most holy apartment or holy tomb is generally at the rear or west of the enclosure, with popular assembly-rooms on the east: the worshipper faces west in such cases as he enters. The type persists in the Abyssinian Falasha *meskîd,* and in competing Christian churches, as well as in the great Persian shrines.[113] With the total elimination of Palestine and its holy spots from the traditions of the Chinese votaries of The Religion, no reminiscence of facing Jerusalem is legitimately inferrible from the worshippers' facing the west, while reverence for ancestors who have "gone west" is clear. There was in the sanctuary such general arrangement as has long prevailed in Semitic sanctuaries planted in the Persian regions whence The Religion entered China.

There seem reminiscences of Solomon's temple. The Kaifeng sanctuary was simply general Semitic in having three divisions, with the most holy place in the west.[114] The outer court had tablets around it: the principal one for Abraham; twelve others for the twelve sons of Jacob; others for Moses, Joshua, Ezra, and other Israelite notables. This arrangement corresponds to that in 2 Kings 16:18; 23:12; Ezekiel 8:3-12, where the images abhorrent to the reformer prophets, including that of the lordship of

[113] See O'Donovan, *Merv Oasis,* I, 488-502, for description of the great "East and West" shrine of Imam Riza at Meshed, with front to the east. Ceremonies here show an ancient "setting sun" cult.

[114] See Ezekiel's Babylonian temple-plan, with prince's gate at the east; Ezekiel 43:1-6; 44:1-3; 46.

the Assyrian king, were in the outer court, or at the Gate of Kings. Ezekiel 43:7-9 shows us the cult of kings whose *bamôt* were placed in the temple. No objection to these is recorded before the days of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. These Hebrew hero-tablets in the outer court seem to be those to which the worshippers bowed right and left, pacing forward five steps and retiring three. A table for incense was placed before each hero-tablet; and at the tabernacle feast a little flower-decorated booth was built for each. There was no notion of the whole community dwelling in booths. And the annual offerings to ancestors, in shrines made for them in the sanctuary, reminds us of Ezekiel 43:7-9, and of annual mourning feasts for dead rabbins in the Jerusalem temple in Herodian days.[115]

Then the central assembly court, where the Law was read, had a canopied high seat for Moses. Consider "the foundation of The Seat" which Ahaz altered (2 Kings 16:18) (AV "covert for the Sabbath"), while Ezra, in Babylonian academy style, teaches from a stage in a public square (Nehemiah 8:1-8). This Chinese temple followed the older tradition.

Then there was a Holy of Holies, in absolute darkness, as in 1 Kings 8:12, 21; an ark was there, containing thirteen scrolls: one for Moses, and one for each of the twelve tribe-eponyms. Each scroll had its own compartment, closed with silken veils, and into this Holy of Holies only the priest and his assistants entered, after proper ablutions. The priest gave the *du-kan,* or blessing, from this dark chamber. The thirteen veiled compartments remind us that mediaeval rabbinism insisted that there were thirteen veils in Solomon's temple. Their location was a matter of dispute. Maimonides (*Beth Habbechirah,* chapter 4) thought that seven of them were before seven gates of the temple. With this should be compared the temple gate of "Benjamin the Elyon," where Jeremiah of the land of Benjamin was imprisoned (Jeremiah 20:2, 32:8, 44). There may have been others of the traditional veiled shrines that were named for sons or tribes of Jacob. In Jeremiah 2:26 f. the "fathers" and "mothers" in the sanctuary were represented by stone pillars and wooden posts. Facing these the worshipper turned his back to the Yahu-shrine. So this Kaifeng sanctuary was not at all rabbinic; it strongly suggests pre-exilic temple institutions.

The inscriptions require the worshipper to worship three times a day: morning, mid-afternoon *(minkhah),* and evening. It does

[115] Josephus, *Wars,* II, i.

not appear that the whole community was expected to visit the sanctuary. The small size of the assembly-hall shows that. W. Y. Chen observes that the prescribed pacing and bowing was neither Moslem nor Chinese. The worshipper did not prostrate himself or crouch, knocking his forehead on the ground, in Chinese or Moslem fashion. He entered the synagogue, and bowed (to the principal shrine), standing in the middle. Then, stepping forward five steps, then back three, he bowed (to shrines on) left, then to (those on) right. "Whenever one looks up, one should bow." This is paralleled in the *barû* or priest-seer ritual of the hereditary *barûti* of Sippara, in extant cuneiform liturgy. There are seven altars in this ritual as in Numbers 23:1, 14, 29; and the *barû* steps toward each altar in turn and bows.[116] This same formal pacing provokes Isaiah 1:12; "When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this of you—the stamping of my courts?" It is not Chinese, but another old Semitic custom (or pre-Semitic?).

Again, we are told that the conductor of worship wore a veil over his face as he read The Law,—in accordance with Exodus 34:31-35. D. McGillivray[117] finds no certain Jewish parallel to this, save in 2 Corinthians, 3:12-16. He does not recall that while early ephods or masks might be of metal, as in Judges 8:26 f.; 17:1-14, and the performing Levite was recognizable only by his voice when wearing one (18:3), that Samuel's was made of linen (1 Samuel 2:18), as were those of the priests of Nob (22:18).[118] The veiled priest reading the Law is certainly not rabbinic. But there are ancient Israelite parallels. As for honors for the patriarchs in the Chinese Jewish temple, we should remember that memorial festivals for dead rabbis were held in the temple at the time of the passover, in the first century.[119]

Another distinctive feature of their liturgy was the annual sacrifices to Heaven: vegetable offerings in early spring, with prayers for a prosperous season, and harvest-offerings of the fruits in the autumn. Professor Chen points out that these are not Chinese. Nor are they the offerings that Turkoman nomads

[116] Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Babylonischen Religion.*

[117] "The Orphan Jew Colony of Ho-nan," in *Chinese Recorder,* 1919, pp. 780 ff.

[118] The debated ephod of Exodus 39 may have originally supported a gold mask, which eventually became a mere golden plate on the front of the mitre. The story of the dazzling face of Moses was probably invented to justify this priestly device. Exactly this scheme is attributed by Josephus to Herod Agrippa: he appeared in a silver-thread garment, which blazed in the morning sun till the people shouted that he was a god.—*Antiquities,* XIX, viii, 2; cf. Acts 12:21 ff.

[119] Josephus, *Wars,* II, i, 3.

would bring. Nor are they the customs of rabbinic Judaism. They are what we should expect of settled agricultural Israelites, as in 1 Samuel 10:3; 2 Kings 4:42 f. The early Jews in China did not have the customs of pastoral life. The semi-annual sacrifices to Heaven were those of supreme importance; those to the patriarchs and ancestors were secondary; and the careful observance of the Sabbath, with fasting four days each month, seems to have made the Sabbath a fast-day with no cooked food. One had to bathe, fast, and meditate, suppressing desire ere one could come to worship. This points to the liturgies of the time of Isaiah 58, and self-affliction as in Leviticus 23:32.

There was also a solemn seven days' fast at the beginning of each of the four seasons, which is neither Chinese nor rabbinic. At the end of autumn was the great annual fast and Sabbath for one day. Every activity was suspended: no fires lit, no food cooked. While Leviticus 23 has seasonal feasts the Kaifeng community clung to what seems an older worship of seasonal fasts. There is no record of any use of booths, as in post-Ezra times. The forms of worship seem those of pre-Pentateuch times. The great annual fast is not in the Babylonian Yôm Kippûr form. The lack of the Chanukah and Purim festivals also points to a pre-Maccabean age. Altogether, the liturgical evidence supports the claim of the third tablet that a Jewish community was established there some time in the Chow dynasty, 1100-300 B.C. As already suggested, since Moses is estimated to have begun his work in the year 613 of the Chow dynasty, which would be 510 B.C., that may have been the date of an official permission of an Israelite community in China. The assertion of Isaiah 49:12 that Israelites were already in some of the Tsin domains was about forty years earlier. The more prominent distinctions of the Kaifeng community point to as early a date as that.

What did the community do when without a place of assembly? Modern observers have reported no meetings anywhere. Riverside gatherings, like those in New Testament times, were unknown. The rabbinical idea of a quorum, a *minyan* for service, was unfamiliar. But the German Jewish officer Lehmann, who reported his interview with the "high-priest" in 1900, was told by him that the Sabbath was still observed; that some of the faithful met at his house each Sabbath for worship and that the remaining literary treasures were concealed in his house. This suggests the Persian shrine: the house of the Akhund or head of the sacred community is the final shelter or asylum, even for those who may not take refuge in the shrine.

The Kaifeng community in the past thousand years did not use the word *God.* The inscriptions speak incessantly of Heaven, August Heaven, the True Heaven, the High Heaven, the Supreme Ruler, the Invisible, the Formless One, the Ever-living Lord (?) or the Lord of Long Life, the Extremely Pure. How far this is an adaptation to Chinese phraseology, and how far a reminiscence of God of Heaven or Lord of Heaven of post-exilic times (Baal Shamayim of 875 B.C.), reflected in the "Heaven" of 1 Maccabees, will remain a matter of debate till the unpublished liturgical works are studied.

To the indisputable evidences of great antiquity, with no occurrence of a term for Jew, or Judea, should be added the influence in modern times of communities calling themselves Jewish, and the record of disasters to the liturgies of the Kaifeng community. Then it will be recognized that efforts at replacement have resulted in a decided mixed liturgy. Though no Jews are known in the Itzuloyie Chiao of Kaifeng, the Mongol imperial appeal to the Ning-hia community in 1355 was to the Shu-hu ("Jews") there. All through the centuries we have seen groups of people in various lands insisting that they were "Israel," and not Jews; while others distinguished themselves as "Jews." Sinologists who ignore this elemental fact are puzzled if a Chinese record mentions both. The Censor's decree of 1340, already mentioned, included the danishmands—the Persian clerics of the Itzuloyie communities—and the Chu-wu (Cantonese Shut-fut) who were the Arabic-speaking Jews in the seaports. The early Jesuit missionaries found the Arabic-speaking Jews at Shanghai, Ningpo, and other ports saying that they had come from India, and calling their religion "the Indian Religion"—Palestine was a lost fact for them. The Kaifeng community reported many migrations of their membership, during Tartar wars, to Kiang-Su, Amoy, and Peking, while in more recent times "Indian" Jews from Shanghai and Hong Kong have been found at Kaifeng.[120] But the terms *Yu-tai, Yu-hud,* reported in some books are modern western blunders, suggested by the investigators' prepossessions. Yu-tai-Kuo, "Judea-district," is a distortion of a reading given to Bishop Smith by one of the Chinese delegates sent to Kaifeng in 1850. It does not appear in any inscription or Chinese record at present known to us.[121] But the few citations from Mongol times show communities calling themselves Jews instead of Israelites.

As to disasters, we have seen that the Kaifeng community was

[120] Feist, p. 61.
[121] Bishop W. C. White, in a private letter.

influential and was officially complimented in 958 and 965. The building in 1163 was then a reconstruction and is specifically called such in the inscription of 1663.[122] The vicissitudes of the intervening two hundred years are untold. A rebuilding in 1279 and in 1356 are acknowledged in the inscriptions. In neither case are we told of precedent disaster. But the rebuilding in 1356 was the year after the imperial appeal to the Jewish communities to come to the aid of the tottering Mongol dynasty. It is a fair inference that it had been destroyed in the civil war. Then we saw that the fall of the Mongol dynasty in 1368 meant the shattering of the community organization, with imperial permission from the new dynasty to rebuild the sanctuary in 1421. The Kaifeng representatives told the London Missionary Society representatives at Shanghai in 1850 that a flood in 1446 made their books illegible, and that they secured new ones from Ning-po and Ninghia.[123] Then the inscriptions tell us of another flood in 1461[124] that destroyed the sanctuary: four wealthy members rebuilt it and placed there thirteen copies of the sacred books, with some scores of liturgical books. The Kaifeng representatives in 1850 said that a fire destroyed the sanctuary and much of the literature between 1573 and 1620. The inscriptions do not mention this. Then with the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1642, and the already described drowning out of the whole city, surviving scholars pieced out new copies of liturgy and Pentateuch from the damaged copies rescued from the flood. The Kaifeng men of 1850 said that they also bought a Ta-King (Pentateuch) from a Mohammedan at Ninghia, who secured it from a Jew at Canton. P. Kögler was shown this book.

We have, then, no consecutive history of the community and can have none. The records have been destroyed too often. We recognize that accessions and restorations at different times resulted eventually in a composite liturgy. The main body of the ritual thus far examined is the Persian Jewish; some of the prayers and the New Moon announcement are of the Aramaean form; the passover haggadah is the Yemenite Arabian. Their Pentateuch Codex was that of the Cochin Jews, of India.[125] It is a relatively modern Codex, secured from Cochin Jews who had migrated to Chinese ports. Some of them must have settled at

[122] Tobar, p. 83.

[123] Republished in *Zeitung für Nord-Deutschland,* Mar. 1, 1858; quoted by Benjamin II, pp. 167 f.

[124] Tobar, p. 73.

[125] Feist, p. 57; *Jewish Encyclopedia,* IV, article China.

Kaifeng, for Mr. James A. Thomas reports that he frequently heard the local community spoken of as "Black Jews," a regular term in India for Judaized natives, as we have seen. But the fifty-nine liturgical booklets secured by Hebrew Union College are yet to be critically examined. Further evidence of the composite character of the liturgy is to be expected.

That the Kaifeng community had many men of great culture and influence has become familiar to modern scholars. Chao Ch'eng Chien, who was commissioned by the Emperor to restore the ruined city and community of The Religion, after the fall of the Ming dynasty, was Mandarin of the province of Shensi. Professor Chen Yuang, making some researches in the Chinese records relative to persons mentioned in the inscriptions, finds that Chao Ying Cheng, who edited the inscription of 1663 was a famous scholar, as well as a high official. He was the author of two hundred and forty volumes of literary work, besides the "Record of the Rescuing of the Holy Scriptures" from the flooded synagogue. Tso-Tang, author of the 1512 inscription, is found to have been a noted official at Canton. In the record of Wei-Yang there is a biographical sketch of him. He was notable for his integrity and uprightness. Through jealousy he was accused by his enemies of receiving bribes. He was so angry about it that he became sick, and said to himself, "In my whole life I have preserved integrity and good reputation, and yet I have to suffer for such a false accusation." He did not eat, and died. When he wrote this inscription emphasizing the Book of the Law, he was sub-prefect of Chiang-tu, a county district of the prefecture of Yang-Chow-Fu. Chin-Chung, named in the inscription by Tso-Tang, was the author of the first inscription.

Professor Chen, searching the records for traces of the families named in the account of seventy families from T'ien-Chuh, finds that most of them appear as citizens of Sian-fu and Ning Hia. These points being some hundreds of miles northwest of Kaifeng, it may be that the seventy families were of Hsi-Yü folk who had settled at those points, and were then invited to plant a colony at the capital.

It would appear that the time of the Mongol dynasty was the Golden Age of Chinese Judaism. The Kaifeng community was almost extinguished by the revolution that established the Ming dynasty. It must have been the same with other communities that had rallied to the Mongol appeal for help. Professor Chen points out that this was the time when the Chinese Jews sud-

denly abandoned the use of old Hebrew and Persian names, desiring patronymics that announced them nationally Chinese. In recent times most of the family patronymics on the tablet of 1489 have been erased by the community because of Mohammedan persecutions and Boxer outrages. The clans advertised on the stone desired to conceal themselves from persecutors. With the rise of the Mings also develops the official attitude in Ho-nan of ignoring the Kaifeng community in the official records. This general attitude must have been one influence leading to the abandonment of Hebrew in liturgy. The last Chang Chiao who understood some Hebrew died about 1800.

A great flood in 1849 ruined the sanctuary, and the fanatic outbreaks against foreign religions scattered the community and impelled them to conceal themselves. Dr. W. A. P. Martin of Peking visited them in February, 1866, and described them in *A Cycle of Cathay*. The community was in abject poverty, and the wretched people were selling the ruins, removing with their own hands, and trading it as building material. The community numbered between three hundred and four hundred poor people. They had never had the Scriptures in Chinese. They had parts of Zechariah and Malachi, used the Seleucid era in dating, and had acquired some rabbinical customs. The golden-lettered gateway-tablet announcing the synagogue to be "Israel's Possession" had been removed to a neighboring mosque. Some had joined the Moslem community; one or two had become Buddhist priests; some were studying Confucius. They had no Messiah tradition, and had had no religious head for fifty years, and no system of education. Extinction under such conditions was inevitable.

Efforts were made by Western Jews to rehabilitate the little community, but it slowly declined. In 1900, it numbered one hundred and forty persons with no leader, no synagogue, no education. Mr. Abbott Lloyd, of Durham, North Carolina, resided in Kaifeng from 1902-1914. In daily dress and deportment, the surviving members were not distinguishable from the Mohammedans. They had some twelve or fifteen stalls or shops, selling hot water and a few sweetmeats. Such a stock might not be worth more than a dollar or two. The whole puts vividly before us the slow dwindling of a Jewish community of "sacred people" on a large tract of sequestered land until its final extinction. The handsome shrine of sixty years before, with its block of community buildings, had disappeared. The very soil had been sold and carted away by the poor people. A stagnant pond covered

the site of the sanctuary. They had a few rubbings of ancient inscriptions to sell. One principal tablet was built into the wall of a neighboring house. The Canadian Anglicans have recently acquired the whole site, and all that could be recovered of the records.[126] The memorial stones of 1489 and 1512 have been presented to Bishop White. Dr. W. B. Pettus of Peking in a previous visit found the poor Jews watching for an opportunity to sell a rubbing of their stone. "The price? Nothing: You are a friend of our people. I could not think of charging you anythink. A rubbing is worth 400 cash: but what is that between you and me?"[127]

The effort of the Anglican Mission to rally the scattered community reveals to us vividly the modern fears that drove the members into hiding. In May, 1919, the Mission undertook to establish social meetings for the poor Jews, with free entertainment of various kinds. It had been clear that there were many more Jews than had long been supposed: they were afraid, and concealing themselves. Special invitations were given to known Jews, and these were urged to seek out those whom they knew to be Jews, and urge them to come. It was estimated that there were at least two hundred families still claiming Judaism. Forty families were enrolled: the heads of thirty-six of them were present. The clan-heads of the seven clans, Chao, Kao, Li, Shih, Ngai, Chang, and Chin attended. Name-badges were pinned on each one: it was a "get acquainted" meeting. Most of them did not know each other, but they remembered hearing their fathers speak of the fathers of the others. All family records had been discontinued, except those of the Shih (Stone) clan.[128] This illustrates how rapidly a great community can disappear when without a shrine and social organization.[129] It makes us certain that the ancient Pahlawi Judaism of the time of the Chow dynasty was able to establish sanctuaries at many points in Turkestan, Mongolia, and China, else it could not have survived at any point. It certainly numbered hundreds of thousands once.

[126] See account by Bishop William C. White, *China Mission Year Book*, 1913, pp. 162-65. Bishop White writes me that he has gathered some new material during 18 years' residence, which he expects to bring out in book form. A replica of the main stone has been placed in the Royal Ontario Museum.

[127] Cf. Genesis 23:11-15.

[128] *Chinese Recorder*, 1919, pp. 780 ff.

[129] Compare Richard's *Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire*, p. 60, "few left"; 400 on p. 363; bibliography, p. 383. For an extended account of the customs and worship of this community, see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, 33 f.

Among the events leading to the extinction of Judaism in China two are worthy of special notice. The *Jewish Encyclopedia* mentions the report of Arab writers that in the year 884 one hundred and twenty thousand Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans were massacred in the port of Canfu, for participation in a rebellion led by Bai-Chu; the authors explaining that Can-fu was the main port of entry for Arab-traders. It is the Gan-pu of Marco Polo, twenty-five miles northeast of Hang-Chow, and then its seaport. This is only a fragment of the story. I-Tsung, almost the last of the Tang dynasty, had a fanatical devotion to Buddhism; he even sent an embassy to India for a bone of its founder. Its swarm of idle monks were not to Chinese taste. He died in 873, leaving a very feeble son, Hsi Tsung. There followed a succession of revolts for fifteen years, each resulting in wholesale massacres. A principal one in the South was led by Hwang Chao, who won opponents of the royal policy to himself by his "liberalities." They captured Canton; the great cities of the provinces of Hu Kwang and Kiang-si surrendered; so did the royal residence-cities of Loyang (now Honan-fu) and Sian. Hwang Chao held court at Sian (Sian-fu, capital of Shensi) two years. But the Turkoman Likeyong of the Chato Turks came to the aid of his master, Hsi Tsung. Hwang Chao was beaten, his supporters massacred; and he made his last stand in Ho-Nan, where the above-mentioned seventy Jew families of various migrations settled two hundred and seventy years later. There, in 884, he was slain by some of his own men. All China was desolate. Every province had been ravaged, all towns ruined, the capital burned. Every fortress had experienced a siege. Such is the sum of the fifteen years of insurrection. The Jews and Christians and Mohammedans who joined in the uprisings suffered especially.

The Can-fu massacre was but one of many.[130] The insurrections were eventually suppressed with Moslem Turkoman aid. The decision culminated in Ho-Nan, where the Turkoman seems to have been ever since, insolent and swaggering. To summarize present Mohammedanism in the Chinese Empire: there are to-day between five million and ten million Mohammedans there, in two distinct types. Those of the west of China are quiet, not fanatic. The great body in the region around Kaifeng are insolent, arrogant, more intolerable toward alien unbelievers than the Moslems of lands further west, where the "Frank" is no longer a novelty.

[130] Boulger, *History of China*, I, 215 f.

The Turkoman origin of these Chinese Moslems is still apparent.[131] Their attitude toward the Jews has not been sympathetic. Dr. McGillivray thinks that Confucian tolerance and approval of the worship of the Spirit of Heaven has operated to absorb the Jews, while Moslem arrogance has driven them in the same direction.

In contrast with the Moslem Turkoman policy was that of the Mongols. The eruption under Genghis Khan annihilated many Jewish and Nestorian communities in Central Asia: but Genghis Khan had a corps of Judaized Asiatics in his host. As he swept over the lands of the Bagdad Caliphate and the Shîah regions of Persia and Turkestan he destroyed all the Moslem centers of learning, and his Mongol successors found themselves in the position of being the only protectors of Islam in Central Asia. They invited and welcomed vast multitudes of the Central Asian Moslems, and Genghis Khan had also deported from the ravaged lands craftsmen of various kinds whom he thought might be useful to him. Kublai Khan's policy was tolerant. But Genghis Khan had invited the Jews driven from Chinese Turkestan and Merv and Bokhara to return also, and some communities certainly came into China. One result is plainly shown in the fact already cited: that in 1354 when the Mongol dynasty is failing it begs the Jews of the northwest communities to come to its aid; which implies powerful communities assumed to be of Mongol creation and sympathy. But the great predominance of the Moslem, and his special imperial favor tended to induce Judaized Turkomans and Mongols to accept Islam. It is certain, then, that the several million Chinese Moslems to-day include many whose ancestors had adhered to Judaism. Modern Jewish investigators report meeting many persons who knew that their ancestors had been Jews, but who did not know what it meant to be a Jew.

An interesting illustration is found in the records of the Mohammedan mosque at Canton. These were translated and published by the German scholar Himly, over forty years ago.[132] The connection of this mosque with the Kaifeng community has not been noticed. The Moslem community agrees that it was founded by Arabs who came by sea in the time of the Tang dynasty (613-905 A.D.). Dennys, who first described them, thought it was about 850 A.D. The records translated by Himly state that the founding

[131] Douglas Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia,* II, 613 f.
[132] "Die Denkmäler der Kantoner Moschee," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft,* 1887, pp. 141 ff.

was in the third year of Ch'eng Kuan, whose imperial title was T'ai Tsung. That would be 629 A.D., which is rather early for Islam to establish itself in China! The mosque with all of its records was destroyed by fire in 1343. A compilation was then made from various sources, and a historical inscription prepared in 1350. Two others were made later. Examining some of the sources from which they were compiled, syncretism with the Kaifeng tradition is found.

"It was founded in the time of the T'angs by foreigners. In the year 4 of Ch'eng-Hwa of the Mings (1468 A.D.) the chief censor Han Yun placed here the highly skilled official A-tu-la (Yen-tu-la) with seventeen families, to dwell here. On the top of the dome was a golden cock, which turned north and south with the wind. Every year in the fifth and sixth months the foreigners ascended to the summit with five drums, and prayed with much outcry for wind (rain making?). According to their belief, the erection of Buddha images is not to be called worshipping God. Only the writing of golden letters is permitted." Another source has, "From the time of the T'ang dynasty till now, through more than ten thousand years, people do not venture to approach the Holy Tomb in cheerful guise. In the time of Chi-Cheng, of the Mongol dynasty, Sa-tu-la with seventeen families was settled in South Canton, to care for the temple and tomb."[133]

It will be observed that neither version places the "Very Learned A-tu-la" and the seventeen clans in the time of the T'angs. Neither makes them founders; they were modern additions by imperial authority. Himly has not noticed that the official with his seventeen clans is an echo of Yentula and the seventeen clans of the Kaifeng inscription of 1489. It seems clear that both Mongols and Mings made it profitable for members of communities like that at Kaifeng to take charge of some Moslem shrines. Those who came brought the tradition of their derivation from the Yentula colony with them.

Of other Jews in China, those of Canton probably have more of the ancient elements. A recent Jewish compendium estimates their number at fifteen to twenty thousand petty traders and peasants, very poor. They have no synagogue on the land, but have a three-compartment sanctuary of three little boats built on the water. Anyone attending worship there is expected first to bathe in the river, winter or summer. In appearance they are not distinguishable from other Chinese.[134] Some modern visitors to

[133] Himly, p. 165.

[134] Kreppel, p. 802.

Canton do not seem aware of their existence. No collection of their traditions has been made. Benjamin II[135] heard there were Jews in the neighborhood, but records no acquaintance with them. He was told that there was a tribe beyond the Hoang Ho called Hawaïa, counted as Jews, and that a caravan came from them to Canton every two or three years, with spices, dyes, teas, and colonial goods. In the familiar superficial style, without concerning himself to make their acquaintance and to be sure of their name, Benjamin indulges in etymological derivation of "Hawaïa" from Yahweh. He was confused in his hearing of "Hai-liao." Himly cites the Chinese customs-collector and author, Chao Ju-Kua (about 1200 A.D.), who says that because of the great distance of Ta-tsin (Syria) and T'ien-Chu (India) he had not direct contact with these people. Hai-liao from T'shi (south Cochin China) had a settlement in Canton once. If "Sea-Hunters" or "Sea-Fishers" be accepted as the meaning of Hai-liao, it points to the fisher castes of the Malabar coasts. But the name is varied in the Chinese writing, and certainly points to overland traders through Central Asia *via* Sian-fu in some connections.[136] So Benjamin II's tale is a reminiscence of this immemorial caravan trade through Central Asia, the Jewish communities at Sian-fu or Ning-hia probably forwarding to Canton occasionally.

Judaism certainly reached Japan. The extent of its spread and influence is still undetermined. Lloyd, in *The Creed of Half Japan,* endeavored to prove that it had largely influenced Japanese Buddhist ideals. The concrete facts are that in the province of Yamato are two ancient villages, Goshen and Menashe (Manasseh). For these names there is no Japanese etymology. The legend is that in the third centry of our era a strange people of about one hundred silk raisers appeared. In the census of the year 471, this people numbered eighteen thousand six hundred and seventy and were highly esteemed in the province. A temple known as the "Tent of David" still stands where they first settled. Figures of a lion and of a unicorn standing at the entrance are called "Buddha's dogs" by the Japanese. But the Chinese call them "Persian lions"; which points to the provenance of these silk-producers. A folk-legend still current says that the founder of the sect, when a child, was found in a little chest floating upon the water. The people to-day call themselves Chada, "The Beloved."

[135] *Eight Years in Asia and Africa,* pp. 163 f.

[136] Himly, *op. cit.,* 1887, pp. 167 f.; cf. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient,* p. 22.

This is traditionally the meaning of "David." But it may reflect "Chasîd."

In the city of Usumasa, on a site belonging to one of the oldest of the Chada families, is a well some fifteen hundred years old. Upon the stone curbing the word "Israel" is engraved. A village near Usumasa is Kando-a-mozi, "River-crossing + Journey-cakes," which suggests the Red Sea and the Passover. The Chada came by way of Korea, where they had an academy in Piang Yang. Its name was Ypulan, in Chinese hieroglyphs. Professor Anasaki, of the University of Tokyo, considers it the phonetic equivalent of "Ephraim."[137]

In the chapter upon the Jews of India, it was noticed that the type of alphabet or script that was current in Phoenicia or Palestine about 650 B.C. appeared at the same time in Malaysia. It was not one of the modified alphabets that had been developing for two centuries in South India, and the fact proves a certain amount of direct intercourse with Palestine in that century. It brings before us the whole question of the traces of Judaism which a few have suspected in Malaysia. Data for fair consideration are not at hand. But since the Hovas of Madagascar are a Malayan people who seem to have emigrated from Cambodia about the beginning of the Christian era,[138] this conclusion furnishes the historical link with "Jews of Madagascar." Sibree writes that at Ambohipeno, in East Madagascar on the isle of St. Marie, at scattered points in the neighborhood, he met *Zafin Ibrahîm*, "descendants of Abraham," who "claimed to be altogether Jews. . . . But I could not detect any difference in colour, features, or dialect between them and the other people of the eastern coast." Sibree also observed resemblances to Jewish custom. The New Year's festival, much beef-eating, with fasts before and after; the day counted from sunset to sunset; the kindling of a small fire in each yard on the first eve of the feast; the purification of the people, the queen sprinkling the throng as they passed by; the sprinkling of the blood of the New Year's victims upon the lintels and doorposts. The old customs were fast fading when he wrote, in 1870.[139] They also had the belief that all their kings must be able to trace descent from a mighty hunter king whose chief exploit was the slaying of an immense wild boar; which sounds

[137] Kreppel, pp. 803 f.

[138] Private letter from Dr. Wilfrid H. Schoff, reporting the result of a study of Arabic writers.

[139] Sibree, *The Great African Island* and *Madagascar and its People*, pp. 276, 332-337.

like an echo of Tammuz-Adonis. The law of Exodus 21:7, 10 prevailed.[140]

In later investigations among the Zafin Ibrahîm Sibree found them emphasizing their Jewish relationship. One intelligent man said that his father had been a magician or sorcerer among the Jews, but at the general idol and fetish burning in 1869 his father burned his books. This youth knew Arabic letters, some syllables, and their Malagasy equivalents. But he had no hint of the nature of the burned formulae.

Three hundred miles southwest of them, among the Betsileos, there is evidence of Arab intermarriage, especially among the families of chiefs. Some pages of a book of incantations were found and brought to missionaries by native pastors. These pages proved to be passages of the Koran, full of errors, copied by one who did not know Arabic. There was no Islamic usage associated with them. The scrawls had been used as charms and talismans. The Zafin Ibrahîm do not show Koranic usages.[141]

The blood on door-lintels and posts is not peculiarly Israelite: it is common desert Arab practice in Arabia and Africa. The other features are not, and the calendar is decisive against Arab or exilic Jewish influence. The Malagasy have a seven-day week, with Friday as a market and general preparation day, but they have not the thirty-day month of the Arabs, nor the Jewish method of exact lunations resulting in a 354-day year, with seven intercalary months in nineteenth years. Instead, they have a 354-day year, of 12 lunation months, of 28 days each, with eighteen intercalary days to make the year exactly twelve months. If all this means some contact with Israel ere leaving Malaysia, it was contact with an Israel that had not acquired a Babylonian calendar.

With regard to early departure from Cambodia, Baron Humboldt observes that Malagasy contains a few Sanskrit words, and that its closest affinities are with the languages of Java and Sumatra. Yet it was not a written language when modern Europeans reached Madagascar. In the chapter on India, it was shown that the Phoenician or Palestinian alphabet of 650 B.C. was introduced into Sumatran trading-ports when the Sanskrit speakers of North India were beginning to use Aramaic script. It would seem that the Cambodian migration to Madagascar was earlier than any general adaptation of the Phoenician script, and before the Aryans of North India affected the Malay archipelago much; for Sanskrit words are numerous in modern Javanese, Sumatran, and Bugis.

[140] *Ibid.*, pp. 173, 191. [141] Sibree, *A Naturalist in Madagascar*, p. 316.

CHAPTER XIV

Samaritans, Sadducees, and Karaites

The facts thus far reviewed show two ideals at war in Israel from the beginning of its records. The one is a belief that the people of Yahu are to win for him all peoples, so far as they can; that Yahu has no intention of keeping the knowledge of His will within any ethnic or racial limit whatever. The other is the omnipresent human vanity that seeks in antiquity of ancestry a pretext for arrogant claims of superiority to one's fellow men. The one ideal leads to the experiential conclusion, "Except a man be born from Above, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." The other, "Except a man be aristocratically born here below, he cannot be counted in the kingdom of God."

The result we have seen. Any one proselyted to Judaism, by some Judaized community, may be stirred to boast his own Israelite descent and the purity of his strain, and to view with contempt all other proselytes who are doing the same thing with equally good pretensions. Winwoode Reade's illustration of the way the negro under British protection assumes English traditions fairly portrays this attitude.

"Most comical of all is the manner in which negroes identify themselves with the parent country. To hear them talk you would think that their ancestors had come over with William the Conqueror; and that they even take to themselves all the glories of our history, the following anecdote will prove. The French consular agent having sometime ago overstepped the limits of the land, a warrant was taken out against him. Holding the sable powers in great contempt, he armed himself with a pair of pistols and defied them with the air of a brigand at the Victoria. 'Ah!' cried the two constables, rapidly retreating, 'we no care for you, one damn Frenchman. I tink you forget *we win Waterloo*—eh?'"[1]

In like manner it is certain that the early semi-savage Israelite has proclaimed certain matters as traditions peculiar to his ancestry, whereas actual genealogy affords no grounds for the claim. The net cost of such Jewish pretensions through the ages resembles the price paid by the French aristocracy in the days of '93.

A second fact, beyond all question, that we have gained by the review of Jewish propagandism, is that dispersions of old

[1] Reade, *Savage Africa,* p. 30.

Israelite and later Jewish colonies, mercantile and military and servile, were spread over many centuries, beginning at least with Solomon's day. Plain evidence of that has appeared in land after land. The antipathies between contiguous bodies of modern Jews to-day in many cases are clearly the result of the juxtaposition of fragments of different historic strata, to use a geological term. Some Jews are plainly traceable to a pre-exilic type, being without certain notable features contributed by Babylonian residence and Talmudic and Gaonic scholarship. Others plainly preserve prejudices and violent antipathies that arose during the historic development of that scholarship. No Jewish scholar questions this statement. The everlasting conflict between the old and the new is before us whenever we take an ecumenical view of Judaism, as it is when we view Protestantism, Romanism, or any form of paganism. With the Fundamentalist mind that denies historic development and insists that its own peculiar views—Jewish, Protestant, or Romanist—are those divinely prescribed from the beginning, there can be no argument. Every Jewish scholar knows that Jewish liturgy and opinion and worship vary in different lands. No one has ever succeeded in standardizing them; no one ever will. Probably no well-informed Jew will ever think that he can. The normal procedure in ecumenical Judaism in any age has been that any local type claims that its ways have the authority of the fathers, the tradition of the elders. And the orthodox Judaism familiar in America will explain that such ways of the fathers are fully set forth in the decisions of the rabbins, in the lore of the Talmud, and in each man's traditional superstitions, not included in the Talmud.

When we examine carefully the history of the so-called Samaritans, it proves to be merely the story of the old and the new: the conservatives and the progressives. Whether the progressives were always progressing desirably or not is not our question to decide. All progressives make some mistakes. At present the only task is to make it clear that the popular conception of the origin and character of the Samaritan community is wholly erroneous. Instead of being the most Gentilized or paganized section of Israel, it ever claimed to be the least so. In short, in its pre-exilic conservatism it simply refused to be Judaism as our modern western world knows it. Its attitude is paralleled in Protestantism by the "hardshell" opposition to schools, seminaries, commentaries, Sunday Schools and Sunday School literature—to anything beyond "what is read" in the English Bible.

In Chapter V the popular conception of the Samaritans due to 2 Kings 17, the assertions of Ezra and Nehemiah and Josephus were shown to have no historic foundation. Instead of proselyting or intermarrying with Gentiles being an objection to post-Sargonic Israel, we have seen that Yahwism and later Judaism in all stages of their ancient history survived only through the energy of their proselyting. The present Samaritan community does not intermarry with strangers, but that is only because it is not allowed to proselyte; for the Roman and Byzantine emperors enacted some strenuous prohibitions of both Jewish and Samaritan proselyting and intermarriage with Christians. Nor does any extant prophet, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Zechariah, Ezekiel, complain of post-Sargonic Israel because new gentilic elements had been introduced: a fact that requires notice again. Nor did any other reason appear in the Old Testament records for the separation between Israel and Judah than the strenuous objection of Israel to the introduction at Jerusalem of the cults of Moab and Ammon and Tyre and Sidon, and their permanence to the last. This Old Testament record has met no impairing evidence, so far. The Asaphite and Korahite Psalms, generally recognized by scholars as Josephite productions, are the most finished of all. And in this pre-Sargonic Israel we have the records of Samuel, Ahijah of Shiloh, Elijah, Elisha, and Hosea with no like protagonists of Yahwism of record in the south. Cultural or spiritual superiority of the south remains unsubstantiated. Of the writings of the great prophet campaigners of Israel, only Hosea's are known to us. Would that explorations might recover a few more!

Next, the title by which Samaritans have always called themselves is from the same root as the original name of Samaria, the verb *shamar,* to guard, preserve, protect. The name *Shomeron,* or *Shamerûn,* Aramaic *Shameraïn,* cuneiform *Shamerîna, Shamiruna,* is explained in 1 Kings 16:24 as derived from a man named Shemer. This familiar Semitic etymological pedantry may be disregarded. The name *Shomeron, Shamerûn,* would mean "Watch Tower," "Guardian Hill," "Mount Protection"; the hill was selected for its strategic importance. It guarded and kept the land.

Now the Samaritans actually call themselves *Shamerîm,* "Faithful Observers," the "Actual Conservers" of the Law: expressing just the attitude asserted in the time of protest against the cults brought in by Solomon and Rehoboam. The verb *shamar* furnishes the technical terms used again and again with reference to

maintaining the ritual order of service. "Keep the charge" is the regular AV translation. In Numbers 1:53; 3:7, 8, 28, 32, 38 are examples. The Hebrew is *shamerû eth-mishmartô.* Such is the profession of the Samaritans when they call themselves *Shamerîm:* "custodians of the sanctuary."[2] The cuneiform shows us the same idiom, over and over, using the verb *natsar* instead of *shamar. Matsartu sharri bêlîni ninatsar,* "We keep the charge of the king our lord," is a profession of fidelity that occurs repeatedly in the Sargonid letters. It is expected of every *zakku* garrison, like the "all's well" of a modern sentry-go. The phrase originated thus. The Samaritan term for themselves announces that they stand guard.[3]

But the average Gentile, indifferent to the contentions between Jewish sects, would not appreciate the difference between the name of the town, Shameraïn or Shamerîna, and the sect-name *shamerîm.* So it is absolutely certain that the town derivative, "Samaritan," occurs over and over in Gentile literature where these Yahwist Puritans did not speak of themselves or think of themselves as connected with that particular town. Above all, the hill of the town Samaria was never their sanctuary; they were *Shamerîm* of the traditional Jacob and Joseph sanctuaries at Mt. Gerizim, near Shechem. Josephus reminds us that the pre-Alexander metropolis of the Samaritans whom he so hates was Shechem, near Mount Gerizim.[4] But he knew that his scriptures recorded Abram as approving the old *makôm* or sanctuary of Shechem, in Genesis 12:6; 22:3-5, just as the great *makôm* of Bethel was claimed to have the experience of Jacob as its authority for Israel (Genesis 28:11).[5] Jacob is also presented as approving Shechem in 33:18; 35:4. So the name "Samaritan" in Gentile literature generally stands for a Gentile blunder. These Josephite Puritans make much of Joseph, and call themselves "Benî-Israel," but never *Yahûdayîm,* "Jews." They repudiate Judah with all its abominations! But Gentiles, especially in the west, called both alike "Jews."[6]

Their emphasis that they are maintaining the traditions of Josephite Israel appears again and again. Josephus gibes at their

[2] See Gaster, *The Samaritans,* p. 177. They also style themselves to-day Kusanîya, "The True People"; cf. Conder, *Tent-Work In Palestine,* I, 38. In Jewish terms they would be of the school of Shammai, observes Conder: stern, hard, relentless adherents to the cruelties of ancestral law.

[3] As in Habakkuk 2:1, Ezekiel 33:2-7.

[4] *Antiquities,* XI, viii, 6. He uses Samaria as the name of a province very frequently. Did an Aramaic *Shemaryā,* "conservers," originally name the district?

[5] *Makôm* = "place" in AV.

[6] Gaster, p. 161.

asserted descent from Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh, but never enters a counterclaim that these ancient tribes are represented by Jerusalem only.[7] To-day, all laymen of the Samaritan community claim descent from Joseph. That simply means the continuity of Josephite religious traditions. The tribe of Benjamin has disappeared.[8] In the first half of the nineteenth century, Abraham Jacob of the Benî Danaftah "of the tribe of Ephraim" wrote to Ludolf of Frankfort: the letter being carried probably by Henry Maundrell.[9] Wolff was told in Persia that "the enmity between the House of Joseph and the House of Levi is eternal" —which means that the Josephites will never accept the Babylonized liturgy established at Jerusalem. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,* Naphtali is made to tell of competition of Levi, Judah, and Joseph for the leadership. And when a great bull with eagle's wings (a cherub) appears, "Joseph outstripped us and took him and ascended up with him on high." The prepossessions of this Jewish writer are unmistakable. Equally plain are those of the author of *The Testament of Joseph:* "And He gave me beauty also as a flower, above the beautiful ones of Israel; and He preserved me into old age in strength and beauty, *because I was like in all things unto Jacob!*"[10] Both seem special references to Deuteronomy 32:16 f., Genesis 49:26: may all blessings "come upon the head of Joseph! upon the crown of the head of him that is the prince of his brethren!"—or, "Devotee" *par excellence,* the Nazirite of his brethren!—or *nezir* may be pointed *nezer,* "the Coronet, or coroneted One," of his brethren. It all comes to the same thing; the religious leadership of ancient Joseph. Of its ancient claim of being oracular authority for Judah we read, "An office-staff shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, so long as he shall come to Shiloh. For there shall the peoples assemble!"[11] To these facts add the many claims that a Messianic Restorer will be of Joseph. The Samaritans still hope for him. Their chronicles claim that thirty thousand of their fellows remained in Persia, not returning from exile, waiting for this Josephite Restorer. Eleven thousand six hundred were

[7] *Antiquities,* XI, viii, 6; IX, xiv, 3.

[8] Montgomery, p. 32.

[9] Gaster, p. 164.

[10] *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* VIII, 28, 35.

[11] Genesis 49:10. Compare Judges 21:19 ff.; 1 Samuel 1-4; Jeremiah 7:12; Psalm 78:58-68; Psalm 80. The term *nazir* is in use today in some Arab dialects as the title of the chief of a tribe. The term *sheikh* is the one familiar to the western world. Domville-Fife in *Savage Life in the Black Sudan,* p. 64, tells of the *nazir* of the Baggara on the Upper Nile.

slain by Vespasian's lieutenant on their holy hill of Gerizim, because they thought their hour had come: the Day of the Lord.[12] In various rabbinical passages the Messiah is to be the "Son of Joseph," the Head of the Ten Tribes. Pages of details cannot be given.[13] Wolff found this fervently held by the Persian Jews of Bokhara. The son of Joseph is a wandering Jew, somewhere in the world now, to be slain when he appears; then the military son of David will conquer the world. Isaiah 53 refers to the suffering son of Joseph, said the Bokhara Rabbi.[14] "From Joseph is the Shepherd, the stone of Israel!"[15] So through the ages the Josephites assert the permanence of their ancient primacy.

Dr. Montgomery, while not considering the data reviewed in Chapter V, recognizes that the Samaritans cannot be viewed historically as any other than a conservative or reactionary Jewish sect and that they are lost sight of in dispersions through the western Gentile world, because the average Gentile does not know nor care for the distinctions between the sects developing from ancient Yahwism and groups all under the term Jewish.[16] The later work of the Jewish scholar Dr. Gaster *(The Samaritans)* adds much to support this conclusion. Neither scholar glimpses the ancient ecumenical missionary activity of Judaism thus far reviewed. Gaster sees clearly that the Samaritans as a sect cannot be separated from the Karaites, or from the Sadducean element at Jerusalem. The same fact is recognized by various mediaeval rabbins. And early Christian fathers identify the Essenes and Sicarii-zealots with Samaritans, Sadducees, and Karaites. For the popular reader the origin of the term "Zealot"[17] is necessary. Then the Zealot of New Testament times is pictured by Josephus.

Josephus used the terms *Zealots* and *Sicarii* as synonyms. He is careful not to connect the term *Zealots* with the Maccabees, whom he distinctly approves. But the exhortation to be zealous for the law, or reference to those zealous for it, occurs six times in the second chapter of I Maccabees, culminating in the dying words of Mattathias in verses 49 f.: "Now hath pride and oppression

[12] Josephus, *Wars,* III, vii, 32.

[13] See Geikie, *Life of Christ,* I, 586, note R; many citations from Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum.*

[14] Wolff, *Researches and Missionary Labors,* p. 138.

[15] Genesis 49:24.

[16] Montgomery, *The Samaritans,* p. 33 f. For the post-Ezra history of the Samaritan community, down to the time of notices by mediaeval travellers, Montgomery's book is the only English summary of known historical references.

[17] "Simon called the Zealot" of Luke 6:15.

gotten strength, and it is a time of desolation and bitter fury. Now therefore my sons, be ye Zealots of the Law, and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers." Josephus as usual invents a speech of his own for Mattathias, ascribing to him Sadducee views; holding to no other immortality for the body than "the remembrance of what actions it has done! And I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory! and that when you have undergone the greatest difficulties, you may not scruple for such things to lose your lives!"[18] This is the more significant because such definite statement does not occur anywhere in 1 Maccabees, and Josephus could have availed himself of the opportunity to put Pharisee views in the mouth of Mattathias. It seems clear that he knew that the Maccabean movement was popularly recognized as Sadducean, and that in consequence he did not dare to picture it otherwise. Furthermore, the Maccabees succeeded, and for the average Pharisee there was no surer mark of divine approval.

The reason for Josephus' avoidance of the term Zealot in connection with the Asmoneans is not far to seek. He has distinctly approved of their savage sword-propagandism, and their annexation of hordes of Edomites and Iturean Arabs and Nabateans. He does not wish to acknowledge that the Zealots of his own time are the logical continuation of that brutality, nor that it has simply brought into the pale of professedly orthodox Judaism some hordes of professional robbers and brigands. But no thoughtful modern historian, Jewish or Christian, would deny that such would be the logical result of sword-propagandism. It is worth noting that Modin, the home of the Maccabees, was in the border of Mount Ephraim, west of Bethel; in the territory of Samaria, not of Judea. And a few years later Demetrius Nicator allows the Lydda toparchy and two others to be added to the Sadducee high-priest's domain.[19] The whole Maccabean struggle is pictured in 1 Maccabees as waged around Samarian territory, never in it. Judas raids pagan strongholds to the south, across Jordan among Ammonites and Gileadites and in Bashan borders; the Samarian stronghold of Beth-Shean is a friend.

The pretensions of the Asmonean-Sadducean priesthood, and their claim to represent Israel rather than Judah throws before us the long-debated question of the meaning of the term Israel. Israelites themselves were never agreed. Sachsse[20] suggests that it was

[18] *Antiquities*, XII, vi, 3. [19] *Antiquities*, XIII, iv, 9.
[20] *Die Bedeutung des Namens Israel*, Guterslöh, 1922, and in *Zeitschrift für die Alt-Testamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1914:1-15.

the name of an early tribal Yahu-alliance (Yahwes-bund) west of the Jordan: that its slogan was *El-yashar,* "God will deliver or set free." But why El instead of Yahu? Why is the notion of a national covenant not associated with the term El? Scholars pronounce this extremely doubtful. If the name "Israel" is not vividly connected in popular tradition with some great crisis in religious history, has it any religious significance whatever? Is it Semitic at all?

In 1914 Sachsse listed the disagreements in folk-etymology. Justin Martyr against Trypho (§125) guessed that *isra* was "conqueror" and *el* was *dunamis:* "man of power am I!" Luther adapted this: "God's conqueror"; *victor Dei.* Aquila thought "Thou hast ruled with God." The paraphrase of Onkelos has "a chief lion thou before God." "El is a champion," "El enlightens," "El strives" are theories noticed by Gesenius-Buhl. Suicer, Renan, Brandt, and Sachsse have guessed Yashar-el, "right with God." Vollers compares an Arabic root and guesses "God shineth," while Steuernagel thinks a letter has dropped out of *ish-rahel,* "Man of Rachel!" Strange that in so many hundreds of occurrences of the name the "Rachel"-part does not occur once!

It is noteworthy that the Assyrian transcriptions of the name do not suggest Israel. Shalmaneser II has Sir-la-a. Ashurbanipal has Asalli (Atsalli), and Tsalla-a: while Merneptah's *y-sh-?-r-'-l* suggests Yeshar-el, with which Sachsse compares Yeshûr-ûn (On?) of Deuteronomy 32:15, 33:5, 26. And all through central Palestine to-day ancient megalithic tombs are called *Kubûr benê-Israîn,* "graves of Israelites." This *Israîn* for "Israel" puts the original form of the name still more in doubt.

But Eusebius, Augustine, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilarius, Prosper, Cassius, Beda, Didymus, Jerome, and others down to 1500 A.D. followed a suggestion made by Philo of Alexandria. Its pretentiousness certainly contributed to the anti-Jewish propaganda of his time. In writing of the disturbances in Alexandria produced by Caligula's orders to place his own statues in Jewish sanctuaries, Philo says:

"And this nation of suppliants (to Caius) is in the Chaldaic language called Israel, but when the name is translated into the Greek language it is called the 'seeing nation,'" which Philo goes on to explain means those who "having investigated the nature of every created thing have learned to contemplate the uncreated and Divine Being."

We must recognize this as a popular etymological explanation of Philo's time. It is probably in Jesus' mind when He says, "Blessed

are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." Philo's etymology of Yisro-ēl is *Yēsh roê ēl*, "there is (one) who sees God."[21] There is still another explanation: the Israelites are descendants of the "divine Sara." In southeastern Arabia Benjamin II found the Jews in favor with the non-Jewish population, and known as the *Wolad Sara*, "children of Sara."[22] Other travellers have reported the "Benî-Sara." The immemorial discrimination against the slave-proselytes appears in the tales of the Sara (princess, chief wife) clans and the Hagar clans (Genesis 21:1-21). This ancient discrimination in the interest of a pretended purity of descent was familiar in the days of Philo and Paul, and is cited by Paul in Galatians 4:28 ff. But there is a very different etymology by the champions of high-priestly supremacy. They explained it as "El shall rule," or "God shall be the king,"—and the high-priest represents him. In the Talmud is a comment on Ezekiel 21:26: "So long as there is a diadem on the head of the priest, there is a crown on the head of every man. Remove the diadem from the head of the high-priest, and you take away the crown from the head of all the people" (Gittin 7:1). This claim of priestly princes is probably embodied in the Hebrew name of the 1 Maccabees, as reported by Origen. He gives it as *sarbêth sabaniēl:* in which there is some corruption or omission. Kraetschmar's suggestion that Origen overlooked the abbreviation of *Sepher*, "book," into its initial letter seems the preferable explanation. We are to read *Sepher arba'th sarê Benî-El*, "Book of the Four Princes of the Sons of God"; which accords with the facts and with Sadducean exclusive pretensions.[23] No Herod could claim descent from Israelite kings or priests save through the intermarriage with the Asmonean line. Yet Philo reports Agrippa as addressing Caius thus:

"I have kings for my grandfathers, and for my ancestors, the greater part of whom have been called high-priests: looking upon their royal power as inferior to their office as priests, and thinking that the high-priesthood is as much superior to the power of a king as God is superior to man."[24]

Touches of editing in the interest of such priestly pretensions are in the Old Testament. In 1 Samuel 12:12 Samuel, rebuking the people, asserts, "Yahu, your God, should be your king." There should be no other. It was the clamor of the fanatics in Jeru-

[21] *Ambassadors*, I; Yonge's Translation, IV, 100.
[22] Benjamin II, p. 179. The above *benê-Isra'în* seems a parallel.
[23] Kraetschmar, in *Expository Times*, October, 1900.
[24] Philo, *Ambassadors*, XXXVI; Yonge, IV, 160.

salem: it was the contention of the Zealots pictured by Josephus. An Israelite papacy was the dream of the priestly hierarchy. The congregationalism of the Jewish populace was irreconcilable with such priestly pretension. Their own construction of the story was that every Israelite was a "prince of God" (Genesis 32:28). Father Jacob was no high-priest, and Israel felt itself mighty in Davidic days before high-priests were dreamed of.[25] There never was any such priestly absolutism in earlier times. No such theocracy was original in Israelite history. As an ideal, it is comparable to the Florentines electing Jesus Christ the president of their republic, or to those who think it necessary to insert the name of God and some specially approved theological formulae into the Constitution of the United States. Wars for their orthodox interpretation would come next. An Israelite Pope at Jerusalem? Was not John the Zealot or Simon Bar-Gioras as competent for the place as Annas, Caiaphas, or Ismael Ben-Phabi? At least they thought so. With this suggestion as to the significance of a high-priest-headed state, we may follow Josephus' narrative of the expansion of Asmonean pretensions.

Josephus again shows his doctrine that "nothing succeeds like success" in his admiration for John Hyrcanus. The Pharisees approve the latter's military triumphs and his destruction of the fortress then known as Samaria. This was not on the ancient hill of Old Testament times. Nor did Hyrcanus attack it because of the ancient inter-sanctuary feud. It is of the first importance that Josephus enters here no note of sectarian prejudice or triumph; none of his familiar gibes at the Josephite sanctuary in this connection. This Samaria was the last Seleucid stronghold in central Palestine, and in the hour of Helleno-Syrian weakness Hyrcanus struck for complete independence; that is all.[26] But the Pharisees bitterly resented his assumption of kingship in addition to the high-priestly office, which the Zealots Judas Maccabaeus, Jonathan, and Simon had held in succession before him. The supremacy of a high-priest in all secular affairs is still the

[25] Since this chapter was written, Judge Mayer Sulzberger's brochure upon *'Am-ha-arets* has come to my attention. This "people of the land" of our AV he concludes to be the popular assembly or representative council of ancient Palestine: a popular voice defied and scorned by later priestly usurpation. He would find modern western democracy the fruit of this ancient popular council's struggle for popular rights. Agreement with one like Judge Sulzberger is very pleasant. My own view is that the clash of priestly aristocracies with the common people can be recognized in many lands; not in ancient Israel only.

[26] *Antiquities*, XIII, X, I, 2, 3.

modern Sadducean-Samaritan contention. Since Judas and Simon were made high-priests by the multitude, we have the populace thinking of a desired leadership in Sadducean-Samaritan fashion,[27] and they saved Hyrcanus from assassination and made him high-priest in turn.[28] Now when Hyrcanus triumphs in his priest-kingship, a Pharisee Eleazar tells him to be content with civil authority and resign the high-priesthood, asserting that his mother had been a captive under Antiochus Epiphanes. It does not appear that any one had openly ventured such an assertion during the life of her husband, the high-priest Simon. Sadducee vengeance would have been prompt. So the charge being declared a slander, the Sadducees advise Hyrcanus that the slanderer should be put to death.[29] The Pharisees oppose and Hyrcanus in anger abolishes all Pharisee decrees for popular observance, and punishes those who observe such, compelling rigid conformity to Sadducee ideals.

"But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he after that lived happily, and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then died, leaving behind him five sons. He was esteemed by God worthy of the three greatest privileges, the government of his nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and prophecy: for God was with him and enabled him to know futurities."[30]

The suspicious point in Josephus' narrative is his picturing Hyrcanus as ever having been a Pharisee at all. He was of Zealot antecedents and put in his position by the multitude, not by the rabbins, and confessedly closed his career as a Sadducee.

Now Hyrcanus had effected an adjustment of the Gerizim sanctuary question sometime before he captured the Seleucid stronghold of Samaria. There had been no interference, it seems, by those who held that fortress, or by any others in the vicinity. It appears that the lords of Shechem were left to make their own terms with Hyrcanus. There was no country-wide uprising in fanatic protest. And Hyrcanus' adjustment of the claims of the Gerizim sanctuary had been effected without sacrificing the friendship of Sadducees, whose ancient cultus-center it certainly was. On the contrary, Josephus pictures them as his warm supporters in the suppression of a Pharisee sedition and in the repression of popular observance of Pharisee teaching.

It must be that the capture of Shechem and Gerizim by Hyrcanus was a purely political manoeuvre, not cultus-propagandism.

[27] *Antiquities*, XII, x, 6; XIII, vi, 7.
[28] *Ibid.*, XIII, vii, 4.
[29] *Ibid.*, XIII, ix, 1, 5, 6; XV, 5; XVI, 1, 2.
[30] *Ibid.*, XIII, x, 5, 6, 7.

Josephus observes simply that the temple was "abandoned" after having stood two hundred years. It was not abandoned in any sense by the populace of the region, as all evidence, including that of Josephus, plainly shows. For the priestly aristocracy centered there rigid ritualism and priestly absolutism were of supreme importance. The attachment of the masses, less familiar with ritualistic hair-splitting, is rather to an ancient site. The situation is paralleled whenever the leaders in some Protestant denomination wish to move an old congregation to a new site, or to consolidate with another denomination. Gerizim was "abandoned" when Hyrcanus captured Shechem by the priestly aristocracy with whom Hyrcanus made terms by conceding them a position in the Jerusalem hierarchy; the same concession that Deuteronomist politicians had made nearly five hundred years before (Deuteronomy 18:6-8). It was the prescription of their own Samaritan Pentateuch, and had certainly been dictated by the Josephites of Josiah's time, and repudiated by Ezra and Nehemiah. There seems no other explanation of the sudden appearance of the Sadducees in Josephus' narrative, and the many ancient identifications of them with the Samaritans. The haughty Josephite aristocracy would consider that they were achieving a cultus-victory, even if they could not wholly oust Ezra's rabbinism from Jerusalem. They were "chief priests." The Josephite peasantry who still paid their priestly taxes would not demand that their priestly aristocrats reside at Shechem. The priestly courses officiating at Jerusalem actually resided at different towns. Jeremiah and Abiathar were of the priests of Anathoth. Herod's later building of a Sebaste-fortress on the ancient Samaria-hill, with emperor-cultus there and at Banias-Dan in Galilee, could not disturb the ethnically and religiously mingled populace of the time. Such interfusion of cults was immemorial throughout Palestine. There is no evidence that the emperor-cultus was placed in the Joseph-Jacob sanctuary at Gerizim. Three miles to the east is probably the Migdol-Shechem of Judges 9:46 ff. The recent excavations show an ancient fortress 86 x 70 feet, built on the ruin of an older city and possibly used as a place of worship sometimes. Josephus' mention of a letter to Antiochus from "Sidonians resident at Shechem" does not involve any desecration of the Gerizim sanctuary. There is no evidence that it was ever a place of promiscuous residence. We have seen that ancient Oriental international comity meant that any trader-people had its own quarter in a friendly city, with its own internally autonomous community and

its own quarter-sanctuary. Nobody knew this better than Josephus. Palestine swarmed with such in his time. The Sidonian colony he mentions in no wise involved any desecration of Gerizim, nor does it justify Josephus' general charge of paganism on the part of the whole Josephite population.[31]

This suggestion that Hyrcanus conceded the Shechem priests' precedence at Jerusalem is supported by the author of 1 Maccabees. It is admitted that the book is a Sadducean production. It is not so generally recognized that the author identifies Sadduceeism with Israel and with the Zealots: not with the "Jews." All that is done is done by Israel, for Israel, or for the Israelites. Israel is named thus forty-eight times in the book; Israelites, seven times. In 1:28; 3:7; 5:2 he uses "Jacob" and "the House of Jacob." His hero rescues Israelites from the various lands that he raids. Jews play no part in his story. The term occurs thirty-seven times, but it is the term Gentiles apply to the whole populace in their correspondence; being used thus seven times in 8:22-31; six in 10:23-36; six in 11:30-51; five in chapter 14, four in 15. "Israel and Jerusalem" occurs in 1:20, 3:35, suggesting that Jerusalem is distinct from Israel. His Chasidîm or Assidaeans are "mighty men of Israel" (2:42, 7:13). "Observe the Law" *(shamar)* is the demand of his Zealots (2:67). Violent methods he approves: his Zealots seize and circumcise by force many who have neglected circumcision (2:46). Yet this insistence upon Israel, not the Jews, as the holy people carries no mention of Gerizim, nor of any conflict in Samarian territory, though the writer knew of the records to the end of Hyrcanus' administration (10:23 f.). He pictures the uprising headed by Mattathias as beginning at Modín, on the Dan-Ephraim frontier. It may be "place of judgement" like the Arabic Medinah: the religious headquarters of the Lydda toparchy, which the Zealots succeeded later in having attached to the territory of the Zealot high-priest of Jerusalem. "All the cities of Judah" have yielded, and it is a "Jew" that Mattathias slays at Modín for sacrificing on the district altar (2:6, 23). The author insists that "Israel" and the Zealots purged Judah.

That a large number of Josephites would immediately flock to the standard of a successful soldier is illustrated in the story in 2 Chronicles 5:8-15, when *gêrim* flock to Asa out of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Simeon, with the same Zealot principle of death to all who will not accept the God of Israel. A like story is told

[31] *Antiquities*, xv, viii, 5; xi, 3; ix, 6. Cf. also *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, November 1, 1928, pp. 317 f.

of the days of Hezekiah (2 Chronicles 29-31). The Galilean and Josephite Levites lead (29:12, 30:22) and cleanse Jerusalem (30:14), with many *gêrim* from Israel (30:25); then "all Israel" goes out and cleans up the cities of Judah (31:1).[32]

The Pharisee author of 2 Maccabees, in contrast, claims all merits for Jews and for Judaism; none for "Israel"; but he admits that Judas Maccabaeus was Captain of the Chasidîm (14:6). So their combined testimony is that "Israelite" meant Sadduceeism, and "Jew" meant Pharisaism, and that Zealots or Chasidîm first appeared in the Samarian territory. Sadducee control at Jerusalem must have been the result of Hyrcanus' definite agreement with the priestly Josephite aristocracy still remaining at Shechem.[33]

This explanation of Josephus' assertion that Hyrcanus secured some sort of "abandoning" of Gerizim removes the long-standing difficulty in identifying the Sadducees with the Zadokites of Ezekiel 44:15-31, whom Ezekiel wished to see the priests of the new temple. For it is a chief contention of the Samaritan community to-day that their priesthood came in unbroken line from Aaron down to 1623-4. They preserve a list of their priests. When the last of the line died, the place was filled by a Levite of the line of Uzziel, son of Kohath, though they commonly speak to-day as if the line were unbroken.[34] Ezekiel's assertion that the Zadokite line was not defiled with the pantheon massed in Judah

[32] Can the Chronicler's work have been amended by interpolating Maccabean Zealot activities in Hezekiah's time? *Hazak*, "be valiant," several times in the narrative of Judas may have been turned into "Hezekiah."

[33] It has been usual to conect Saddikism and Chasidism with the Pharisee party, disregarding the evidence of the Books of the Maccabees. But S. A. Horodesky in his article "Der Zaddîk" in *Archiv für Religions-Wissenschaft*, 1913, pp. 145-159, points out that in the Talmud the *Zaddîk* is a superman who stands in vivid contrast with the *Khakam* or scholar, who represents the plodding knowledge of the Torah, and may err in his exposition. The *Zaddîk* is not of the schools. He walks unknown by the public till by some marvel-achievement he reveals that the spirit of God is in him. By this power he can do anything he wills: God is his pledged guarantor. (Consider Jesus' temptation in the wilderness!) A group of *Zaddîk* men can do anything; Genesis 18:26-32. Noah was a *Zaddîk*. In the Haggada we have many marvel-tales of such *Zaddîkîm:* and also in the Qabbala: they could create a world, if they chose!

The *Khasîdîm* are *Zaddîkîm*, "lights from the Being of God." Their bodies are spiritual bodies: composed altogether of Reason and Wisdom! A *Khasîd-Zaddîk* is one with God: forms a unity with God. In consequence he is inerrant and anything that he does is good! (Consider the inerrancy claimed by Sicarian fanatics, and preached by Philo! See next chapter, page 463.) The inerrancy of the *Zaddîk* must never be questioned. He is personified perfection, his son is equally holy from the womb, for the *Zaddîk* can beget only holy beings. Modern Chasidism still says such things.

[34] Montgomery, p. 139: *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, x, 669 ff.; Gaster, pp. 32 ff.

agrees with the review made in Chapter V, if the Sadducees are the Samaritan priesthood.

As to Asmonean propagandism being the stern, ruthless Sadducean militarism, that is acknowledged. In addition to the Sadducean sentiment put in the mouth of the Zealot Mattathias, and the Sadducee preferences of Hyrcanus, Josephus pictures the unspeakable Jannaeus as being intensely hated by the Pharisees. He illustrates the old spirit of Samarian military propagandism which Hosea asserted would react upon the propagandists:

> I will demand the blood of Jezreel from the house of Jehu
> And I will bring to an end the dominion of the house of Israel
> And it shall come to pass in that day
> That I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel.[35]

Josephus does not wish to admit that Asmonean-Sadducean zealotry was bearing its natural fruit in his time. He recognizes the activity of Judas of the Gaulan, northeast of Galilee. The Itureans south of Hermon, annexed by Hyrcanus, were partly in this region. Josephus explains his Zealotry as a result of association with one Saddouk—the familiar Semitic etymological pedantry—of whom he tells nothing more. It may mean one "pledged" to Judaism by Maccabean methods. This Judas became prominent in Archelaus' time.[36] Josephus avoids the use of the term Zealot until the Zealot party has concentrated its attacks upon the corrupt and oppressive priestcraft to which Josephus belongs, bulwarked by Roman-Herodian support. His Zealots then are gathered from all parts of Palestine, notably from frontier regions of Asmonean propagandism among Edomites, Ammonites, Golan Arabs, and Galileans. These convert-brigands will show Sadducean priestcraft how to run the country. Many of his "robbers" Josephus acknowledges to be persons bankrupt or ousted from their lands by priestly Shylocks.[37] Financial pressure was certainly one of their agencies for compulsory proselyting, for these priestly robbers had no hesitation about starving poor priests to death,[38] and later Gentile legislation often restrained Jews and Samaritans from disinheriting those who changed their creed. It will be recognized that such priestly coercion might be brought to bear upon a Samaritan incautious enough to accept a loan in time of need.

[35] Hosea 1:4, translation by J. M. P. Smith; cf. 2 Kings 10.
[36] *Antiquities*, XVIII, i, 1; *Wars*, II, viii, 1.
[37] *Wars*, II, xvii, 6.
[38] *Antiquities*, XX, ix, 2, 3.

Further, the temples at Jerusalem and Gerizim had each its own ecclesiastical territory, in which they collected annually a poll-tax from each man. The boundaries shifted; each temple annexing a piece of territory when able to do so by force, or by representations to Persian, Greek, or Roman masters. Each diocese contained persons who preferred to pay their tax to the other temple, but could not, as the Talmud shows. This shifting of boundaries and partial mingling of adherents put haughty Sadduceans in Jerusalem territory, expressing the same unbounded contempt for Judean peasantry that the arrogant Jew had for the Samaritan proletariat. But with Herodian backing, these haughty Samaritans controlled the temple at Jerusalem and hissed and spat at "the accursed people who knew not the law" (John 7:50), while rabbins led the opposition to Herod.[39] When Cumanus was procurator, a battle between Galileans and Samaritans resulted in Cumanus taking the side of the Samaritans, while many Jews "betook themselves to robbing in hopes of impunity, and rapines and insurrections of the bolder sort happened over the whole country, and the men of power among the Samaritans came to Tyre, to Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, and desired that they that had laid waste the country might be punished."[40] But in the final appeal to Caesar, the Samaritans were worsted, three of their most powerful men were condemned to death, and the robbed and outraged Samaritan populace was left without relief. Individual *lex talionis* of ancient Israel is their only recourse.

Immediately after, when Felix is procurator of Judea, there appear numbers of men in Jerusalem seeking private vengeance, carrying short daggers, *sica,* hidden in their clothing,—whence they were called Sicarii.[41] The essential fact is that these landless and desperate men know whom they are looking for. Their despoilers are known to them. And they know that there is no redress for them in Roman or priestly court. It is impossible that there were no robbed and desperate Samaritans among them. Felix is succeeded by Festus, who destroyed many outlawed robbers, but Albinus seemed in sympathy with the revolutionists, and when under Florus twenty thousand Jews are massacred at Caesarea, the infuriated Jews burn a number of Samarian and Peraean cities, including the Herodian fortress of Sebaste-Samaria, Scythopolis-Bethshean, Caesarea and Pella.[42] Whence it is clear that

[39] *Wars,* II, i.
[40] *Wars,* II, xii, 5-8.
[41] *Wars,* II, xiii, 3; xvii, 6.
[42] *Wars,* II, xviii, 1.

the Jews considered Samaritan brigands and assassins to be a chief element in the evils of the time. As Josephus continues to use the term Sicarii, originating in the outrages upon Samaritans that brought in Felix, as synonymous with Zealot, we seem compelled to recognize that fanatical Samaritan individuals were always a considerable element in the Zealot movement.

Now Origen actually uses Samaritan and Sicarian as synonymous terms, 213 A.D., one hundred and forty-seven years after this burning of Samaria-Sebaste as a nest of Sicarians. The infamous Caracalla has been oppressing and outraging Samaritans for persistence in circumcision, and has then come to Alexandria to take vengeance upon the authors of lampoons launched at him for the murder of his brother Geta. Origen is advised by friends to leave the country, and takes refuge with his friend Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and later at Caesarea, the main seaport of the Samarian region. So when he speaks of Samaritans punished for persisting in circumcision, and at the same time repeatedly calls them Sicarians, it is impossible that he should not know what he was talking about. And he makes us see that some oppressed and outraged Samaritans resorted to the same stern *lex talionis* by the individual that became notable under Felix one hundred and fifty years before.[43] It is possible that in Origen's time Sicarian meant man of Sichar or Süchar (John 4:5); but Josephus does not suggest any such etymology.

Then Hippolytus tells that the Sadducees had their stronghold in the region around Samaria. He was a contemporary of Origen, writing 200-236 A.D., and spent twenty years or more of his life as bishop of the Portus Romanorum, and shows an intimate and official knowledge of events at Rome. With his access to the large competing Jewish community at Rome, and to Samaritans oppressed or deported by Commodus, Caracalla, etc., he must have been well informed concerning administrative problems in Palestine, when he spoke of Samaria as the stronghold of the Sadducean views.[44] Since Josephus and Origen certainly connect the Sicarians with Samaria, and some Jewish scholars also connect the Essenes with Samaria, it is not surprising to find Hippolytus reporting the Essenes as one division of the fanatical Sicarii,[45] and that some of the Essenes of his time were fanatical propagandists: offering lone individual Gentiles the choice of circum-

[43] *Against Celsus,* II, 13; *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* IV, 226, 436.
[44] *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* V, 5 f., 137. [45] *Ibid.,* 136.

cision or death: whence they are also called Zealots. Repeatedly we catch suggestions of the same sword-propagandism that was an outstanding feature of Asmonean policy. It is the traditional Sadducean ruthlessness, that slays son or brother for apostasy (Deuteronomy 13:6 f.). The Pentateuch is final. It punished a false witness with death, however trivial the case;[46] or if there were two false witnesses, both would be executed.[47] It is the relentless ferocity of the Josephite judges, pictured by Amos, that would "make a man an offender for a word."[48]

With regard to the Samaritans being simply a Jewish sect, as Montgomery and Gaster have concluded, it would be technically more exact to say, as Samaritans do, that they were never Jewish. Josephus admits that the term *Judaic* or *Jewish* originated with the return from Babylonia under Nehemiah; the same assertion that the Samaritans made.[49] But the popular reader will hardly find any more convenient way of expressing the sectarian divisions that Israel has produced through the centuries, and modern Jewish scholars find it convenient. It should be added that their recognition of the Samaritans as essentially Karaites or Sadduceans is not a novelty. Lieutenant Conder, when surveying Palestine, reached the same conclusion, after considering the ancient records.[50]

Continuing then with the proposition that the Samaritans are but a Jewish sect and substantially identical with Sadducees or the later Karaites, we find Jewish scholarship with varying emotions admitting the general fact. With regard to the appearance of the term *Karaites* as a denominational name, Dr. Abraham Harkavy[51] writes that the Karaites were founded by Anan ben David, about 760 A.D., and that Karaism contains much Rabbinism, with elements of earlier and later Jewish sects: Sadducees, Essenes, 'Isawites, Yudghanites, and some from Mohammedanism. He says that Judaism was much broken into sects, in Anan's time, and that Anan ben David, failing of election of exilarch when Isaac Iskawî (?) died in 760 A.D., through pique started a secession and immediately gained a large following, mostly in Persia and Babylonia, later in Arabia, Syria, and Palestine. The name "Karaites" was first used by Benjamin Nehawendî, 830-850 A.D.

[46] *Antiquities,* XIII, x, 5, 6; xi, 2. [47] Graetz, *Geschichte,* III, 459.

[48] Amos 2:6-8; 3:9 f.; 5:10-15; Isaiah 29:19-22; 1 Kings 21:9 ff. Compare *Antiquities,* XX, ix, 1; Mark 14:60-64.

[49] *Antiquities,* XI, vi, 7.

[50] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* VII, 438 f. [51] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* VII, 438 f.

Samuel Poznanski,[52] with more careful historical criticism, observes that the early records relied upon by Harkavy are obscure; all are biased, pro or con; and none of them are early. The earliest known is a century and a half later than Anan's time, 754-775 A.D. The earliest extant Karaite account, in 937, claims that the movement is but the continuation of that begun under Jeroboam, and reasserting itself later at Samaria in the time of Ezra, and that Simon the Just later was an exponent of it. Poznanski recognizes that it is quite impossible that a personal pique on the part of Anan could produce the instant formulation of an extensive scheme of doctrine and its immediate wide acceptance. Anan must be regarded as giving prominent leadership to what was already widespread, and some of it very old. He does not think that Sadduceeism was ever extinct; and says that Sadduceeism and Karaism were at one, "above all in adherence to the written word and their rejection of oral tradition." Many mediaeval rabbins identified the Karaites with Sadducees.

Dr. Poznanski's recognition that Karaism's first strength was in Persia should be linked with the fact that the Sargonid deportees were in Medo-Persia one hundred and thirty years before Babylonian exiles from Jerusalem could begin any educational organization. It is historically inevitable that a pre-exilic type of Yahwism should have been well spread there, and that it was not ready to accept everything in later Babylonian Judaism. And as shown in the chapter on the Jews of India, the Samaritans claimed connection with the Persians, and to be actually a colony of Medes and Persians—which Josephus says was true.[53] And the Samaritan chronicles claim an immense body of proselytes as part of their return from exile: ten times the number of the accepted Josephite Israelites.

This should make us recognize the inevitable element of ethnic antipathy that has shown itself wherever Judaism has spread. An Iranic Judaism, whose beginnings were fifteen hundred years earlier than Anan's time, was never in condition to follow implicitly an Aramaized or Arabized Judaism from Babylonia. That it had its own early translations of scripture in Persian and Elamite is recognized. But that inevitably meant some differences in the actual meaning of many passages in the respective versions. The paraphrasing Aramaic Targums of Babylonia would be criticized by the Persian Jew: they were not "according to the reading" of

[52] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* VII, 662 ff.
[53] *Antiquities,* X, ix, 17; XI, iv, 9; XII, v, 5.

his Persian version. This would appear to be a fact of the first importance. As for traditions, the ancestral traditions of the Persian highlands could never be those of the Euphratean alluvium. Karaism opposed rabbinic traditions with traditions of its own. What has happened in Persian Islam, with its Shîah school opposed to the traditions of the Sûnnîs, is an expression of the same opposition of the Iranian to the Semite. A minute inquiry into the actual relations of Karaism with Shîism is not in order here. It is enough that the differing ethnic atmospheres and inheritance made both inevitable.

Rodkinson, in his translation of excerpts from the Babylonian Talmud, cites a Karaite claim that their origin was in the time of Rehoboam, when Israel revolted against the corruption of the David dynasty. Rodkinson replies with fervor that such claims deny what is written in the prophets and are ridiculed by any one who has a knowledge of books. But Rodkinson shows no knowledge of the Old Testament factors reviewed in Chapter V. The fact of present importance is his admission that as *Benî-Mikrã* or *Baalê Mikrã*, "Adherers to the verse," or "to the reading," they are mentioned several times in the Talmud. As "Karaier" they are familiar to the Gaonîm, or heads of the Babylonian academies of the post-Talmudic times. Thus Rodkinson announces such rejectors of tradition and rabbinic exposition as a faction recognized in Babylonia centuries before the time of Anan. We should hardly think of them as an aggressive organization, trying to abolish all educational organization. But their opposition to paraphrasing Targums probably rallied to them those who were indifferent, who would not go to school;—just as certain illiterate Americans denounce colleges as propagators of heresy or atheism.[54] And again Rodkinson writes: "The Karaites are the former Samaritans, and even up to date they have changed slightly only in their outward appearance and in name, but not intrinsically."[55] This admission leaves only the gap from Rehoboam to the fall of Samaria in dispute between Rodkinson and the Karaite historical claims.

[54] The Talmud sometimes puts before us the intellectual pettiness of the masses, rather than the spiritual ideals of the teachers. Consider Cohen (*Tract. Berakot* xxxii). We see the interminable higgling of the unlearned provincial mind over each tiny detail of daily life. So Catholic works on the Confessional: St. Dens, Liguori, etc., with intimate probing into obscene details, show us the level of the masses of those days. The rabbins, like the prophets, dealt all day long with petty, quibbling, gainsaying minds. A Protestant pastor of wholly illiterate backwoods folk knows the same mental type.

[55] Rodkinson, *Babylonian Talmud,* x, 144 f., 154.

Rodkinson also cites an interesting illustration of the way in which many a devout Jew viewed a Sadducee as we see the Samaritan viewed in the New Testament: an unclean person whom one cannot house with. Rabbinic Judaism had a fiction of greatly enlarging one's house, for Sabbath purposes, so that one might move around a good deal without going out of his house on the Sabbath. One might put some domestic utensils in the street, so as to annex a considerable section of the street to his house. Rabbi Gamaliel said: "A Sadducee dwelt with us in the same alley in Jerusalem. Father said to us, when preparing for the Sabbath: 'Make haste and bring all the vessels into the alley, lest the Sadducee bring out his, and thus make it unlawful to bring out yours.' "[56]

The merits of these warring Jewish sects are no part of this inquiry. That the division is on doctrinal grounds, not on ethnical grounds, is our only concern. The immemorial Semitic habit of trying to explain everything by an ancestor from whom all who have certain customs or opinions are descended, we have seen everywhere in Judaism. So what is a profession of orthodoxy with a Christian commonly takes with the Jew of the past ages the form of a claim of purity of descent. The antipathies presented in Ezra and Nehemiah are presented by the Samaritan Chronicles, with reversed tradition of superiority. The Chronicles say that thirty-seven thousand exiled Israelites came back from captivity under the leadership of Sanballat the Lawînî or Levite,[57] and the high-priest Abdiel was the Head of the community. Thirty thousand remained behind,[58] not accepting Sanballat's leadership, but waiting for a prophet-leader,—an acknowledgment of division in sentiment, or Messiah factions, in exile. For the return, the exiles assembled at a place called Horan; hence Sanballat was called "the Horonite."[59] At Horan the first quarrel arose; the Jews were there under Zerubbabel, and insisted on Jerusalem as

[56] Rodkinson, III, Erubin, p. 145.

[57] Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine,* I, 43 f.

[58] Gaster, pp. 31 f.

[59] Their lack of the Books of Kings concealed from them the fact that the nobles of Samaria bear the title *Hor* in 1 Kings 21:11, so that *"Horoni"* meant that Sanballat was of noble Israelite ancestry. *Huri,* or *khuri* in Palestine to-day implies priestly rank. Torrey in the *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 1928, p. 387, suggests that Nehemiah's opponent had his headquarters at Beth-Horon, a strategic point a little northwest of Jerusalem. on the road to the coast via Lydda: hence he was "the Horonite." But Beth-Horon was still familiar, in Josephus' time; as the scene of the defeat of Cestius Gallus, would Sanballat's connection with it have been forgotten by that time?

the point for the temple. The Samaritans repaired to Gerizim, and with the *gêrim,* or proselytes, numbered three hundred thousand, and established their temple on the 9th of Tizri.

Montgomery and Gaster, analyzing Josephus' story that Manasseh, son of a Jewish high-priest, married the daughter of this Sanballat, agree that it is worthless; Josephus having confused a Sanballat named as leader in 536 B.C. with one named in Ezra's time, near 400 B.C.[60] The term *Kutîm,* usually explained as "Cutheans," does not appear in literature till the time of Josephus. So the various stories told by Josephus, of Jews demonstrating their superiority to Samaritans before various Gentile authorities are paralleled by the Samaritans, with reverse result: the triumph of their own claims. Actually, Gentile authorities used each party, as their political ends seemed to require. The Samaritans were strenuous proselyters, and claimed an immense number as part of the band that returned from the exile, as we noticed above. So Josephus' gibe that on occasion some of them might represent themselves as "Sidonians," etc., is worth exactly as much as Jewish claims to be also "Parthians, or Medes, or Elamites,"[61] or Paul's declaring himself a "Roman, free born," or a "Hebrew of the Hebrews."

Dr. Joseph Wolff's contact with Karaites elicited an interesting detail or two. The story of Mohammed shows a Jewish Arab tribe, the Bainu Kainoka'a, dwelling in the *haram* or sacred environs of Mecca, when his aggressive career began. Wolff holds that Mohammed's mother was a Jewess of the "daughters of Koraîta," the Arabic feminine for Koraîm, and cites Ibn Masudi.[62] Those who derive Karaite ideas from Islam ignore the fact that Israel had been in contact with Red Sea Arabs for more than fifteen hundred years before Mohammed's time. The Moslem *Shehad,* "There is no God but the God," is formed after the Samaritan "There is no God but the One"; rather than from "Shema Yisrael" of Deuteronomy 6:4. Another complaint Wolff found was that the Jews mingled Chaldean ideas with the Torah of Moses, in Babylonia; therefore the Karaites withdrew from them. He inquired if Crimean Karaites offered sacrifices, according to the Torah, and was told that they could not, save at the ancient temple site.[63] Compare the Falashas, who still keep up the custom of offering sacrifices, but who parted with Palestine at an earlier

[60] Or 445 B.C. ?—Gaster, 18 f., 30, 112.
[61] Compare *Antiquities* IX, xiv, 3; XI, viii, 6; XII, v, 5, and Acts 2:9 ff.
[62] *Travels and Adventures,* I, 147. [63] *Ibid.,* I, 250.

stage; they have no notion that ritual worship should be centralized at a single point.

Gaster recognizes that Egyptian and Greek and Roman alike failed to distinguish between Jews and Samaritans. In removing or dispersing both were counted Jews by the Gentiles about them. Large colonies were deported at various times, and slowly lost their identity. But the action of some bodies of mediaeval European Jews, announcing that their ancestors had nothing to do with the crucifixion of Jesus, is profoundly significant. They were scouted by Gentiles about them; but their contention actually means that such groups clung to the tradition of their descent from the Samaritan community, not the Judean one. Such communities might not speak of themselves as Yahûdayîm, though called Jews by their Gentile neighbors,[64] while the Palestinian community still firmly believed that their Samaritan brethren, deported centuries before, still existed intact somewhere in the west. And the western Gentile lost sight of the Samaritan community for a thousand years.

It is a wretched picture that Montgomery draws of the latter days of the Samaritan communities: Samaria destroyed by John Hyrcanus, restored on a splendid scale under Herod, burned in the local war 66 A.D.,[65] eleven thousand six hundred slain in a Messiah-frenzy next year. Samaria was never rebuilt. Vespasian, with an eye to military domination, founded Neapolis, now Nablous, by Mount Gerizim. Samaritans centered there. Then came the ruthless destruction under Hadrian, when all Samaritan literature was destroyed. Commodus was worse than Hadrian; he forbade the reading of the law, closed the schools, and destroyed the scholars. Septimius Severus abolished its citizenship. Caracalla was worse than Commodus. Constantine was tolerant of all creeds, knowing that the empire needed peace, but his legislation sternly repressed proselyting or punishment of Samaritans or Jews who became Christians. So under Constantius, Theodosius, Honorius, legislation abolishing the old privileged status increases.[66]

Then came the cruel and degraded Zeno, 474-491. Civil war, begun by Ilus, in 484 devastated all Palestine. There was a terrible massacre of Jews at Antioch. Then Samaritans massacred Christians and burned Christian churches. The governor of Palestine attacked and defeated the Samaritans, expelled them from

[64] Gaster, pp. 161 ff.

[65] Josephus, *Wars*, II, xviii, 1; III, vii, 2.

[66] Montgomery, pp. 93-110.

their Mount Gerizim, built a Church of the Virgin upon it, and erected a stockade about the Samaritan temple, excluding all worship. The tortured Samaritans revolted under Anastasius, 491-518, and massacred the garrison, but were suppressed by Procopius, the governor of Palestine, and the leaders slain.[67]

Justinian (527-565) completed their political extinction. Edicts against Manicheaeans, heretics, and Samaritans, confirming all earlier disabilities of Jews, Greek pagans, and Samaritans, opened his reign. The wretched creatures could hold no office, no real estate, and sit in no tribunal. Their children who became Christians could not be disinherited. A great uprising broke out in 529; the whole of central Palestine from Scythopolis to Caesarea blazed. Many towns were burned; but the revolt was suppressed by the Arab Phylarch; twenty thousand were slain; twenty thousand more sold as slaves; numbers fled the land. Gerizim was fortified by Justinian. New legislation ordered all synagogues destroyed, punished their rebuilding, and declared that only the Orthodox could inherit Samaritan property. Nor could the oppressed Samaritans donate their property to any one: it would be confiscated. Inquisition was to be made into the sincerity of professed conversions to Christianity. Children of mixed marriages were to belong to the Greek Orthodox church. Procopius says that most of the despairing people professed Christianity. New edicts in 531 interdicted the Samaritans from all legal and judicial rights, save of wills and contracts. Another in 537 repeats the exclusion of Jews, Samaritans, and pagans from all privileges. Another insurrection broke out in 556, at Caesarea. The edicts of 572 practically outlaw them. From that time they are no longer a political problem. Broken, scattered, from Persia to central Europe, thousands enslaved, many thousand forced into the Greek Church, Israel, though outlasting Judah politically for five hundred years, at last disappears.[68]

The repeated identification of this fervid, conservative, reactionary Israel, with the Zealots or Sicarii may be inaccurate. But it is certain that their ideals and attitudes were much the same, or early Church writers would not have made the identification. By all parties it is conceded that Samaritans, Sadducees, or Karaites, stubbornly stood for all that they thought old against all that they thought new. Providence and history crush such.

[67] Montgomery, pp. 110-112.

[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 113-25.

With the fervid fanaticism shown at times by this old Israelite militarism, we ask, as we pity the passing of the Samaritans, how would the world have fared had they been the stronger instead of the weaker party? "Every recrudescence of nationalism has brought misfortune to the Jews and Judaism. . . . In every case the disasters caused by nationalists have been mitigated by their opponents," writes the Jewish scholar, Herbert Loewe.[69]

But this sad tale shows again historic reasons for believing those whom we have found in many lands insisting that they are Israelites, but not Jews.

[69] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* VII, 608a.

CHAPTER XV

Missionaries Who Failed

The average Protestant pulpit has held up the Jew as utterly indifferent to the spread of his religion throughout the world. This view every reader will now recognize as utterly impossible. No other religious fraternity was once more determined upon a world-wide propagandism. No race, no people of ancient times was considered beyond its reach or outside the plans of Yahu. So far as our present knowledge goes, the religion of Yahu was a missionary religion from the beginning. It appears in Israel as a cultus unknown to the patriarchs (Exodus 3:13; 6:3), as sending a missionary to the pagan Israel whose ancestors never heard of Yahu.

The ruthless repression of Jewish proselyting by European and Moslem governments through fifteen hundred years has produced that inactivity which Protestant pulpits have misrepresented as indifferent to missionary effort.

On the contrary, the missionary activity of the early church was simply the missionary activity of the Judaism of the time, in its personnel, its agencies, its technical terminology, its organization, in the communities to which it appealed, and in the relations of those communities to the pagan world. Its apostles, prophets or preachers, servants or deacons, teachers, overseers or "rulers" of local congregations were all Jewish. "Modern researches have shown positively that Judaism sent forth Apostles," says E. G. Hirsch.[1] When Paul said, "God has set in the church first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers,"[2] he used terms familiar in the Orient for centuries. Exact equivalents appear in later Old Testament times. From the verb *shalakh*, "to send," Jeremiah 49:14 has "an ambassador sent by Yahu among the heathen." Ezra 7:14 announces that he is a *shelîakh* of the king. When the struggle for a Jewish papacy, a high-priest world-rulership ended in the destruction of Jerusalem, there was established at Tiberias within a century a supervising patriarchate for Judaism in the Roman Empire. The Patriarch had his apostles or legates that regularly visited every synagogue, made collections,

[1] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, x, 222.

[2] 1 Corinthians 12:28. Cf. Ephesians 4:9 where "evangelists" is substituted for "prophets." The Greek term "evangelist" is found in official pagan inscriptions from Asia Minor. It is not a term invented by the Christian Church. It is the *Mebashsher* of Isaiah 40:9.

corrections, and adjustments.[3] The organization was essentially that which existed in the days of the early church.

In Babylonia another verb was preferred to *shalakh; shaparu*, "to send," was the Akkadian verb in daily use. The cuneiform records show many hundreds of occurrences. The noun *shipru* seems any kind of a courier or messenger. But the *shapîru*, "envoy, commissioner, ambassador," was a man of high rank. An Assyrian king writes, "The *pahâti* (provincial governors) of my land, the *Aklê* (viziers) and *shapîrê* and nobles." We have such grouping more than once. We find *shapirûtu* to be a "regiment," the troops of a *shapîru*. A commission or embassy is *nashpartu*. Ashurbanipal records that he received a *nashpartu* from the gods with respect to Elam. He himself was then a *shapîru* of the gods. Jeremiah 49:14 would have used this word, if he had written in Akkadian.[4] Compare 2 Corinthians 5:20, "we are ambassadors for Christ." But this old official duty and dignity in Babylonian Judaism survives in the Jewish family name Shapiro, as the dignities Levi and Cohen so survive. It is evidence that Babylonian Judaism had its own religious apostles, known by Akkadian terms and probably using Akkadian speech.

Again, from the verb *lamad*, "to teach," we find men spoken of as *melummadîm*, "well taught"; and the active participle *melammēd* becomes later an official term. The scrolls of the Pentateuch and of liturgy recovered from the Chinese Jews of Kaifeng illustrate the point. Some are signed by one who styles himself *Shalîakh*, "envoy, apostle, missionary." Others are written by a *melammēd*, "teacher." So the Kaifeng community appears to have been in communication with apostles of Yahwism in Hsi-Yü or Chinese Turkestan; or if any of these rolls were copies made by members of the local community, it had apostles as well as teachers of its own.

The very term "apostle" was accepted by Jesus from current Jewish terminology. When He spoke Aramaic, He used the word *shelîakh;* in current Greek this was *apostolos*. When Jesus Himself is called *apostolos* in Hebrew 3:1, it is because every Hebrew Christian knew the term *apostolos* and its connotation. All knew the finality conceded the *shelîakh* or the *apostolos* by the contemporary Jews of the Diaspora. The author of Hebrews declares that Jesus was not the *shelîakh* of the priestly organization nor a

[3] Romans, 15:25 ff.; 1 Corinthians 16:1-4. Paul knew that the collecting apostles often abused their opportunities; hence 1 Corinthians 9:15 ff.

[4] So would Ezekiel 17:15; Isaiah 18:2; 30:4; 33:7; 2 Chronicles 35:21; 32:31.

member of it, but was appointed as a superseding High-Priest and *sheliakh* of God Himself, and that He met death through His faithfulness to that superseding commission.[5]

The official term *shaliakh* remains in modern Oriental Judaism, and is translated "missionary" by some Jewish scholars when they write in English. Slouschz[6] gives a vivid picture of the Jewish *shaliakh* from Jerusalem, touring the whole of North Africa through the centuries, white stones along the desert trails marking the graves of scores who have perished in their apostolic mission, and were thereafter perchance worshipped as saints. Some add to the superstitions with which the people are already burdened. Sometimes they are feared and shunned. Such finality is conceded them that they are sometimes venerated as endowed with supernatural powers. "The *shaliakh* from Palestine in Africa lays down the law on all matters of religion."[7] And Slouschz uses the word "missionary" in writing of such.

Similarly, Benjamin II, eighty years ago, in describing the organization of the Jews for raising funds and swaying the sentiment of Judaism in distant lands, wrote that each of the four sectarian divisions of Judaism had a central council of six at Jerusalem, with a *sheliakh ha-kolel:* "apostle-general" would express it.[8] In writing French, Benjamin II calls himself "un missionaire Israelite," and calls a Sephardic rabbi at Jerusalem a "missionaire du rite Portugais."[9] It is repeated that Christianity inherited the conception, organization, and terminology of early missionary work from Judaism. *Apostolos* in Attic Greek meant a naval expedition—in earlier Greek, a messenger with power of attorney. But the "Apostolos" of later Judaism had functions parallel to those of the early church.[10] There is no difference between apostle and missionary, save that one term is Greek and the other Latin. In the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* an apostle is one who does not stay more than three days in one place. His work of visitation, inspection, auditing, correction,

[5] The popular Christian exegesis that turns Jesus into a Jewish high-priest illustrating the imagined symbolism of the sacrifical worship universally repudiated by the prophet-reformers entirely misses the writer's thought.

[6] *Travels in North Africa,* pp. 46, 64, 96-103, 203, 207, 258—Philadelphia, 1927: The Jewish Publication Society of America. Sometimes the modern Jew writes the Hebrew form *shaliakh:* some write the Aramaic form *sheliakh.*

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 203.

[8] Benjamin II, p. 183, French version.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 62, French version.

[10] Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries,* pp. 75 ff

and admonition is incessant. The priestly council at Jerusalem would send its Jewish apostles or inspectors to any community, anywhere (Acts 9:1 f., 13 f.), with plenipotentiary authority. "Synagogue of Satan" in Revelation 2:2, 9, 13, 24; 3:9 is misunderstood by those not aware that the old Hebrew noun *satan* meant "accuser, prosecutor, inquisitor." It is a society of Jewish inquisitors that is in mind. Paul was a fully-commissioned inquisitor-apostle before he was a Christian apostle.

Briefly may be sketched the way the early Jewish Christians regularly sought out the local Jewish proselyte communities, as their base of operations, to use a military term. Paul and Barnabas reach Cyprus, and proclaim the Word in the Jewish synagogues at Salamis; thus they covered the whole island. That is, they visited each Judaized community (Acts 13:4-12). At Antioch, in Pisidia, the synagogue is their first objective, and the presidents assume that they have come for exhortation, and devout proselytes are part of the assembly (Acts 13:13 ff.). At Iconium it is the same, then at Derbe and Lystra. Again in Lystra, Iconium, Antioch, and at Perga in Pamphylia. How many synagogues they visited in these places we are not told (Acts 14). On their reporting at Jerusalem, James says, "Moses has had his preachers from the earliest times in every town, where he is read aloud in the synagogues every Sabbath" (Acts 15:21). It is probable that James identifies the real "Law of Moses" with the Noachian code, since that is the substance of the message sent to the churches. At Philippi, the Jewish place of prayer is the first place sought by Paul and Silas (Acts 16:13 f.). The synagogues at Thessalonica and Beroea are also their points of beginning, and so was the synagogue at Athens (Acts 17:1 ff., 10 ff., 17). There was a synagogue ready for Paul in Corinth, and the house of a devout proselyte next door, and a year and a half he worked from this proselyte-base (Acts 18:1-11). Work in Ephesus begins in the synagogue (Acts 18:19; 19:8 ff.; 20:17 ff.). At Jerusalem, when Paul last reaches it, there are thousands of Jewish Christians (Acts 21:19 ff.). Paul had written to Rome from Corinth; the last chapter salutes former comrades in the work, who were all then at Rome. The letter itself addresses "You who are called a Jew, and you are also a teacher; you pride yourself on the Torah" (Romans 2:17 ff.). "I am talking to them that know the Torah" (7:10). "Abraham was not a keeper of the Torah" (4:13 ff.). "We cry Abba" (8:16) is Aramaic, not a Gentile word. "I am an Israelite myself." Some of you proselytes "have been grafted in like a

shoot of wild olive—do not pride yourself, depreciating these branches!" These phrases briefly suggest that the letter is directed to a community of Christian Jews and proselytes. Such met Paul at Puteoli 61 A.D.,[11] and such came from Rome to Appii Forum. On reaching Rome Paul assembled the chief Jews, with varying results (Acts 28:17 ff.).

The testimony of these New Testament passages to an extensive Jewish propagandism has been recognized by recent scholars. But that missionary activity has been assumed to be a brief fervor. Theodore Reinach has said, "The fervor of proselytism was indeed one of the most distinctive traits of Judaism during the Greek-Roman epoch—a trait which it never possessed in the same degree, either before or since." Again it has been said that during the last ten years of the Judean state there were more proselytes than there had been at any other time. Philo relates from his own experience that in his native country many heathens, when they embraced Judaism, not only changed their faith but their lives, which were henceforth conspicuous by the practice of the virtues of moderation, gentleness, and humanity.[12] Schürer has graphically presented the immense extension of Judaism as it appears in the beginning of the Apostolic age. Cicero, Juvenal, Horace, Tacitus, and Seneca express the irritation the Roman felt at seeing vast numbers of Greeks and Romans won over to what they counted a hateful superstition. "The Jewish faith is received in every land; the conquered have given laws to the conqueror."[13]

"The number of proselytes gained over the world by this propaganda was incredible. The West was as full of Jews as the East. Egypt, and other parts of Africa had a vast Jewish population. To use the words of Josephus, the habitable globe was so full of Jews that there was scarcely a corner of the Roman empire where they might not be found. The great synagogue at Alexandria was so large that if we can believe the Talmud, the Hazan, or Reader, had to make use of a handkerchief as a signal, when the congregation were to repeat their 'Amen'."[14]

The limitations of this scholarly estimate are manifest to every reader. Instead of such proselyting being a peculiarity of the Greek-Roman period, we have seen like activity in many lands long before that time, and in others after Rome declined. And it

[11] Acts 28:14, 15; Hirsch, *Jewish Encyclopedia,* x, 445.
[12] Graetz, II, p. 215.
[13] Cicero, *Pro Flacco,* 18; Horace, *Sat.,* I, lx, 69; iv, 142; Juvenal xlv, 96; Tacitus, *Ann.,* II, 85 f.; Seneca, *De Superstitione.*
[14] Geikie, *Life of Christ,* I, 140.

has been equally clear that Judaism has lost some regions that it once dominated; that it has totally disappeared from some countries where it once numbered tens of thousands. Is this due to some inherent social weakness? We have seen Jewish garrisons and commercial colonies for many centuries placed in situations favorable to their methods of propagandism. Were these same communities and their methods such as would be successful in a more advanced stage of political or national or social organization? They were not the product of Yahwism: for we saw them in non-Yahwist lands and in pre-Israelite times. Does such privileged and segregated community represent arrested social development? Could a world be squeezed into the social scheme which the average Judaized community offered it? Was Judaism offering to vitalize each national or racial hope, or demanding that all people surrender their own ethnic consciousness and their noblest patriotism, if they would be fully-accredited Jews? Were some Jewish propagandist methods mere survivals of savagery and so objectionable that the world had to suppress them? Was Yahwism in open conflict with the methods and the resultant Jewish social order? Why did Judaism lose its proselytes so easily to the early church? Why did early Christian apostles seek especially such proselytes in their missionary journeys? Was there some discrimination against proselytes, which they might justly resent? What actual activity in proselyting and discrimination against them appears in the Old Testament?

As to objectionable methods, Dio Cassius (XXXVII, 17) says, "This race has been repeatedly checked by the Romans, yet it has increased amazingly, so that it has assumed the greatest boldness." To him Judaism represented a race, not a cultus-fraternity. Tacitus describes the Jews of his day as filled with bitter hatred towards all other men; eating and marrying only among themselves. Their first instruction to proselytes was: despise the gods, abjure your country, cast off parents, children, or brothers.[15] Juvenal says they would refuse to point out the way to any but a Jew, or to lead any uncircumcised person to a fountain he sought.[16] In short, any proselyte was expected to adopt the ethnic tradition as well as the cultus of Israel. To the Roman, whose clashes and rivalries were political and international, the Jew actually announced himself as a racial rival and political competitor. Thoughtful modern Jewish writers have recognized that ancient

[15] *History*, v, 52; cf. Deuteronomy 13:6 ff.; 33:8 ff.
[16] *Satires*, XIV, 103.

Judaism's fatal weakness was its identifying a religious ideal with a political program, and a political or social world-program with the perpetuation of its own type of nationalism. All had to denationalize themselves to become Jews; so, sooner or later Judaism made all political systems its enemy. Rome sought to include all peoples, without denationalizing them. The Roman ideal and the Judeo-national idea were irreconcilable.[17] Add the immemorial congregationalism of the Jews. There resulted the uniting of the world against them, without uniting themselves against the world.

This insistence upon ethnic tradition as a *sine qua non* we see in Ezra. This Aramaic-speaking Babylonian Jew will have nothing to do with those who speak the language of Ashdod, Samaria, or Ammon. He raises fairly the question, Can the demand that every worshipper swear that he was of Aramaean ancestry have come from him? (Deuteronomy 26:1-5). The jangling voices in the Talmud put clearly before us the fact that deported Israelites did not avoid intermarriage with the peoples around them. There is no law that they should do so. But expressions of the aristocratic snobbery common to humanity at large are numerous. "All (Jewish) regions are mixed dough (leavened) compared to Palestine: but Palestine is (leaven) compared to Babylonia." "Babylonia is always considered pure, till a reason appears for counting it impure. Other lands are counted impure, till a reason is shown for counting them pure."[18] That is, Jews of all lands are considered to be of mixed blood till they can present evidence that they are not. But it is so easy to manufacture genealogies. "Why does God let the Babylonians live? To study the law! And the Palestinians? To pay tithes! [or taxes]. And dwellers in other lands? Because they observe the sabbaths and the feasts!" (Menahoth 85b). Such is the Babylonian Jewish arrogance voiced in Ezra. Palestinians retorted that the Babylonians were proud and very poor, and their learned studies mere darkness. But this Babylonia of aristocratic pretensions was only a small district in the vicinity of the original royal colony of 2 Kings 24:12-16. Mesênê, the whole region southward from the junction of the Royal River and Tigris, thirty miles north of Babylon, was accounted mixed blood, "Mesa is dead, Madai [Medes-land] is sick: Elam and Goubai, ready to die!" (Kiddushim 71a). The pure-blooded Israelite is dead or disappearing. Holwan, or Halah, of the "cities of the Medes" (2 Kings 17:6) in contrast claimed to be the purest-

[17] George La Piana, in *Harvard Theological Review,* October 1927, pp. 369 f.

[18] Babylonian Talmud, Kiddushin 71a, b.

blooded colony of the Israelites for centuries.[19] Mahouza, on the Tigris, was scorned as having chiefly descendants of proselytes, proud, luxurious, drunken: "Children of hell!" (Gê Hinnom) some said.[20] Jews of Ctesiphon, Ardeshir, and Zokhê in its vicinity were similarly denounced, as copying Parthian luxury. "I love the Persians for their modesty in everything," said Rabban Gamaliel. "That nation is doomed to Gehinnom," replies Rabbi Joseph (Berakot 8b). Houza, or Khuzistan, had Jews too mixed in blood for a good Babylonian to consider intermarriage with them.[21] The earlier Pumbedita was declared a colony of thieves and swindlers. After it became the place of an academy, it grew quite pretentious. When the question of the racial respectability of Bairam, west of the Euphrates, was raised, it was then answered, "The best families of Pumbedita marry those of Bairam."[22] There were two Jewish Apameas, or two quarters of the same city, that would have no intercourse with each other, one denouncing the other as not pure-blooded.[23] On the other hand, some regions were denounced because it was difficult to proselyte them to Judaism; and some voices protested against others being proselyted. Thus some declared that it was not permitted to proselyte the Palmyrenes (Tadmor) nor the people of the Kurdish mountains.[24] Per contra, large gains were made around Nisibis, and the energy of R. Thospaa produced a district Thospitis. It was proper to intermarry there.[25] Bê Koubê, near Pumbedita, was pronounced a community descended from slaves.[26] But Rabbi Jehudah, a man of distinction, was himself a proselyte from India.[27]

Such are the warring prejudices of the regions from which Ezra came. His life in the east made him know that Judaism won proselytes daily, and that all about him were persons of prominence in Jewish social life who were proselytes, or descendants of proselytes. He knew that Israelites had been colonized among the Medes and Persians for three hundred years, and that Hebrew writings were being translated into various languages of the Persian empire. His attitude toward certain Jews who spoke the language of Moab or Ammon or Philistia or Samaria is no evidence of the Israelite ancestry of his own faction. It only means that the official arrogance of those who had ruled Palestine for

[19] Neubauer, *La Geographie du Talmud*, pp. 373 f.
[20] Neubauer, p. 357.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 380.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 328, 349.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 325.
[24] Jerusalem Talmud, Yebamoth 1:6; Babylonian Talmud, Yebamoth 16a.
[25] Neubauer, p. 322.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 350.
[27] Kiddushin 85b; Neubauer, p. 385.

three hundred years from the capitals of Assyria and Babylonia and Persia is expressing itself in the attitude of the Judaized folk of those regions, some of whom were, like Nehemiah, prominent officials themselves. It is comparable to the attitude of Christianity at Rome, a thousand years later, toward the rest of the Christian world. No one knew better than Ezra that he had brought with him a temple-staff that included representatives of various Gentile peoples: a fact that will be noticed more fully in a later chapter. No one knew better than he that the various pre-Israelite peoples of Palestine were never expelled from the land; that the Israelite himself was merged with the great mass of that older population. His own sacred books so assured him. The Jewish scholar Feldman says that up to the time of Ezra, "intermarriage between Jew and alien went on on a scale sufficiently large to silence forever the claim of racial purity for the Jew." And Ezra expected it to go on. He welcomed at the festivals such as would wholly separate themselves from the Goyim of the land (Ezra 6:21). But he did not propose to allow such anything like social or official equality. Yet nobody knew better than he that his own sacred law insisted upon a different treatment of all proselytes. He only illustrates the fact that when any Judaized people is induced to accept the myth of Israelite descent along with their Judaism, they immediately assume their own strain or community to represent that pure Israelite line. A perfect modern illustration of this is at hand. In the chapter giving ethnologists' views it was remarked that the dispassionate historian must recognize that the leadership in the spread of Judaism passed from eastern to Indo-European peoples nearly two thousand years ago. Now a recent nine-hundred-page compendium of world-wide Judaism speaks thus:

"The larger Jewish centers in Asia are Palestine, Mesopotamia, Syria, Persia, Turkish and Russian Asia. The number of Jews in other lands is small, and their inner life plays no essential role in the Jewish world-community. The Black Jews of India, the Chinese Jews and other similar groups are distinct types. In like manner the Jews of Yemen, Bokhara, Georgia, and the Caucasus are entirely distinct from their brothers in Europe in respect to their inner life."

The Jews of Tripoli are "immigrants from the desert and remain genuine Africans in life and morals." The Falashas of Abyssinia are not Jews, "but rather a *volks-splitter*."[28] The point of interest

[28] Kreppel, *Juden und Judentum von Heute,* pp. 79, 800, 795.

is that orthodox Judaism here is a matter of European against Oriental and African races. One is no longer to insist that he is an Aramaean.[29]

Now this situation has been everywhere before us in the preceding survey of Jewish propagandism. We have seen it winning Slavs, Mongols, Arabs, negroes, Berbers, Turks, Chinese, Leghians, Georgians, Dravidians, Marathis—in short, that it can win and has won any people it tried to win, but that it has demanded of every one that he accept the ethnic tradition that *A roving Aramaean was my ancestor;* it has made orthodoxy primarily a matter of eugenics. As a result, Judaism to-day shows us scores of groups who look askance or with open scorn upon other Jews as "not of pure blood." We have seen the contemptuous attitude of the white Jews of India, and the servile and ecclesiastically illiterate relation that they imposed upon the Black Jews; and that these latter are divided into groups that scorn each other, because of their genealogical fictions. For such attitude in Apostolic days, consider the attitude of Sadducean priests toward the very populace whom they would convert by the sword. In 1 Maccabees 2:46, we find these Zealot missionaries circumcising by force such as they wished. Josephus assures us that the priests were the real aristocracy; the Sadduceans claimed to represent the oldest traditions. They were "the bluest of the blue-bloods." So in their lordly scorn they were known to hiss and spit at the poor or the common people who passed, which won for their claim of aristocratic descent, "You begotten of snakes!" (Matthew 3:7; 23:33; 26:67). Herod had made Simon son of Boëthos of Alexandria high-priest, and the attitude of his posterity is "damned to everlasting fame" in the Talmud:

"A curse on the family of Boëthos, a curse on their spears! A curse on the family of Hanan [Annas of the Gospels]; a curse on their viper-like hissings! A curse on the family of Kanthera! A curse on their fine feathers! A curse on the family of Ismael Ben Phabi! A curse on their fists! They are high-priests themselves, their sons keep the money, their sons-in-law are captains and their servants smite the people with their staves!"[30] "The approaches of the sanctuary echo with four cries: Depart, ye sons of Eli [1 Samuel 3:11 ff.]; you pollute the temple of the Eternal! Depart

[29] Seeing how partisan and fragmentary the present Old Testament narratives are, we may ask if periods of noted Hittite or "Canaanite" leadership in the Israelite state have been omitted by Aramaizing editors? What non-Israelite kings are referred to in Deuteronomy 17:15?

[30] See beating poor peasantry to extort the so-called "tithes": *Antiquities*, xx, ix, 2, 3.

hence, Issachar Kefr Barkai who think only of yourself and profane the consecrated victims [protecting his hands with silk gloves]. Open your gates, O Temple, and let Ismael Ben Phabi, the disciple of Phineas [1 Samuel 2:22] enter, that he may perform the high-priestly rites! Open wide, ye gates and let Johanan the son of Nebedai, the disciple of gluttons and gourmands, enter, that he may gorge on the sacrifices!"[31]

Compare this arrogance of Sadducean aristocracy with the arrogance of many supposedly Christian Americans toward cultured Chinese, Japanese, Hindoos, or other foreigners, though Christian also.

It should be said that this arrogance of those claiming pure-blooded Israelite ancestry had more than the wail or sarcasm of the masses against it. The fact that these voices are given a permanent place in the Talmud proclaims the sentiment of many a nobler rabbin and Pharisee. In the Pharisee Psalms of Solomon, occurs a repudiation of the Asmonean policy of sword-propagandism.

"For our sins, the wicked have risen up against us. They whom thou didst not send forth [the Asmoneans] have done violence against us, and have gotten the power over us. They have put away thy name with violence,[32] and have not glorified it, though it be above all in majesty: they have set up a king over them. They have laid waste the throne of David, with a haughty shout of triumph. But thou, O Lord, wilt cast them down. Thou wilt take away their seed from the earth, raising up against them an alien [Antipater, father of Herod the Great] who is not of our race. After their sins wilt thou recompense them, O God: they will receive according to their works. According to their works will God show pity on them! He will hunt out their seed, and will not let them escape. Faithful is the Lord, in all His judgments which He performs in the earth."[33]

In addition to the above citation from the Talmud illustrating official contempt for the masses we have the very important evidence of Philo of Alexandria. It should at the least be considered as expressing the views of the more intelligent local Judaism. In the preceding chapter was cited his approval of the doctrine that the Jewish high-priest was superior to all secular and to all other sacred authority,—a pope with temporal power. His view is di-

[31] Pesachim 57a, Keritot 28a.

[32] The name of Yahu or God is not used in 1 Maccabees. The writer says "Heaven" instead.

[33] Psalms of Solomon, XVII, par. 2.

rectly opposed to that of the democratic populace, whose moral indignation is expressed above in a fashion exactly parallel to the satires of the European populace upon the papacy and clergy as the Reformation began to take form. Philo thus tells us the current exposition of the views of Moses upon proselytes.

"And he receives all persons of a similar character and disposition, whether they were originally born so, or whether they have become so through any change of conduct, having become better people, and as such entitled to be ranked in a superior class; approving of the one body because they have not defaced their nobility of birth, and of the other because they have thought fit to alter their lives so as to come over to nobleness of conduct. And these last he calls proselytes [*proselutous*], from the fact of their having come over [*proselêluthenai*] to a new and God-fearing constitution, learning to disregard the fabulous inventions of other nations, and clinging to unalloyed truth.

"Accordingly, having given equal rank and honor to all those who come over, and having granted them the same favors that were bestowed upon native Jews, he recommends those who are ennobled by truth not only to treat them with respect, but even with especial friendship and excessive benevolence. And is this not a reasonable recommendation? What he says is this: 'Those men who have left their country and their friends and their relations for the sake of virtue and holiness, ought not to be left destitute of some other cities and houses and friends, but there ought to be places of refuge always ready for those who come over to religion; for the most effectual allurement and the most indissoluble bond of affectionate goodwill is the mutual honoring of the one God.' Moreover he also enjoins his people that after they have given the proselytes an equal share in all their laws and privileges and immunities, on their forsaking the pride of their fathers and forefathers, they must not give license to their jealous language and unbridled tongues, blaspheming those beings whom the other body looks upon as gods, lest the proselytes should be exasperated at such treatment, and in return utter impious language against the true and holy God: for from ignorance of the difference between them, and by reason of their having from their infancy learnt to look upon what was false as if it had been true, and having been bred up with it, they would be likely to err."

In the following paragraph, if any such Gentiles do not come up to the standards approved by "all those who have any admiration for virtue," the latter are to

"inflict punishment out of hand without any delay, not bringing them before either any judgment seat, or any council, or any

bench of magistrates, but giving vent to their own disposition which hates evil and loves God, so as to chastise the impious with implacable rigour, looking upon themselves as everything for the time being; counsellors, and judges, and generals, and members of the assembly and accusers, and witnesses, and laws, and the people; that so, since there is no conceivable hindrance, they may with all their company put themselves forward fearlessly to fight as the champions of holiness."

And he commends Phineas, Numbers 25:6 ff., as a model for every man who may feel inclined to act as accuser, court, judge, jury, and executioner.[34]

Thus Philo shows us two distinct bodies: Jews whose pretension is that they have ancient Israelite lineage, and a group of noble characters recently attaching themselves to Judaism. Philo interprets the law as according them equal privilege with those whose Judaism is ancestral, but immediately contradicts himself, saying that the cities of refuge, where fugitives and criminals are congregated, are places for these proselytes. He shows us the demand that they surrender their own pride of nation or ancestry, no matter how noble the deeds that may have been recorded, no matter how cherished their memory. In contrast, we find early Christian fathers citing epic heroes to inspire their hearers. And Philo shows us petty Jews cursing the divinities and heroes of the ancestry of any proselyte merely to exasperate one whom they are determined not to recognize as a brother.

There is also the question of the orthodoxy of the proselyte. There is no secular court that can be depended upon to consider such matters. There is no recognition of this sort of offense in Roman law. So every one professing peculiar piety and zeal for the God of Israel is urged to act upon his own initiative and strike down the reprobate himself. Philo thus announces himself an unmitigated Sicarian, and commends Sicarianism in its most extreme manifestations. Profess that you are impelled by a zeal for the Lord, and you are authorized to assassinate whom you will. The worst things that are pictured by Josephus in the last days of Jerusalem are authorized by Philo. That Sicarians of Palestine took refuge in Alexandria[35] was natural, since Philo preached Sicarianism there. After such teaching the Cyrene outbreak was inevitable. But we have a flashlight upon one source of the incessant strife between Jew and Greek in Alexandria. Any Greek

[34] Philo, *Monarchy*, I, 7, 8; Yonge's translation, III, 186 f.

[35] *Wars*, VII, 10.

proselyte stood some chance of being struck down by a fanatic Jew assassin as being heterodox; and his Greek kinsmen would be provoked to retaliate with onslaughts on the Jews; while a few assassinations by Sicarii would result in all mysterious murders being laid at the door of the Jews. And the proportion of the devout Gentiles who would refuse full connection with Judaism would be vastly increased by Sicarian fanaticism.

Was this scornful attitude toward proselytes, with ruthless destruction of the supposedly apostate or heretical, the peculiar product of Yahwism or Judaism? Or was it simply the original Semitic paganism, that Yahwism had not conquered? The attitude of other Semites toward a great body of proselytes eight centuries later may be compared. Under the Moors in Spain Jews fared better than they had for some centuries. But the Christians felt themselves peculiarly oppressed.

"But it was not the Christians who complained most of the Arab rule, a century after the conquest. The most dissatisfied were the renegades (converts from Christianity) whom the Arabs called *mowallad,* 'adopted' (literally, 'made sons'). These did not all think alike. There were some who were still secret Christians, who bitterly reproached themselves for their apostasy. They were peculiarly wretched, for they could not return to Christianity. Moslem law was inexorable upon that point. When profession of faith was once made, whether because of a fleeting whim, or weakness, discouragement, or misery at lack of money to pay the capitation tax, or fear of condemnation to a more infamous punishment by some Christian judge—when the profession was once made, the convert was a Moslem forever, though hourly tormented by the voice of conscience; and if he apostatized the punishment was death. The descendants of these converts who wished to return to the pale of the church were still more to be pitied; they suffered for the fault of some ancestor. The law pronounced them Moslems because they were children of a Moslem. They also would then lose their lives if they repudiated Mohammed. The Moslem 'church' seized them in the cradle, and followed them to the tomb."[36]

Now the great majority of these were freedmen, persons whose temporal condition had been greatly improved by the Arab conquest. Why then were they not content with being Arabs?

"Because their social position was intolerable. The Arabs usually excluded them from profitable employment, and from all participa-

[36] Dozy, *Mussulmans d'Espagne,* II, 30 f. *Mowallad* is, very literally, "made born": the converts had a "new birth."

tion in the government: they pretended to disbelieve in the sincerity of their conversion: they treated them with boundless insolence. Seeing also the brand of a slave upon each brow of a multitude recently set free, they taunted all with the name of 'slave,' or 'son of a slave' though they included in their ranks some of the noblest and wealthiest proprietors in the land. The 'renegades' were not resigned to such treatment. They had a sense of dignity and of the material strength at their disposal, for they formed the majority of the population. They were not willing that social and political authority should be the exclusive prerogative of a caste narrowly limited in its component individuals. They were not willing to accept longer their condition of restraint and social inferiority, nor to endure the insolent disdain and the domination of some bands of foreign soldiers, camped here and there. They seized arms, and boldly joined battle."[37]

Here we have repeated uprisings of Moslem proselytes demanding social equity and political parity. Were the internal struggles in ancient Palestine that resulted in the Deuteronomic proposal to massacre the older population of the land, in any essential feature different? Is the discrimination against the slave-born or those not of noble birth *(myukhasîn)* still found in Judaism any other than the above Moorish attitude? Are both attitudes the inheritance from a "pure-blooded pagan" Semitic ancestry?

Now what would be the attitude of the common people, the poor, the proselytes to Judaism, toward the young Christian church, should it offer them something nearer social equality? Or how far would the sense of wrong and the feeling that such social discriminations had no divine authority go toward producing a Christian church? There were five outbreaks of oppressed peasantry in seventeen years before Luther nailed up his theses at Wittenberg. Wycliff was a social heretic some twenty years before he was assailed as a theological heretic.[38] How would putting the poor proselytes of a Jewish synagogue on a social and official equality with the traditional "pure-blooded" aristocracy be viewed by that aristocracy? Consider why Stephen (Acts 6-7) was done to death by a "Hebrew of the Hebrews, of the tribe of Benjamin," Saul of Tarsus (Romans 11:1, Philippians 3:5 f.). The issue of Jewish companionship with uncircumcised proselytes is squarely drawn in the story of Peter and Cornelius, in Acts 10, Cornelius being of the class technically known as *Yirê Adonai,* "fearers of

[37] Dozy, *Mussulmans d'Espagne,* pp. 32 f.
[38] Cf. Wallis, *Sociological Study of the Bible,* pp. 264 ff.

the Lord" (34f.). And the parting of the ways between the church and the synagogue was distinctly social. The point is succinctly stated by Paul in 1 Corinthians 1:26, Galatians 3:28, Colossians 3:11.

But we do not fairly grasp this social opportunity of the early church, till we realize the enormous element of superstition that entered into the discriminations against supposed aliens and proselytes. We have seen the Talmud assertion that some lands and peoples were to be presupposed impure. We may see just how this conception shaped itself in the minds of the superstitious by observing the Judaizing element in the early church. Some two hundred years after the beginning of Christian propagandism the *Recognitions of Clement* took form, expressing the views of Jewish Christians who still contended for the maintenance of some old Jewish exclusions. After a long discussion with Simon Magus and rebuking and driving out demons from the ailing, Peter commands a table to be spread upon the ground for himself and his eleven colaborers. But young Clement "with some others who had made a beginning of hearing the word of God and were greatly beloved, dined apart." But

"Peter, most benignantly regarding me, lest haply that separation might cause me sorrow, says to me, 'It is not from pride, O Clement, that I do not eat with those who have not been purified; but I fear lest perhaps I should injure myself and do no good to them. For this I would have you know for certain, that every one who has at any time worshipped idols, and has adored those whom the pagans call gods, or has eaten of the things sacrificed to them, is not without an unclean spirit, for he has become a guest of demons . . . and therefore needs the purification of baptism, that the unclean spirit may go out of him. . . . For these unclean spirits love to dwell in the bodies of men.' "[39]

Thus underneath some ancient rituals so stoutly battled for lay a mass of superstitions; and in all savage fears of the foreigner and consequent phylacteric precautions the same primitive superstitions are involved. The great leaders in the struggle for simple brotherliness to every proselyte were inevitably leaders in a rational protest against popular superstitions also. The Judaism and the Christianity that with baptismal exorcisms fostered the belief in such all-possessing demons were foredoomed to fail in their social mission. The "possessed" were scrupulously shunned by the "obsessed."

[39] *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* VIII, 116.

One result of this divided sentiment in pre-Christian times is that the issue remains in the days when the Talmud was being compiled. There is great minuteness of detail, and much variation, in defining proselyte rights in the Talmud and in the writings of later doctors. These do not prove that such discriminations existed by virtue of Old Testament authority, they merely show that the issue was still a live one.[40] We have seen Judaized Gentiles in all parts of the world asserting their pure genealogical descent from Israel; yet in the Talmud are passages declaring that no proselyte should ever be allowed to call the fathers of Israel his own fathers. He may not repeat Deuteronomy 26:3-6. When he speaks of Yahu to a "pure-blooded" Israelite, he must say "Your God," "the God of your fathers."[41] In another passage the relative social standing is thus defined: (1) the Priest, (2) the Levite, (3) the Israelite, (4) the bastard Israelite, (5) the Nathîn or slave donated to the service of the synagogue or sanctuary, (6) the proselyte, (7) the emancipated slave (Horaioth, III, 8). Were such distinctions simply those of pre-Yahwist paganism? even as the arrogance of some Americans towards foreigners is a pre-Christian personal attitude?

Again, in the pre-Christian period some rabbins held that circumcision, observance of the Sabbath, and offering of sacrifice were the essentials for full membership in a Jewish community. But in early Christian centuries some rabbins held that baptism alone would suffice, and that circumcision alone did not.[42] This may have been due to the influence of the EA cult at Eridu, in Lower Babylonia; his temple there was "the House of holy baptisms," and circumcision does not appear as a feature of it. Chrysostom was acquainted with this rabbinic view when he wrote, "John exhorted the Jews not to cherish hopes of salvation through divers baptisms and purifications of waters."[43] There was a rabbinic element that hoped to see all the ancient cumbrous ritualism pass away. "When the Messiah comes, the ceremonial law shall be abolished." Thus Rabbi Markowitz at Jerusalem quoted the Midrash Yalkut, to the confusion of a Talmudist.[44]

Against the above cited Horaioth passages that utterly exclude a proselyte from social equality and official position, Schechter

[40] Cf. R. Kirchheim, *Gêrim*, Frankfurt am Main, 1851; Schürer, pp. 324 f.

[41] Compare the use of such phraseology noticed in Chapter V, and the "*Our* Father who art in Heaven."

[42] Oesterley and Box, *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, p. 281.

[43] Chrysostom, II, 366.

[44] Wolff, *Travels and Adventures*, I, 258 f.

cites the cases of Shemaiah and Abtalion, who were descendants of proselytes, yet one became President of the Sanhedrin, and the other the Ab-beth-dîn, or Head of the supreme court.[45] And Aquila, the author of a Greek translation of the Old Testament, was a proselyte himself. Schechter does not tell how many generations there were of the proselyte ancestry of Shemaiah and Abtalion. As already noticed, that was a moot point in any Jewish community. Because of Jewish congregationalism, there were different stipulations for different peoples in the many Jewish communities. One unquestioned standard for ecumenical Judaism was never attained. As for the final standing of Shemaiah and Abtalion, we are told that Hillel, the great liberal leader, the opponent of Shammai, was a pupil of theirs. It is told that certain townsmen stubbornly opposed his views on one occasion and contemptuously said, "How could we expect anything from a Babylonian!" But when Hillel, tired of the discussion, said, "Thus I heard it from Shemaiah and Abtalion!" they immediately rose and elected him president of their body.[46] This makes the liberal Hillel the exponent of the views of men who remembered their own proselyte origin.

This prejudice against proselytes actually excluded them in many cases from school or instruction: the very attitude maintained to-day by the white Jews toward the Black Jews of Cochin, and identical with that attitude in the Old South which passed laws forbidding any one to teach negroes to read and write. It has been observed that the bitter antagonism toward Ammon in Deuteronomy 23:2 f. was certainly a faction's expression of its political animosities of the hour, and just as certainly did not express the feelings or policy of the thousands of Israelites who had found refuge and kindly treatment in Moab, Ammon, Edom, and Egypt (Jeremiah 40:11 f.). An illustration of the endless quarreling over the general principle is found in Berakot.[47]

"An Ammonite proselyte named Judah came before them in the House of Study, and said to them, 'May I enter the Community of Israel?' Rabban Gamaliel said to him, 'Thou art forbidden to enter the Community.' R. Joshua said to him, 'Thou art permitted to enter the Community.' Rabban Gamaliel asked R. Joshua: 'But has it not been said, An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the Assembly of the Lord?' R. Joshua answered

[45] *Studies in Judaism,* 2nd series, p. 64.
[46] Yer. Tal. Pesachim, 33a.
[47] IV, 1, 28a; Cohen, Bab. Tal. Tract, *Berakot,* p. 183.

him, 'Do, then, the Ammonites and Moabites still inherit their lands? Did not Sennacherib King of Assyria, long ago come up and confuse all the nationalities? As it is said, I have removed the bounds of the peoples, and have robbed their treasures, and have brought down as one mighty the inhabitants (Isaiah 10:13). And whoever issues (from a mixed body) issues from the majority.'[48] Rabban Gamaliel said to him, 'But has it not been said, Afterward I will bring back the captivity of the children of Ammon, saith the Lord? (Jeremiah 49:6). And therefore they have returned!' R. Joshua retorted, 'And has it not been said, I will turn the captivity of my people Israel? (Amos 9:14). But they have not yet returned!' They immediately permitted him (the Ammonite) to enter the community.

"Rabban Gamaliel thereupon said, 'Since it is so, I must go and conciliate R. Joshua.' When he arrived at the latter's house, he noticed that the walls of his house were blackened and said to him, 'From the walls of thy house it can be recognized that thou art a charcoal burner' (or, a smith). R. Joshua replied, 'Woe to the generation whose leader thou art, for thou knowest not the struggle of the disciples to support and feed themselves!' He said to him, 'I beg thy pardon: forgive me' (or, 'Thou art quite right'). He (Joshua) took no notice of him. 'Do it out of regard for my father!' He then made peace with him."

Now with Paul brought up at the feet of an aristocratic Gamaliel, scorning proselytes as a sort of pariahs who ought not to be allowed the privilege of community life and education in the Law, we have, as previously suggested, some light on the spiritual and social protest in Judaism that produced the Christian church.

The congregationalism of the Jewish community with the ultimate lack of uniformity in many important matters meant that a man might be a fully accredited Jew in good standing in one community, and be regarded as an alien or Gentile in another: a situation that exists still in many places considered in these pages. Synagogues of Libertines or manumitted slaves existed in the Roman world. Excavations have revealed one at Pompeii. Such freedmen were not members of their former masters' synagogues. The question of the relations of proselytes and their proselyters became acute at Rome, with the advent of the Christian church. Under Julius and Augustus the Jews there dwelt in quiet across

[48] The incident is of value as showing a popular party who scouted the idea that any Jew had to be a pure-blooded descendant of Israel. R. Joshua gets around the exegetical contention by setting up the principle that a native of any district must be assumed to be one of the ethnic majority there: and the Ammonites are only a minority in the regions they inhabit.

the Tiber, and were generally protected by the Roman government throughout the Peninsula when Paul arrived, long after. But Tiberius, because of certain Jewish swindling of proselytes, expelled fifty thousand, mostly poor laborers and tradesmen, in 19 A.D., out of a total city population of about one million.[49] By Claudius' time Jews were again a considerable element of the population. In the eyes of Roman law and the Roman populace of the first century the Jews and the Christians were one: Rome considered that any quarrel between them was but between two Jewish sects. The distinction might go as far as Domitian's move against "the Jews and those living like Jews."[50] The very plain statement of Suetonius, that Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome because "they were continually making disturbances at the instigation of one Chrestus,"[51] has not been properly appreciated. It means that the early Christian missionaries there were appealing directly to the proselytes, as the book of Acts shows them doing in Asia Minor, Cyprus, Greece, and Macedonia, and with like furious protests by those Jews who did not care to see any organization obliterate the wide social and ministerial distinction which they wished to keep between the proselytes and themselves with their genealogical ethnic fiction. Claudius was a little more radical than Gallio (Acts 18:12-17), and drove out the angry Jewish disturbers; leaving the persecuted proselytes? These must have constituted the great body of Christians that were in Rome under Nero. Buxtorf[52] enumerates six things a rabbi must not do. Two of them were: (4) to speak with a woman or hold discourse with her; cf. John 4:27. (5) To sit down and eat with the common people. The priests themselves formed an association known as *Haberîm,* "comrades, confederates," and would not eat with "full Jew" laity nor with proselytes, or half Jews.[53] All alike were *am haarets,* "country boors," in comparison with priests and Rabbins (cf. John 7:49).

There were two classes of proselytes at the time: complete converts, and half-converts, who had forsworn paganism, and accepted monotheism, adopting the fundamental provisions of morality, without accepting Jewish ceremonialism, circumcision, or the ethnic tradition that "a roving Aramaean was my ancestor." In consequence they were not in the position of surrendering their

[49] George La Piana, in *Harvard Theological Review,* October 1927, p. 346.
[50] Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome,* pp. 309 ff.
[51] Claudius, xxv. [52] Lexicon, 1146.
[53] Jost, *Geschichte,* I, 155, 162, 201.

local patriotism, nor of declaring their adopted race one divinely destined to rule over all others. The rabbis were not unanimous as to their standing. Dr. Hirsch thinks a middle course was adopted for a time—the attitude of "Brothers"—though it did not last long.[54]

In the Talmud (Kiddushin 4, 1) full proselytes are declared to hold an inferior position in the Jewish community, but may intermarry with all social grades except the priestly. But Leviticus 22:12 allows an unproselyted foreigner to marry into a priestly family. Reinach points to Deuteronomy 22:8; after full compliance with Jewish exactions, one might see his grandchildren accepted as full Jews, unless descended from one of the accursed races. But this simply begs the whole question of the pre-exilic status of the proselyte. We have noticed that Moabites and Ammonites in the same chapter were admissible in the tenth generation, and we have seen reason to believe that this may have been a turning of the tables, an exclusion of a faction that had been powerful at court and temple for a long time, even as Eli's clan falls (1 Samuel 2:34 f.; 1 Kings 2:26 f.), and Gibeonite high-place officials are similarly reduced (Joshua 9:22 ff.). Too often we find Jewish scholars assuming that what was customary in late rabbinical times was always ancient Hebrew practice; that the Israelite, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, altereth not. But no critical examination of the Old Testament, to establish Reinach's view, is offered us. Do Old Testament institutions conserve a segregate, unmixed ethnic strain?

[54] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* x, 221 ff., article "Proselytes."

CHAPTER XVI

Proselytes in the Old Testament

The Old Testament, in corroborating Josephus' statement about foreign converts gained during the Asmonean campaigns, uses decisive terminology. In Daniel 11:34, though the Asmonean party be overborne for a time, many will be "levited" unto them, though not all will be sincere. It is the use of the verb *lavah,* participle *levî,* in this mention of converts from among foreigners, that we must notice. Esther is held by some Jewish scholars to come from the same period, and to have been written for "Nicanor's Day."[1] In Esther 9:27, "The Jews agreed for themselves and for their descendants and for all that should be 'levited' unto them." (AV "joined," or "who had joined themselves.") But this relation in the preceding chapter (8:17) is expressed by making a reflexive verb out of the noun *Jew: mityahadîm,* "made themselves Jews." Thus full Jew proselytes in the Maccabean period are expressible by the participles *levî, nilwî;* and we shall see another term used to express those who are only half-Jews, or not fully accepted by the Jewish community.

But this use of the verb *lawah-levî* with reference to proselytes did not originate with the Asmoneans. We have it in the Deutero-Isaiah. Foreigners have already been "levited" unto Yahu, and ethnic antipathy toward such is rebuked (Isaiah 56:3). These are voluntary Levites, taking a solemn oath or covenant, to be servants of Yahu and to have equal privileges in worship; and there are to be many more such (56:6-8). This voluntary binding or pledging one's self is mentioned by Jeremiah 50:5; penitent Israel and Judah are pictured as saying: "Come, let us be 'levited' to Yahu in a perpetual covenant!" Isaiah 14:1 f. counts upon foreign converts; "foreigners shall be 'levited' to Israel and cleave to the house of Jacob, and peoples will take them and bring them (all) to their own *makôm* [sanctuary], and they shall inherit with the house of Israel the land of Yahu as (his) servants and handmaids." This sentiment is repeated by Zechariah 2:11 two hundred years later: "many nations shall be 'levited' unto Yahu in that day, and shall be my people." The fragment in Isaiah 66:20 f. certainly implies that of the foreigners who aid in the restoration of Israel some will be made "priests and Levites." In all this there is no notion of reserving shrine-service or ministerial functions to those of Israelite descent.

[1] See Haupt, *Purim.*

We may notice also the verb *lawah* applied to the "Tribe of Levi" in Numbers 18:2, 4. In this late passage the tribe is "levited" (AV "joined") unto Aaron instead of unto the sanctuary, and spoken of as "a gift to Yahu" (verse 6), as in 8:16; while in 8:19 they are a "gift to Aaron." The immediate point is the application of the same verb *lawah* to the tribe of Levi that above is specifically applied to foreigners. The relations to Yahu or the temple of Yahu are expressed by the same word in both cases. Also, observe that the Levite in Judges 17:7 ff. is a man of Judah, not of a tribe called Levi. Some familiarity with the petty shrine-liturgies and oracle-seeking of his time makes him known as a Levite; but he is bound to no particular sanctuary. He may have been apprenticed to one, or bound to one, for a period, as Samuel was (1 Samuel 1:24 ff.). Samuel's parents were not Levites. But in the Judges story the young Levite is looking for employment. He has been a *gêr* (AV "sojourner") in Bethlehem, and is expecting to become a *gêr* somewhere else (17:9). Our immediate interest is in a certain interchangeability of the terms Levite and *gêr*. In Isaiah 14:1, above cited, it is the *gêr* who shall be "levited" unto Israel, foreigners being intended. Conversely, any Levite in Deuteronomy 18:6, like the individual case in Judges, is also a *gêr*. In the matter of local employment or fixed abode the status of the average Levite then seems unchanged in a thousand years. In 2 Kings 8:1 f., and Ruth 1:1 ff., we see that any Israelite might become the *gêr* of other people and other sanctuaries for years, as Moses was in Midian (Exodus 2:15-22). The institution was general in the ancient world. In the Phoenician inscriptions we have a whole series of personal names like Gêr-Melkart, Gêr-Ashtart, Gêr-Eshmun, etc., announcing that the person bearing it is a foreign protégé of a certain god or sanctuary. In Syro-Arabian we find Gairelos=Gêr-El; in modern Arabic, *jâr Allah,* one who is privileged to dwell by the Ka'aba, at Mekka. The sacred character of the *gêr* is illustrated by the Beduin speaking of his wife either as *jâra,* or as *harîm,* consecrated or devoted one.

Then the term *gêr* may mean simply changing residence and allegiance from one tribe of Israel to another, or from one religious faction to another. In 2 Chronicles 15:8-15, as already noticed, men of Ephraim and Manasseh and Simeon are represented as becoming *gêrîm* of Judah, and as swearing to follow Yahu in the way approved in Judah. So in Deuteronomy 18:6 f. any Levite from any high-place in the land is to be allowed to

attach himself to the central shrine. He has been a *gêr* and also a sanctuary functionary. At the central shrine he is to share all the privileges of those considered native to the place, the high-priesthood only excepted. So the central shrine has on its staff of attendants *gêrîm* from any part of Palestine. There is no notion in Deuteronomy of conserving an unique unmixed ethnos as the world-spokesman of Yahu.

But this brings before us another fact, which none of our English translations express. The Septuagint regularly translates *gêr* by "proselyte." Since the Pentateuch was the first part of the Old Testament to be translated, and since it was translated by Jewish authorities for all Jews who spoke Greek everywhere, this translation may be considered decisive. Remembering the congregationalism of Judaism, and the universal proselyting activity, it is clear that each Jewish community of the whole Diaspora was using the term *gêr* in the same general sense: there was no chance for local translators to introduce a radical change in the meaning accepted throughout Judaism. Moreover, in the schools of the Dispersion, exegetical necessities had always kept alive for the expounding authorities the meaning and usage of the word. Who might be considered a legitimate *gêr* is a separate question. The case for the accuracy of the translation becomes immeasurably stronger when we remember that the entire Septuagint translation was not made at one time or in one district. Nearly two hundred years seem to have been required to produce a complete translation, the various Jewish scholars being in different lands. There can be no question as to the universally recognized meaning of *gêr* and the accuracy of the Greek translation. For the English reader, the present fact is that where the AV has "the stranger within thy gates" the Greek-speaking Jews of the Septuagint show us "the proselyte within thy gates." The fact is emphasized by competent modern Jewish scholars.[2] Reading "proselyte," we have the above Levites in Deuteronomy appearing as proselytes at their respective ancient shrines, yet allowed full fellowship at the central shrine if they elect to "bind" *(lawah)* themselves to it. Viewing the late compilation of the Pentateuch, we must feel that its editors used *gêr* intentionally, to express over and over a certain proselyte relation.[3]

It should be kept in mind at all times that the *gêr*-status was simply a local relationship. The wanderer was the guest of a par-

[2] E. G. Hirsch, "Proselytes," in *Jewish Encyclopedia,* x, 221 f.

[3] Consider the Decalogue, Exodus 20:10; Deuteronomy 5:14 and 1:16; Leviticus 17:12; and Deuteronomy 28:43; Leviticus 25:35, 47, etc.

ticular *ba'al,* or shrine, or community, or family. In the nature of the case it could not be otherwise. The parallel is found in all early social organization. There was no immemorial Semitic "State" as the sponsor for *gêrîm.* One might be a Levite in good-standing in his native town of Bethlehem, yet be only a *gêr* anywhere else in Israel, as in Judges 17:7 ff. Some modern Jewish writers have asserted that the *gêr* immediately acquired a new status with the fall of Jerusalem. With Yahwist communities planted from western Africa to Persia, such a sudden change was historically impossible. As in the Book of Judges, each community "did what was right in its own eyes." The *gêr* of a king or of a powerful shrine might be safer than the *gêr* of a petty community. But the *gêr* institution did not originate with the Israelite king or state or Jerusalem temple.

Some will feel disturbed at the statement that "Israel was a proselyte in the land of Egypt" (oft repeated). But the sweeping assertion that Israel was "defiled with all the gods of Egypt" (Ezekiel 20:7 f.; 23:3 ff.; Psalm 106), and the assertion that Joseph married into the priestly family of On (Genesis 41:45), do not allow any objection. Nor are we to be surprised at Abram's attaching himself to ancient local sanctuaries of Palestine, like the oracle-terebinths (AV "plains of Moreh") at the *Makôm* of Shechem (Genesis 12:6), or the sanctuary-mount between Bethel and Hai (12:8; 13:3 f.), or the Terebinths of the Fattener (?) at Hebron (13:8; 14:13, 18:1), or the tamarisk of "a spirit of olden time" at Beer-Sheba (21:33), or at his readiness to offer human sacrifice as others did (chapter 22). For the Old Testament does not attribute monotheism to him. On the contrary, Joshua 24:2 declares that the fathers worshipped other gods beyond the Euphrates, which their descendants are urged to put away (14 f., 23 f.). Further, Exodus 6:3 declares that the patriarchs knew the name Shaddai, but had never heard of Yahu. If this is accepted, the name Yahu (AV "Lord") inserted in the above stories of pagan sanctuaries is an editorial attempt to improve Abram's reputation. (Or was it intended to give later Yahwists an ancestral justification for religious dissimulation?) But such stories told about Abram leave no room to object when the Septuagint calls him a "proselyte" in the land. And the various late prophetic complaints that Israel "has sinned from the days of the fathers" make no exception in favor of any one of the fathers. No historic reason appears for denying that *gêr* meant "proselyte" in a few early cases, though not a proselyte to Yahwism.

Since in the preceding chapter we noticed Dr. Hirsch's emphasis upon the fact that ancient Yahwism sent out apostles or missionaries to win proselytes, it is necessary to notice the attitude of the Yahwist prophets toward such efforts. Jeremiah and his mother dream that he shall be a prophet for "all the *goyim,*" or Gentile peoples, Jeremiah 1:5, 10. Isaiah 26:2 proclaims: Open the gates to the *goî tsedek* or "faithful gentile." The same universal ideal is expressed by Isaiah 2:2, 19:23 f. and Micah 4:1 f., while Jeremiah 4:2 pictures the *goî* as blessing himself by or swearing by the name of Yahu. That Isaiah 11:11 declares that there are already worshippers of Yahu in Assyria, Lower Egypt, the Thebaid, Nubia, Shinar, and Elam was noticed in Chapter IX: also the assertion that five cities in the land of Egypt are already learning the religion of Yahu, and one may become a "fully proselyted city"—*'ir tsedek* (Isaiah 19:18; AV wrong). It would appear that Elisha established a mission-station in Damascus (2 Kings 5:17-19; 8:7 ff.). Elijah considered himself called to anoint a king for Damascus as well as for Israel (1 Kings 19:17; 2 Kings 9:7 ff.). Elijah's visit to the Phoenician widow of Zarephath (1 Kings 17:9 ff.) must have involved proselyting: she is represented as swearing by Yahu. The incident puts before us the fact that persecution might scatter prophet-proselyters through foreign lands. As with the persecutions of early Christians, such methods might result in a wider spread of Yahwism. Ahab in 1 Kings 18:10 assumes that the fugitive prophets may be found in any neighboring country. The case of Uriah in Jeremiah 26:20 ff. parallels Ahab's quest: while Jeremiah 29 shows that such prophets in their foreign home might try to control the politics of Jerusalem. That their proselyting activities would continue in any land seems indisputable.

We have, then, insistence that the proselyte participate on equal terms in the great feasts (Exodus 12:48; Deuteronomy 16:11, 14; 14:29); insistence that there should be no discrimination against the proselyte in cases in court (Deuteronomy 1:16); recognition that the proselyte in general is very poor, and a reversal of relative prosperity the Jew will consider a divine judgment (Deuteronomy 28:43); warning not to oppress the poor "brother" or hired man, or proselyte (Deuteronomy 24:10-15). They were continually reminded to remember the proselyte, fatherless, and widow (Deuteronomy 24:19 ff.; 26:12 f.). In Ezekiel 47:22 is the proposal that future proselytes shall share in the community lands on equal terms with those born in the land; and urgence (Leviticus 25:35) that the needs of the poor proselyte be supplied

and that he be treated as a brother, that he may continue to live with you (i.e., not be compelled to remove). Such pronouncements arraign existing conditions. The children of a poor proselyte may be purchased as slaves, while those of the poor native may not be, in Leviticus 25:39-46, and such proselyte-slaves are not manumitted at the owner's death, but may be inherited by the purchaser's heirs (45 f.). This priestly prescription, directly opposing protestants like Ezekiel and Isaiah, adds an important item to the long list of differences between priestly aristocrats and prophet-reformers.

The whole group of regulations puts the proselyte before us as generally very poor, often oppressed, openly discriminated against in the matter of loans and bondage, socially inferior, and needing much exhortation in his own behalf from the nobler religious leaders. We get a general impression of discrimination similar to that which we have noticed in the case of the Black Jews of Cochin. But all this again puts before us communities that make orthodox Yahwism primarily a matter of ethnic arrogance. One must be of the local native aristocracy—(of whatever stock that may be!) to be in good Yahwist standing.

We have more than inference or suggestion for this. It is an outstanding feature of the complaints of the great prophets. Jeremiah 22:3 rebukes Jehoiakim: "execute judgment and righteousness and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor and do no wrong; do no violence to the proselyte [*gêr*], fatherless, and widow!" It is certain that continued oppression of the submerged classes would bring political revolutions; foreign aid might be begged by the poor, or the proselytes might be so numerous that they could precipitate a revolution or provoke foreign intervention. Consider the enslaved Hebrew "brothers" whose oppression Jeremiah 34:13-22 declares will throw Zedekiah into the hands of the king of Babylon. Are they not the same whom Zedekiah fears in Jeremiah 38:19? "What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces and grind the face of the poor?" exclaims Isaiah 3:15. Were they not the same poor to whom Rabshakeh offered a piece of land? (Isaiah 36:13-17). Reference has been made to the fact that the oppressed and fanatic poor of the Asmonean sword-propagandism were those who overthrew the tyrannical priesthood and destroyed Jerusalem. One of the most notable leaders was Simon Bar-Giôra, who summoned all slaves to join him, and soon had an immense army which overran Idumea,[4] and finally gained

[4] Josephus, *Wars,* IV, ix, 3 ff.

Jerusalem itself. But his name is "Son of the Proselyte": *gêr* being simply transferred as *geiôras* in the Greek of Exodus 12:19, Isaiah 14:1 (Aramaic *giyyôra*). So this Representative Proselyte summons all slaves and bankrupts to his standard. Contrast his title with "Son of Man," the champion of all men.

With reference to the sharp contrast between "the poor of the land" and "the great nobles" (as in Jeremiah 5:4 f., Isaiah 5:8 ff.; 10:1-4), the Jewish scholar S. Daiches points out in a recent article in *Journal of Theological Studies* (April, 1929) that this contrast is really implicit in the term *'am-ha-'ārets,* vaguely translated "people of the land" in the AV. The actual contrast between the natives who own the land and the resident foreigner who owns nothing is put before us in Genesis 23:4, where Abraham is a *gêr tôshab,* owning nothing and with no citizenship, and cannot even bury his dead unless the *'am ha'ārets* will sell him a burial-ground (vv. 10-16). Daiches suggests that in Exodus 5:5 the Israelite nobility is meant: there is an Egyptian protest against their being excused from corvée-service. In Leviticus 20:3 f. the executive council is meant: in Leviticus 21:1 the "peers" or comrade-priests are meant. In 2 Kings 11:14, 18, 19, 20, Daiches thinks the *'am ha'ārets* to be "the House of Lords"—the whole official staff of the temple and palace. That general idea appears in Isaiah 33:2 f.; Jeremiah 1:18, 5:5, 17, 31; 7:16; 8:1, 5, 10; 17:19; 19:1; 22:2, 4, 13 f.; Ezekiel 7:27; 12:19; 22:3-31; 33:2; 45:16-22; Amos 6:1 ff., 8:2 ff.; Micah, Haggai, Job, Ezra 9:1, or more definitely Nehemiah 9:1 f. Accepting Daiches' explanation, the immediate point is that the official element is always pictured as "the people of the land" in contrast with those not so classed. Any local aristocracy accounting itself "native" claims to represent Yahwist "orthodoxy."

Continuing with prophet complaints of the oppression of the proselyte, we find Jeremiah 7:6 asserting the same oppression to be a characteristic of the immoral throngs that shout: "Temple of Yahu! Temple of Yahu! Temple of Yahu!" "We are delivered to do all this!" Zechariah 7:9 ff. repeats the complaint, and its logical social result. Still later Malachi 3:5 blazes out against the same conduct. It appears in Psalm 94. The slaying of widow, proselyte, and fatherless is accomplished by the laws of those who claim fellowship with Yahu (vv. 6, 20 f.). These arrogant Yahwists do not believe that "Yahu loveth the proselyte, giving him food and raiment" (Deuteronomy 10:18). The populace here are charged with having been stiff-necked and uncircumcised in

heart in this respect. The proselytes have probably been fed from the local shrines, or told to sleep there: a custom still found all over the east. In Job 31:31 f.

> "Verily the men of my household have said:
> Is there anyone that has not been satisfied from his meat?
> The proselyte did not spend the night in the street.
> I opened my doors to the wayfarer."[5]

It is an elliptic contrast to much popular conduct. Again, "Yahu preserveth the proselyte, he relieveth the fatherless and the widow, but the way of the wicked he turneth upside down" (Psalm 146:9). In Ezekiel 22:7, 29 we find the charge that such oppression had always characterized Jerusalem.

Finally, we have the voice of the proselyte himself raised in complaint. From Babylonia comes a protest against the Ezra policy:

"Let not the son of a foreigner, who is 'levited' unto Yahu, say, Yahu hath utterly separated me from his people!—For the sons of foreigners that are 'levited' unto Yahu, to serve him, to love the name of Yahu, to be his servants, everyone that keepeth the sabbath without polluting it, and taketh hold of my covenant, even them will I bring to my holy mountain and make them joyful in my house of prayer. Their burnt offerings and their sacrifices (official ministry) shall be accepted upon mine altar, for my house shall be called an house of prayer for all nations" (Isaiah 56:3-7).

And thus speak some of those thus championed (Isaiah 63:15 ff.):

> "Look down from heaven and see!
> From thy glorious and holy abode!
> Where are thy zeal and thy might,
> Thy yearning pity and mercy?
> Restrain not thyself!
> For thou art our Father!
> Though Abraham know us not,
> And Israel acknowledge us not;
> Thou, O Yahu, art our Father,
> Our Redeemer from of old is thy name!" (tr. A. R. Gordon)

These facts make it impossible to consider all prophetic passages in the Old Testament as purely Israelite productions. So in Psalm 39:12 f. we have the reflection and bitter complaint of one smitten in the name of Yahu:

[5] Job being an Edomite book with Shaddai instead of Yahu, *gêr* may not have meant "proselyte" in that region.

"Hear my prayer, O Yahu,
And give ear unto my cry!
Be not unresponsive to my tears!
For I am a proselyte of thine,
A resident one, as all my fathers were.
Turn thy frown from me, that I may have ease,
Ere I pass away and be no more!"

Here the speaker uses the terms *gêr tôshab* of himself. Hirsch reminds us that two classes of *gêrîm* were recognized, those resident, and those non-resident.[6] This suppliant is of a line of resident proselytes—all probably excluded "unto the tenth generation forever" (Deuteronomy 23:3). A voice from the same group is probably quoted in 1 Chronicles 29:15: "We are *gêrîm* before thee, and *tôshabîm,* like all our fathers!" If one disapproves this construction, then it openly rebukes the popular discrimination of the native Jew against the *gêrîm tôshabîm,* or resident proselytes. The same rebuke is embodied in Leviticus 25:23: "You are all only *gêrîm tôshabîm* yourselves!" The speaker must have known that a segregate pure-blooded ethnic Israel never existed. It is hard to think of Ezra as approving this sentiment. Similarly the author of 1 Kings 8:41-44 asks that the prayer of a *gêr* from a far land be heard when he shall pray toward this temple. Such a compiler would certainly include in his editing some such sobbing complaints of the oppressed proselytes.

The actual qualifications of an acceptable *gêr tôshab* are stated in Psalm 15:

"Who may be a *gêr* in thy pavilion, O Yahu?
Who may be a resident on thy holy hill?"

No ceremonial requirements are necessary. The Mishna agrees with this: the *gêr tôshab* must observe "the seven precepts of the children of Noah," and obey the civil authority, bless the Name of Yahu, avoid idolatrous worship and customs, avoid fornication, murder, theft, and eating of living animals.[7] The Psalm concludes, "He who lives thus should never be moved away." It may be the work of a *gêr tôshab.* But such concession would always be hateful to the fanatic ritualist. These foreigners would be receiving all the practical advantages and protection accorded the careful observer of ceremonies. Are these then worthless? The Sadducean fanatic of the Asmonean sword-propagandism never

[6] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* x, 221 f.

[7] Aboda Zara, 64b; Sanhedrin, 56b.

accepted this teaching of the prophets. He helped drive a Christian church into existence.

One more prophet-protest in behalf of the oppressed semi-proselyte requires consideration of another phrase. Hirsch[8] discusses that class of proselytes recognized by Judaism in Graeco-Roman times as not assuming ceremonial Judaism, but associating themselves with the worship and moral ideals of the Jewish community. They seem identical with the earlier *gêrîm tôshabîm,* but are scattered through all lands; they may even be not directly in contact with a Jewish community; while the term *gêr tôshab* implies one residing in a community. Josephus speaks of the number of such as enormous, and says that much of the great wealth of the temple and certain synagogues came from their gifts.[9] These are technically called *Yirê Adonai,* "fearers of the Lord." Such are specifically blessed in Psalm 115:11-15 and Psalm 118: 1-4. The same order is in the two passages; "Israel, Aaron, Fearers of the Lord"; the same again in Psalm 135:20, where the levite or full proselyte is inserted before the "fearers of the Lord." Consider the *gêr* covenant stated in Psalm 15. Such full *gêr* must honor those who only fear the Lord. Now in Malachi 3:5 we have a scathing warning against evil-doers who oppress the hireling, the widow, the fatherless, and the "proselyte" (*gêr*), which he explains: "Then they that feared the Lord were speaking oft one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard," etc. These proselytes are "written in his book"; his jewels, like his own sons, those that really serve him (3:16-18). Bigoted Jews, relying upon a boasted ethnic purity, never received sterner rebuke.

But with all this fervid protest of the great leaders of olden time, the great mass of Judaism remains as we have already seen: many little ethnic groups making the imagined purity of their race a decisive factor in their religio-social life, and holding aloof from other equally-obsessed Jews. So to-day proselytes from a far land may go to Palestine, be converted to Judaism, send their children to Jewish schools, study Hebrew, etc., yet still be classed as "Gêrîm" by the Jews already in Palestine.[10]

To the volume of evidence that the great prophets of Yahu never dreamed of a segregated pure-blooded ethnic Israel should be added passages in which neither *levî* nor *gêr* occur. Isaiah 2:2 and Micah 4:2 picture many nations as going up to the house of Yahu at Jerusalem, to learn of his ways. Jeremiah 3:17 says all

[8] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* x, 221 f.

[9] *Antiquities,* XIV, vii, 2; *Wars,* VII, iii, 3.

[10] F. Theilhaber, "Gerîm in Palestina," in *Die Welt,* No. 27, 1907.

the *goyîm* or Gentiles shall finally gather there. In 4:2 he repeats this, saying that the only obstacle is the evil behavior of Israel itself. In 12:14-16 all the evil neighbors of Israel are part of Yahu's purpose; he would fain win them. Zephaniah 3:8 f. views all nations the same way. Isaiah 44:5 views various degrees of proselyting in Babylonia. One says, "I am a Yahu-man" (Ur-Yahu, Ebed-Yahu?). Another will call himself "Mar-Yakub(?)." Another will sign a Yahu-covenant, and surname himself: "NN ben-Israel." The dream of world-conquest seems associated with the earliest recognizable activities of the Yahu-missionaries, even when they were only a "few teachers shoved into a corner" (Isaiah 30:20). Could any other spiritual impulsion have brought Yahu-missionaries from the Far East to Palestine?

This prophet-conception of all humanity united in a non-ritualistic worship of Yahu receives emphasis when we consider how completely the prophets ignore all distinctions of race in the continual additions to the population of Palestine. Sargon had brought in colonists from Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sibrayim (2 Kings 17:24). Later he subdued the predatory Arabs of Tamud, Marsimanu, Haiapa, and Ibadid, and settled the remnant in Samaria, 714 B.C.[11] Ezra 4:9 tells us that Tibarenes and Persians and Archevi and Babylonians and Shushanites or Elamites, and some other peoples were colonized in the Samarian district by Ashurbanipal, between 640 and 626 B.C. Others were brought in by his father, Esarhaddon, before 668.[12] Large numbers of these are acknowledged in Ezra 6:21 to have been proselyted to Yahwism. Not one word of appeal to Israel from Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and other prophet voices of the time discriminates against these elements in "the land of Israel." For their ideals and appeals, all the collected ethnic elements of central and northern Palestine are Israel.

What the prophets battled with was simply the older pagan social ideals and organization, which had not put the foreigner and the native upon equal footing in the matter of personal rights. The *tôshab* of the Old Testament and Mishnah is the *mushkênu* of the Code of Hammurabi: a word that etymologically means "resident"; its ideogram, MASH. EN. KAK means "one who builds beside a lord," i.e., the poor wanderer, seeking protection from any who will accord.[13] He is merely a resident without any

[11] Luckenbill, II, par. 17. [12] Ezra 4:2; Luckenbill, II, 690.

[13] R. F. Harper, *Code of Hammurabi,* not understanding the Oriental social order, translated *muskênu* everywhere "poor man," which left the reason of the systematic discrimination against him unexplained.

privilege of citizenship. A divorced native woman gets one mina of silver, a *mushkênu* woman gets only one-third of a mina. For breaking a bone or damaging an eye of a native, there is rigid *lex talionis;* but a *mushkênu* must accept compounding. He rates above the slave, however; in such case one-half the price of the slave is the penalty. If a native strikes his superior, he gets sixty lashes; if he strikes one his equal, he pays one mina; if he strikes a *mushkênu,* he pays one-sixth of a mina. If a blow causes miscarriage of a native woman, the fine is ten shekels; but for a *mushkênu* woman five shekels, for a slave woman, two shekels. If a man's blow causes death of a native woman, his own daughter dies; but for a *mushkênu* woman, he pays half a mina of silver, and for a slave woman, one-third of a mina. A physician's fee for a native is ten shekels; for a *mushkênu* five, for a slave two.[14] These citations of social standing in the code of 2000 B.C. are sufficiently illustrative.

The term *meskîn,* plural *mesakîn,* remains in use in Arabic today for poor "residents" not of the local dominant tribe, and is currently employed also as an expression of contempt.

"And I have wondered at the darkness of these poor hill Beduw, in the matter of Semitic religion. They have said to me, We are *mesakîn* and ignorant! in any religious doubt we go to ask the Alowna that know letters and are readers of the scripture!"—"He had received a sword-wound on the hip: the old mischief badly healed had rankled inwardly: he lay all day groaning, and I procured him the night-rest with opiates; and being a broken man he might have died without some timely relief to his sufferings. His wife had forsaken him long ago: he was a *meskîn* in Mohammed's tent: all his fellowship was with the small cattle."—"I said to Tollog, you will not forbid me to breathe the common air: for this I came upon your mountain! Tollog: But we are the Beduw, *mesakîn,* leading our lives in great extremities!"—"Poor wanderers, Solubba! These alien and outcast kindreds are of fairer looks than the hunger-bitten Beduw. The Solubba have food enough of their hunting and gipsy labor. . . . They obey the precept of their patriarch who forbade them to be cattle-keepers and bade them live of their hunting in the wilderness . . . and to labour as smiths in the tribe for their living. . . . They only (of all men) are free of the Arabian deserts to travel whithersoever they would; paying to all men a petty tribute, they are molested by none of them. Home-born, yet have they no citizenship in the (Arabian) Peninsula. . . . As often as I met with any Solubba I have asked of their lineage: but they commonly said again,

[14] Code Hammurabi, sections 140, 196-223.

wondering, What is this to ask of us *mesakîn,* dwelling in these deserts? We have no books, nor memory of things past: but read thou, and if anything of this be written, tell us!"[15]

A distinctly ethical note in the use of *meskîn* is reported by Jackson, an American trader in western Morocco, 1790-1806. The Christian in general was *el-kafîr,* "the unbeliever"; a translation that always obscures the point, for *kafîr* is a participle from *kafara,* to cleanse: the non-Moslem needs purifying.[16] But any Christian who had made himself appreciated for his kindliness and integrity was a *meskîn* instead of a *kafîr.* His death would be announced, *maut el-meskîn,* "The Meskîn is dead." So Psalm 15 is not peculiarly Yahwist: the desert Arab's ideal of what a *meskîn* ought to be is expressed in it.

It is plain that the battle of nobler Israelites in behalf of *gêrîm* is a battle with primitive prejudices against all foreigners; and the Jew that still condemns all who are not of his genealogical strain has but masked an immemorial human frailty with the fiction of a divine command. In America, the same lower intelligence among some of our laboring classes scorns all immigrant laborers as "Just Wops."

[15] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta,* I, 445, 429, 415, 280-283. With the Solubba smiths, compare the wandering Kenites, or "smiths" of the Old Testament.
[16] A Latin gerundive, *lustrandum, lavandum,* would express it.

CHAPTER XVII

Shrine Levites

That the term *levî* in earlier Semitic speech was applied to any one who was voluntarily or involuntarily bound to a new family, tribe, or sanctuary was abundantly illustrated in the beginning of the preceding chapter. It was also shown that the term was often interchangeable with *gêr,* the "sojourner" or "stranger within thy gates" of the AV. The actual distinction is that the *gêr*-status might be temporary, while we have no example of a temporary levite. Moses was a *gêr* in Midian; Jacob with Laban; Naomi in Moab; the Shunammite "great woman" in Philistia (2 Kings 8:1 ff.) these are familiar temporary relationships. But one might bind oneself with a solemn oath to one's new protectors, becoming a *gêr tsedek,* Arabic *jâr tsiddîk,* "plighted or sworn *gêr,*" which seems the status expressed by *levî,* or "bound one." For ceremonial binding to certain tasks or duties or relationships plays a very large part in Arab custom still.[1] A Beduin seeking the protection of a powerful sheikh in some dispute will bind his own *merir* or camel's hair kerchief cord about the *kefîeh* or head-kerchief of the sheikh.[2] He is "bound" to be protected. Or instead of binding each other, for a *tsiddîk* brotherhood, two Shammar Arabs will each clasp the other's girdle with the left hand, uplifting the right: "Wallah-wallahî! Billah-billahî! Tillah-tillahî!"[3]—each phrase being repeated about twenty times: "brothers! brothers to-day! brothers tomorrow, and hereafter"—or "to the end of my days,"—or "to follow thee to the world's end!"[4] These are sufficiently illustrative; the form of the binding ceremony varies. But when a stranger was thus "levited" or bound to receive permanent protection from ancient Israel, the prophet protest at neglect or maltreatment of the levite or *gêr* had something more than the assertion of the equality of all men before Yahu. It declared that Israel was perjured, forsworn. "Remember that you were a *gêr* in the land of Egypt" carried the reminder that Egypt had trampled upon her own pledged protection of a *gêr* people.

But since Levite for the average reader has only meant some sort of temple functionary, who was descended from a man named

[1] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta,* 1, 140, 525, 527, 268.

[2] Jaussen, *Coutumes Arabes,* p. 209.

[3] By Allah, by my Allah! or "by God, by my God!" is the meaning of each phrase. Compare David, 2 Samuel 4:11, "They have killed a *tsiddîk* of mine!" referring to the oath by Yahu in 1 Samuel 18:1-4; 20:11-17, 42.

[4] Lady Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates,* pp. 236 f., 353, 358, 401.

Levi, we have to ask if the term is also specifically applied to a shrine-functionary of any sort, in pre-Israelite times, and what actual difference there was between Levite and priest, and why the term priest remains in Christian terminology, while Levite has disappeared, and why the rabbin became the dominant figure in Judaism, instead of the priest and the Levite, still prominent in the New Testament. We have to ask if the shrine-Levites of Israel were ever foreigners, and what was the popular Israelite attitude towards such foreign sanctuary-functionaries. And since Israel shows an incessant process of commingling with other peoples, we should like to know if Levitical institutions promoted or checked the process.

In Old Testament history Levites first appear as the armed guards of a cultus Moses is introducing, in Exodus 32:26 ff. Their other previous activities are not stated, but they are plainly an enlisted order, not a wholly separate tribe. Their cultus-relations and their ruthless executioner-functions at once recall those of the Hurrian Khabirû, noticed in Chapter VI. It may be considered certain that the Indo-Germanic and Iranic hordes who swept through Asia Minor into Egypt, and utilized their Hurrian subjects as soldiery, had some of the Khabirû in their service. As noticed in Chapter V, this lives in Egyptian history as the Hyksos invasion. Now Professor Sayce has recently suggested that the Moscho-Hittite word for priest, *kuanis,* is the original of the Hebrew *cohen.* He adds also the related Lydian *kauein* and the Carian *kôn* or *koan,* as showing the wide spread of the term in Asia Minor. It suggests an aboriginal substratum for these peoples. But Sayce's suggestion reminds us of the ritual language of the Hittite inscriptions, the Luy or Luvî, which Khabirû liturgists may have used upon occasion. The Hurrian colony at the Gibeonite sanctuary so prominent in the early Israelite struggles should have had Luvian liturgists. Hittite invasions certainly brought some Luvian liturgy. And at Jerusalem, as Robertson Smith long ago observed, the armed guards of palace and temple also killed the sacrifices. The name of their captain, *Rab tebahhîm,* could be translated either "chief executioner" or "chief sacrificer." So these temple-guards seem identical in function with the Khabirû *sagasi,* or "executioners." Such may have been the original Yahwist cultus-guards for Moses. The similarity of Luvî and the Semitic Levî would foster fusion or syncretism. But the Semitic *levî* has no etymological connection with Luvi.

As to the existence of a pre-Israelite Semitic Levite class, there is no room for doubt. The Minaean inscription of El 'Ola shows

us the Levite as a sanctuary functionary in ancient Arabia. Margoliouth compares this to the modern Arabic *welî,* the ubiquitous holy tomb or holy man of modern Islam. It is probable that *welî,* "near one," is but a dialectic metathesis of the older *levî.* The meaning is essentially the same; a "near one" is the equivalent of "attaché, associate," one bound to a shrine. Conder points out that the Samaritan form is *lawîn, lawînî.* The Israelites returned from their exile in Persia under the guidance of Sanballat the Lawînî: and a mysterious prophet's tomb west of Shechem is the tomb of "the Lawînî," the personal name being lost.[4a] Here we find the term suggesting high rank. In South Arabian inscriptions the term occurs in the form *lewân.*[5] But among the Gallas the term is the title of the supreme tribal functionary. These Ilmormo, the Gallas of our travellers, have more ancient features in their language than are found in any other Semitic speech; which makes their relatively primitive pagan institutions peculiarly interesting. Traditionally they are descendants of the eight sons of Orma; a leader is selected from each clan in rotation, who holds office for eight years. This leader is known as a *luva,* and has supreme power, save sometimes in war. He is a sort of elected Mad Mûllah, lets his long hair float wild in the wind (Samson fashion?), wears a copper frontlet or tiara on his brow, and carries a bell in his hand. A newly elected pagan *luva* is expected to lead a foray upon the Abyssinians, comparing thus with the military Levites commanded by Moses (Exodus 32:26 f.). The electors must have reached five cycles or forty years of age. Each sacrifices a bullock to Wak, the sky-spirit, and smears the blood upon his head, or wears a strip of the hide bound on, during the election orgies. At the expiration of three years, all who participated in the election of this priest-militarist are circumcised.[6] This completes the binding them into a military fraternity headed by the chosen *luva.* The same custom of circumcising all uncircumcised youths when a chieftain's son is circumcised, making them members of his admitted company, is found among various South African tribes. Harris reports further the Galla *kalicha,* or wizard-prognosticator-conjurer-physician class. Both *luvas* and *kalichas* are regarded with peculiar terror by Moslem and Christian Amharas. None will slay one, under any circumstances, for fear of his dying curse. And a special group of *luvas* and *kalichas,* known as Wato, reside

[4a] *Tent-Work in Palestine,* I, 43 f. [5] See Euting's Nos. 37, 49, 55.

[6] Krapf, *Travels and Researches,* pp. 36 f.; Ludolf, I, chapter 16; H. Weld Blundell, "Exploration of the Abai Basin," in *Geographical Journal,* June, 1906.

in the Dalacha mountain. They count themselves the only pure-blood Gallas, and hold all others unclean because of intermarriage with Christian or Falasha or Moslem; and so they refuse to intermarry with the other clans, maintaining the purity of their priestly order. The Gallas also observe the Sabbath, worship Atéti, the goddess of fecundity, under a great holy tree, with a host of lesser spirits (ancestral?) resident in various stocks and stones, with seasonal feasts and sacrifices. Binding may be represented by the officiating levite, when consulted, wearing bloody strips of skin or the entrails of a victim bound around his neck.[7] Compare the demand that a priest shall always get the paunch of any sacrifice, in Deuteronomy 18:3, and the disturbance about maintaining a pure priestly clan in Ezra 9:1 f.; 10:1-5, 18 ff.

With these we must group the northern Hamitic peoples known as the Danâkil, along the Red Sea coast. The term *luva* or *liba* does not appear in the accessible reports. The *redanto* appears instead. But his powers and the associated ceremonies are the same. The *redanto* is preëminent because of his magical powers and frenzies, and is made secular head of the people on that account. The ceremony of establishing a fraternity with him, or between any two persons is the same: an ox is killed with suitable imprecations, its blood poured upon the foreheads of the contracting parties, and strips of the hide are tied around their necks and wrists. This completes their binding.[8]

It appears then that these pagan Gallas preserve the oldest surviving stratum of Hamito-Semitic paganism and cultus-organization. The term Hamito-Semitic is used advisedly, since the anatomical researches of Elliot Smith and others have resulted in the conclusion that Hamite and Semite were the same some thousands of years ago. The Galla system of eight-year periods or of eight priest-headed clans has its parallel among the Agau Falashas, whose supreme council, Guraba, consist of eight high-priests: a survival of the time when their Jewish kingdom had eight priestly provinces or dioceses.[9] Since Galla tribes and their officials have in

[7] Harris, *Adventures in Africa,* chapters 97, 98. Harris writes *lúbah:* vocalization varying between *v* and *b,* in various districts. Arab writers always write *b* because they have no *v.*

[8] Reclus, *Africa,* I, 199.

[9] Halévy calls the Agau "Hamito-Semitic," and views the Berbers and Gallas as the two extremes of the group. Praetorius, approving, calls them simply "Hamitic," and includes under this term the Beja, Saho, Danakil, Somali, Galla, Agau. The Agau he divides into Bilen, Falasha, Jewaressa.—*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft,* 1869, p. 642. The Haussas of West Africa and the Foulas, or Fulbes, he also counts Hamitic. The Masai, Wahinda, and Wahuma of East Africa are not Semitic, as

some districts been merged with the dominant Amharas, some think their *luva* or *liva* institution may have originated the name of the great Abyssinian levitical city, Debra Libanos, where none reside but priests, monks, and scribes and the swarms of children in training for such clerical life. Reclus reports the name as Libân instead of Libanos.[10] It has nothing to do with "Lebanon." Since Judaism was dominant in parts of Abyssinia for a thousand years before Christianity, and was largely accepted by the invading Habesh, we must probably recognize in the modern Libân an old Levitical center taken over by Christianity. The modern pronunciation Libân may be due to Galla dominance in the vicinity. Thus the slightly variant forms *levî, lewîn, lewân, lúvâ, lúvân, lubân, lîbân, lu'a,* found from remote ages to modern times, and in widely separated lands, show us that the levite was a very old pagan Semitic institution. As a fanatical priestly leader or devotee, his authority was once preëminent. The prophetic protest and the battle for spiritual and temporal authority in Yahwism and Judaism gains in significance.

Possibly the *lybon* or *laibân,* found among all the Hamitic Masai tribes, is a dialectic or borrowed form of the term *luba,* or *luvah,* found among all the Gallas. The functions are the same, and in case of the making of a treaty or fraternity of any sort there is the same custom of tying strips of the skin of the entrails of the slain animal around the necks of the contracting parties.[11] The chieftain's title *Oromaj* may be connected with the Galla name for themselves, "Sons of Oroma." The matter is worth more ethnological and philological investigation.

The Galla *luvas* and *kalichas* also bring before us the female levites. The Galla sorceresses are often called in by the Christians of Shooa, to transfer sickness, or expel evil spirits from a house: the blood of ginger-colored fowls and red he-goats, instead of the red heifer of Numbers 19, enters into the cabalistic expulsions of death and the devils.[12] Women levites are known in ancient Arabia. Two such women are mentioned in one familiar Minaean inscription, and they are specifically associated with ancient pagan numina. The *lawî'a* of the El 'Ola inscription is

sometimes conjectured; they must be grouped with the Hamites, however.—Reinisch: cf. Karge, *Rephaim,* 154, 156. Möller, viewing all North Africa as once solidly Hamite, adds the Ababde and Bishareen, often described as "Arabs" (*ZDMG,* 1924, pp. 36-60). The blonde Berbers he views as a migration from Europe, which drove the dark Hamites to the southeast.

[10] *Africa,* I, 210.

[11] Von Höhnel, *Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie,* I, 118, 131; II, 172, 197.

[12] Harris, chapter 97.

priest of the god Wadd.[13] Bury reports an old woman as the guardian of the modern South Arabian shrine of Sidi Ma'bar. She receives the gifts of visitors, places incense in the hollows of the clay plinth, strikes the tomb three times with the cash in her clinched fist: "Hau! Gray beard! Hau! For you! Regard the givers and hearken to their plea!"[14] In Tunis, male and female saints abound, with male and female attendants. But the tombs of the Beys of Tunis are guarded by women only, and only women are allowed to visit them.[15] The attendants were originally wives or members of the harem of the dead. Twenty years after Muley Hassan of Morocco died, his harem of three hundred women dwelt in cloisters at the tomb under eunuch-guards.[16] In earlier times these would have been put to death with their baal or husband-owner,—a situation reflected in Leviticus 27:29: "No one made *haram*, of people made *haram*, shall be redeemed; such shall surely be put to death."[17] We may recognize that in the absence of proper support, such women might "raise up seed unto the dead" and new brides might be donated. Dr. Buffa observes that a hundred years ago three days of the wildest orgies followed the visits to the Moorish shrines of saints.[18] Women hospitably offered to visitors in their lord's lifetime would continue to extend his courtesies after death: cf. 1 Samuel 2:22 f. In North Africa the church took over orders of brides of the dead; and the scandalous behavior of some of these virgins, and the peculiar licentiousness of the paganism of the times are vividly before us in Cyprian's Epistle 61 and Treatise II.[19] Mourning and fasting at a chieftain's tomb for a specified time, the women sleeping in little booths about the grave, is still known in Africa.[20] Among Judaized Egyptians, the institution was familiar in Philo's time. A very large ascetic order then existed in the Fayyûm in the slopes around the ancient Lake Moeris. Both men and women were admitted. Women listened behind a partition, while men read the Law or intoned liturgies. These women devotees devoted themselves to the care of orphans and ministry to the poor.[21] Absorbed by the early Church, these ancient tomb-levites continued as the monastic and conventual orders. The general fact is thus barely

[13] Müller, *EDA*, 42.
[14] *Land of Uz*, pp. 281-2.
[15] Sladen, *Carthage and Tunis*, II, 600 ff.
[16] Robert Perret, *Le Correspondant*, vol. 295, p. 1074.
[17] Cf. Judges 11:31 ff.; 1 Samuel 14:24 ff.; "*haram* be the man," etc.
[18] *Empire of Morocco*, p. 101.
[19] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, V, 356 f., 430 ff.
[20] Mrs. Larymore, *A Resident's Wife in Nigeria*, p. 157.
[21] Philo, *On the Contemplative Life*.

sketched. A volume could be written upon the activities of shrine women, from the women-levites of ancient Arabia to the present.

Our special interest is with the fact that the woman-levite at her worst was a regularly recognized feature of the ancient Hebrew temple. In 1 Samuel 2:22 Eli's sons are said to have lain with the women of the Shiloh temple. The Hebrew text speaks of their function as *hassobe'ôth:* forming a troop or order, of some sort. In Numbers 4:23, "Take the number of the sons of Gershon . . . all who come *le-saba' saba'* (to form a troop or association) to do work at the tent of meeting." The same technical verb *saba'* is used of Kohath (4:3, 35), and of the Merarites in 4:29 f.; and of any Levite in 8:24; 4:47. The women of the entrance of the Shiloh shrine are in the same technical relation that the men-Levites are. The fact is emphasized by Exodus 38:8, where mirrors are made for the women *hassobe' ôth asher seba'û* at the door of the tent of meeting. The passage has produced much discussion. The Septuagint translators suppressed it. Declaring it an interpolation does not get rid of it: for then we would have an interpolator who saw that a familiar historic institution had been omitted, and corrected the text accordingly. It is to be emphasized that women who are provided with mirrors are trying to make themselves as attractive as possible to visitors, and that a shrine that provides such mirrors is counting them part of its staff and increasing their attractiveness in various ways. Whether the women were captives, purchases, widows, donations, or volunteers is not material here.

The protest in Samuel's time seems aimed only against priestly relations with them. The existence of the Levite sanctuary at Shiloh in early Israelite times seems shown by Rameses III. In his campaign in Palestine, 1185 B.C., one of the places he mentioned is Levi-el, "Levite of God" apparently. Or was "House of the Levite Eli" intended? 1 Samuel 3:12 ff., 2:27 ff., suggest an ancient priestly line known as "House of Eli." Daressy identifies the Levi-el with Shiloh.[22] Merneptah, raiding Palestine forty years before, specified "the Canaan" coast-land, Askalon, Gezer, Yenoam, Israel, and Hurrû or the Central plain.[23] Southern hill-country Palestine is not mentioned. The raid of Rameses III was about a century before the story of the destruction of the "House of Eli," as given in the Old Testament, and tells us nothing of the ancient local cultus. But the old Hebrew temple-woman is still

[22] Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt,* IV, 131.

[23] *Ibid.,* III, 603 ff.

in service in Josiah's time (2 Kings 23:7), the fertility-cult of the Asherah (Blessed Lady?) persisting. The code brought forward then demands that no more Israelite women shall take the position of *kedēshah,* temple prostitutes, or "holy women" (AV "whore," Deuteronomy 23:17 f.). Apparently foreign women may still be such. The same institution is denounced in Micah 1:7, Amos 2:7 f., Hosea 4:14. Whether native or foreign women, what effect would this ancient temple institution have upon an assumed pure-blooded Israel?[24]

The *nethînîm* of the Old Testament are reflected again in the custom still prevalent in Morocco and Algiers. Instead of putting favorite attendants to death at the tomb of any prominent man, they are now "set free" at his grave. If the deceased had no slaves, relatives will purchase one or more for the purpose. (Again, Leviticus 27:29 presents the earlier custom.) But these are not really freed; they are known as *'abd el-maut,* "servant of the dead," and they lead a very precarious existence,—dependent upon charity.[25] Such was the status of the Palestinian levite whose sanctuary was of little prestige; he "sojourned where he could" (Judges 17:9). We may recognize that the *Benî-'abdê-Shelômôh,* "descendants of Solomon's servants," in Ezra 2:55, originated thus in the days when divine honors were paid to Palestinian kings (Ezekiel 43:7-9). Emily of Wazan (p. 145) observes that the attendants of a shrine, or their descendants, may take a name from the shrine itself, or from its location. The most famous shrine in Morocco, that of Muley 'Abd-Eshlam is on the Jebel Alam. The resultant guardian clan are known simply as Alamî. It will be recognized that later times might explain such a name as the descendants of a person named Alam.

As those donated to a shrine are ordinarily assumed to be captives or purchased slaves, it is well to note that *nethîn* may mean one who has vowed himself. The term is still in use, in the dialect form *naddîn,* among the Suaheli. *Omari wâdi Nassib naddîn Hamîs ben-Rashîd* means "Omari, son of Nassîb, slave of Hamîs ben-Rashîd." Many announce themselves *naddîn* of this or that important personage in order to add to their own personal prestige. Many call themselves *naddîn Balosi,* "Servant of the Consul," because they were at some time employed by a European.

[24] For various liturgical activities of women as singers, oracles, etc., see Peritz, "Woman In the Ancient Hebrew Cult," in *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 1898, part II. Here we are concerned only with their technical connection as "levites."

[25] *Wazan,* p. 157. Jews near death often free some slaves (p. 549).

Another was *Bishibu* because he once served Bishop Hannington. Similarly, a devout American Catholic may assume the name Gilmary, "Servant of Mary."[26] So an ancient Hebrew *nethîn* may often have been one who thus announced his personal admiration for some orthodox Hebrew saint.

Petrie further reports the name Lu'a or Lu'y as the designation of an A'amu or "Syrian"[27] in the reign of Amenemhat II, in the temple at Serabit-el-Khadîm. This stands for Levi and is before 3000 B.C.[28] He considers that no "tribe of Levi" could have existed at the time of the Exodus, seeming unaware of the data cited showing the antiquity of the Semitic *levî*. His conclusion is that the Israelite levite originated through imitating the Canaanite custom of dedicating the first-born to shrines, as the Ansairiyeh still do.[29] This particular custom, as already noticed, is indicated in Numbers 8:14-18. But why assume that the early pagan Israelite did not already have this general Semitic institution? And at what ancestral stage was it lost, that it might be recovered in Palestine? Petrie's own citation from the inscription of Amenemhat II should have reminded him that the Levite class is of immemorial antiquity. We have seen how it arose in the cult of the fathers. Every petty Palestinian shrine where fathers and mothers were honored, had such Levites, and appeals were made to the local ancestors that the petitioner's days might be long in the land (Exodus 20:12: cf. Jeremiah 2:27).

The like criticism, that "Levites" in some earlier passages in the Old Testament is a late interpolation similarly has no justification. A good case of such Levites who were not primarily Yahwists seems to be in 1 Samuel 6:15. The cows drawing the cart with the ark march up to the sacred stone that stood in a field of the "temple of the Sun," Beth-shemesh. The local Levites promptly accepted the proffered offering, and placed the ark upon the stone,—the usual form of making an offering. They must have been the same class of sanctuary attendants who were in charge of the ark years later, at the place called "the Baalim of Judah" (2 Samuel 6:2). This is about three miles east of Beth-Shemesh. The ancient *haram* or holy land of the Temple of the Sun probably included this. To state it differently, "the Baalim of Judah" was probably the name given to the place in the *haram*

[26] Von Höhnel, *Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie*, I, 15.

[27] Egyptian so often drops the final *r* of a foreign name; as "Keftyu" for "Kaftur." Does it sometimes lose the middle *r*? Have we "Aramu" here?

[28] *Researches in Sinai*, p. 124.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 216.

of the Temple of the Sun where Levites placed the ark upon the stone. These local Levites David probably annexed with their ark, using the same ox-cart transportation that brought the ark there. Dr. Masterman of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in discussing the topography of Beth-Shemesh (or Ir-Shemesh, Joshua 19:41) observes that the stone upon which the "Levites of the sun-god" placed the ark is probably the great rock on which a little Moslem shrine stands today. The shrine is the *welî* Abu Meizar.

So every pre-Israelite high-place had its Levites, as Deuteronomy 18:1-8 admits. Though the local high-places are to be destroyed, any of their local Levites are to be allowed to come to Jerusalem and share with the Levites of the Yahu shrine. The dominance of the high-place in pre-exilic popular religion is the outstanding fact of the Old Testament records. What was the relation of the ancient Levite attendants of these shrines to the corporate "Israel"?

The Gibeonite story already referred to, the incessant complaints of the reformer-prophets, the above-cited Deuteronomic concession, and the story in 2 Kings 17:26 ff., leave us no room for doubt. In this latter narrative the Aramaean kinsmen of Israel from Sibrayim are included. It is necessary to "know the manner of the elohîm" of the local high-places, and it takes a priest of the district to give the necessary instruction. Similarly, the invaders under Joshua make terms with Gibeon on conditions that leave the Gibeonites able to dictate terms to David in time of drought, and to have Gibeon recognized as "the great high-place" of that district (2 Samuel 21:1-14; 1 Kings 3:1-5). It is certain that its shrine-functionaries of Solomon's time would claim the credit for the wisdom announced as acquired there. The original story was certainly told in Gibeonite-levite interests. We have, in short, the fact that the Israelites who "forsook Yahu and served baalim," as in the Book of Judges, are accepting the direction of the local Levites of these ancient shrines, and that these functionaries are being accepted as members of the social-political Israel. We have the fact of language, already noted; the Aramaean of Abram's people is not the language of the Old Testament. The Hebrew spoken in Palestine for centuries before Israelite settlement, the language of the people of these ancient high-places, remains the sacred language. As already noticed, any Aramaean Israelites were linguistically "lost" among the Palestinians from the beginning. With the certainty of Israelite acceptance of the high-places and their ancient Levitical attendants, we

must admit that any segregate ethnic Israel was ethnically "lost" at the same time, even if we ignore the mixed multitude ("confederacy" of Manetho) that came with Israel out of Egypt. The distinctively ethnic segregate Israel of the lost-tribes hunter never existed in Palestine. Hundreds of leading high-place functionaries could be assembled at any time, as 850 were at Mt. Carmel in the conflict with Elijah (1 Kings 18:19). The total number through the centuries was tens of thousands. Of the Israelite Levitical cities some were certainly such in pre-Israelite times.

It is of record that the earlier religious leaders of Israel, like Samuel, for instance, made use of the high-places and the attendant enthusiasts there (1 Samuel 9:11-10:13). Were the Israelite parvenus getting some valuable instruction? Did great prophet reformers spring from the pre-Israelite peoples? If not, why did the ancient language and institutions survive? Here we are not prepared to be dogmatic. But when we consider the historic factors thus far noticed, and the geographic situation of Palestine, with the great empire-cultures flowing to and fro through it for centuries, we can no longer assert Judaism to be the unique product of a singular segregate people. It is, on the contrary, the most composite religion of the ancient world.

We may notice further the custom found through all the Orient of devoting one's self to a shrine. The ulêmas of a Moslem mosque, as a class, are such. They often forsake father and mother, and may voluntarily attach themselves to a particular shrine. Such levites by virtue of their personal pledge or covenant in ancient Palestine might be foreigners, as in Isaiah 53:3-6, already cited. The personally covenanted levite is in Malachi 2:8: "Ye have broken the covenant of a levite"; "My covenant was with a levite," (verse 4). Descent from an ancestor of the name was not the early conception. In Deuteronomy 33:9-11 the earlier levites of Yahu are voluntarily covenanted persons who have abandoned their claims on father and mother to devote themselves to the new cult. They are not claimed to represent a father named Levi and to act by authority of descent from such a father. A goodly number must have been of the mixed multitude. Such voluntary levites were a principal element to the latest times. Philo of Alexandria explains that Levitical cities are for all sorts of fugitives, because "the Levites themselves have left their children, their parents, their brethren, their nearest and dearest things, in order that they may receive an immortal inheritance instead of a mortal one."[30] In Falasha Judaism we saw no hereditary priest-

[30] Yonge's translation, I, 238: *On the sacrifices of Cain and Abel,* xxxviii.

hood: any one may vow himself to a priestly or ascetic life. And the same is true in the Abyssinian Christian church, in which leading features of its earlier Judaism persist.

As for foreign voluntary *gêrîm*-levites, we find the solemn oath of Ruth of Moab and Ittai of Gath (Ruth 1:16 f.; 2 Samuel 15:18-22). And we have the *gêr,* or foreigner-guest, who may share in the great feasts and is to be as carefully considered as the circumcised slave (Exodus 12:44; 20:10; Deuteronomy 5:14). How specific the early scrutiny and limitation of *gêr*-privileges was does not yet appear. In Psalm 15 the ethical qualifications of the *gêr* are emphasized. "Sworn deceitfully" probably refers to a *gêr* breaking the oath by which he bound himself for a time to the observance of the sanctuary prescriptions. Our present point is that in addition to Levites from captives in war, from those donated like Samuel as the first-born, from those donated as slaves, from the ranks of purchased slaves, we have also self-pledged Levites, who might be either Israelites or foreigners, refugees pledging themselves to the service of the older non-Israelite high-places. But this again means ethnic intermingling.

Where then is the hereditary Levite, whose ancestor was a Levi? The pre-Israelite Levites of the old high-places—descendants in many cases of those at whose tomb-shrines they ministered—are such sons of a Levi. Associated in the conflict with Elijah and with Rehoboam, and gaining concessions from Jeroboam, they are "the associated priests" (AV "the priests the Levites") of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah. They were able to dictate terms, and they did, winning control of the royal sanctuary at Jerusalem, as we have seen, precedence being conceded to the Zadokites already there (Deuteronomy 18:1-7; Ezekiel 44:6-16). They brought in their liturgies and sacrifices, which the prophets so uncompromisingly opposed. Each shared equally in the temple receipts, besides what he gained "with his traffic according to the fathers"—the sale of phylacteries, charms, ritual lustrations, oracles, etc. (Deuteronomy 18:8.[31] Each group had its peculiar liturgic *massā,* (AV "burden") or cantillation-service (Numbers 4:32, 47-49), "after the house of their fathers." "The associated priests" in Deuteronomy prescribe and decide everything. Again it seems that the Judaism thus shaped is the most composite religion that we know in the ancient world. But this reference to ancestral liturgies means that any such levite would parade his cultus-ancestry, whether it reached back three generations or thirty. A fine Punic

[31] Observe such Levite oracle-mongery in Judges 18:1-6.

stele recovered recently from the temples of Tanit at Carthage tells the genealogy of the donor for fifteen generations back: probably to the Tyrian founders of the sanctuary. He was no parvenu proselyte. As stated in Chapter IV, Israelite and Phoenician practice seems the same. Anyone who could boast a long levitical pedigree certainly would do it. Nothing else counted. It is still so with Moslem religious orders: a member likes to show the line of his apostolical succession back to the founder.

The practice of consecration to a given task for a limited time is before us in the *nazir,* or Nazirite, in Numbers 6. Probably there was no essential difference between a *nazir* and a self-vowed *levî,* save that the *nazir* may have vowed only one sort of service or abstinence (as in Acts 18:18, 21:20-26; 23:12), and for a limited time. Or one might be *nazir* for a lifetime (1 Samuel 1:11), doing all the work of a priest or prophet; or made a lifelong *nazir* for the task of vengeance or political agitation (as in Judges 13:7). Such self-vowed warrier-devotees appear in 1 Maccabees, 3:49, roused up to join the army of Judas, "having accomplished their days." It was noticed in Chapter XIV (note 11) that in some modern Arab dialects the word *nazir* means simply "the chieftain" or "the war-leader," in contrast with the *fiki* or "holy man." Talmudic prescriptions vary; which illustrates the present point.

But with the immemorial antiquity of the Semitic Levite before us, with various factors adding to ranks of the temple-levites, with eventual discriminations in function and social distinction, we have to ask if social distinctions in secular life produced those in the levitical class. The custom of devoting the first-born to the god means a sharp social distinction to begin with. Well-to-do people, who saw no advantage in having a member of their family in the levitical council, might prefer to redeem the dedicated one, as allowed in Numbers 3:12 f., 40 ff.; 8:18, and the Ansairiyeh often do so to-day. Then the great body of the people were relatively poor, and a levitical class built up by the consecration of their first-born meant that the class represented the masses rather than the gentry or the wealthy. It came mainly from the landless poor. In fact, the great majority of such first-born Levites for a long time must have come from the older non-Israelite population. David makes some of his own sons priests (2 Samuel 8:18). Would their social or ecclesiastical standing be no higher than that of the children donated by the very poor, often with the object of escaping the expense of rearing them? Or how would those put

into prominent priestly positions by the ruling aristocracy be regarded by the poor who had voluntarily dedicated themselves to sanctuary service or to a roving ascetic mendicancy? The high-churchman against the low-churchman was implicit in the social origins of the Levites. In the long struggle the elements tending to a Jewish papacy were doomed.

What would be the attitude of aristocrat-Levites, boasting generations of Levite ancestors, toward the purchased servitors whom parents presented as a substitute for their own first-born? Or, since the cuneiform inscriptions show us that the purchase and sale of official sanctuary-positions was a regular feature of ancient Oriental religions many centuries ere the Israelites appeared, we are compelled to ask if this feature was ever eliminated from Palestinian life. Cf. 1 Samuel 2:36.

The actual conflict over the status to be conceded slave-proselytes is presented in the two versions of the Sara-Hagar relations, in Genesis 16 and 21. This narrative and the haggadic use of it in the first Christian century was cited in Chapter XIV. We have two opposing views. In the first version, Hagar and her son are ordered to return to their state of servitude and submit to the direction of the Sara line. In the other, the "cast out" order is the work of Sara and her son, and is a grief to Abraham; but God watches over the outcasts and makes a dozen Arab nations of them (Genesis 25:12-18). It is probable that the versions are *haggadôth,* indicating the opposing views as to the status that should be conceded to the Arabian immigrants and proselytes continually coming into Palestine, as shown in Chapters V and IX,—very often coming in as slaves. This view of the stories was taken by mediaeval rabbis who styled Christians "Ishmaelites,"—a people who had gone out from Judaism and become very great. One may find the term "Ishmaelite" repeatedly in Benjamin of Tudela, for example.

Then the captured slave, as well as the purchased slave presented to a sanctuary: would he be regarded as an equal in social or official standing by those who claimed to be native or hereditary Levites? Was the inferior social position in which we have seen the proselyte often owing to his previous inferior social position? The caste distinctions of India were perpetuated in Hindu Judaism. Shemaiah and Abtalion, paraded as descendants of Sennacherib, reached the highest positions in rabbinical Judaism. Could contemporary Assyrian paupers newly proselyted have done so?

The varying status of captives or slaves in the Semitic Orient is a partial answer. There are three well-defined groups: those captured in war: those purchased, and esteemed according to the price paid; and those who are "born captives," as French writers upon North Africa sometimes phrase it: usually called "captives of the house," and counted essentially members of the family. These are the trusty ones credited to Abram in Genesis 14:14 f. We see the superiority credited to hereditary or born Levites, as contrasted with those newly acquired by a shrine. And we see that a proselyte of the first generation might be viewed with contempt by already established officials of the Yahu-cult, but his descendants of the third generation might be honored officials themselves, as in Deuteronomy 23:7 f.

The popular prejudice against proselytes was certainly due in many cases to the way in which he became a proselyte. If he were a captive, or a purchased slave or a fugitive professing conversion at some asylum, ancient Palestine certainly showed such an attitude as we have seen the white Jews display toward the Black Jews of India. Since the present point is the peculiar activity of the asylum institution in fostering the commingling of races, we are to recognize that the system of substitutions for the first-born and of presenting slaves to the sanctuary meant an incessant infusion of non-Israelite blood into the staff of any shrine. It became largely composed of Gentile attendants and their descendants. No notion of preserving ethnic purity was ever in the minds of those who practised and approved the presentation of slaves to the sanctuary and their incorporation into the ranks of Israel. No limit is placed to the number of foreign bondsmen one may buy (Leviticus 25:44). In the time of Jeremiah 34, poor Hebrews were enslaved. That in post-exilic times vast numbers of Gentiles were purchased as slaves, circumcised (Genesis 26:17), and consecrated to shrines is a matter of Jewish records. Greek inscribed monuments in the Hermitage Museum, at Leningrad, show that Jewish communities in the Crimea and around the whole eastern end of the Black Sea were numerous and well organized long before the beginning of our era. We have seen that this region is the one from which Judaism under Khazar patronage pressed far up into Russia. But the majority of these ancient inscriptions relate to the liberation of slaves who are given or dedicated to the synagogue. This means that these foreigners were circumcised, were perpetual attachés or "levites" of the sanctuary, and that the whole Jewish community became the guardian of these protégés.[32]

[32] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, x, 518.

But this puts before us one of the methods by which Judaism greatly increased its numbers in Khazar Russia. When the Khazar was overthrown, Ilarion, Metropolitan of Kiev, felt that energetic measures were necessary to combat the rapid spread of Judaism. In Muscovite Russia four hundred years later sterner measures were resorted to. Our immediate concern is the practice of dedicating Gentile freedmen to shrines, and the Old Testament passages that we have examined make us certain that this practice did not originate with Jews of the Dispersion.

There is also the question of the propagandist methods of pre-exilic kings and of Jewish garrisons which we have seen so widely and advantageously located during the Dispersion. Was their policy in any wise different from that of Asmonean kings? Did Asmonean policy differ from that of pre-exilic militarists? Did not Old Testament wars involve the very same methods and impelling ideals? "The might of Ashur my lord" against all other gods, and "Yahu against all other gods": are not like issues those of the Maccabean age? Did not Yahwist kings drag captives before Yahu, and bind them to his service, even as Mesha of Moab dragged Israelite captives before Athtar-Kemosh, or as Assyrians did for their favorite divinities?

Critical scholarship generally agrees that the earlier Israelite narratives do not express either the instruction or the desire, or effort, to massacre the earlier population of the land. "I will not drive them out before thee in one year—by little and little will I drive them out before thee, until thou be increased and inherit the land" (Exodus 23:29 f.). Nor is there religious antipathy and "heresy-hunting" at first, according to all prophetic testimony. On the contrary, there is union in the pre-Israelite high-place cults. The orders to "make *haram*" and to massacre are later, and are declared to be on religious grounds. They are plainly orders to massacre those who are still refusing to accept a certain brand of Yahwism. We may go further and say that such policy does not represent the Yahwism of the great literary prophets, though it seems authorized by Elijah at Mt. Carmel, and by Elisha, judging from Jehu's conduct and Elisha's accompanying the military expedition against Moab and others against Syria. Neither Elijah nor Elisha seems approved by the great literary prophets. No word or general address of theirs remains. Jehu's massacres are unequivocally condemned by Hosea 1:4 f. Otherwise, the great literary prophets do not urge war at all, nor the massacre of peoples whose cults they denounce. But aroused fanatics think only of propaganda by violence. Was not the popular Messiah of

the days of Roman domination to be just such a successful military propagandist?

In the story in Numbers 31, of thirty-two thousand Midianite maidens captured and incorporated with Israel, three hundred and fifty-two are presented to Yahu "for levites keeping ward of the abode of Yahu" (vv. 30, 47). Does not this make Moses authority for a fixed national policy? The Gibeonites, once lords of the sanctuary and dictators to David (2 Samuel 21:4 f.), eventually became inferior shrine attendants (Joshua 9:27). And the deliberate intention is to make them feel that they are no longer part of the official assembly of Israel, a distinction which Isaiah 56:3 rebukes in favor of the "foreign levite." David is credited by the Chronicler with providing "donated ones" or *nethînîm* for sanctuary service, and his donated ones were still such a class in Mesopotamia at Casiph-Yâ (Ezra 8:17-20). Were they selected from David's captives, like the above-mentioned Midianite maidens, and the Gibeonites? Some were children of Me'unim (Ezra 2:50). These non-Israelites are probably descendants of the North Arabian people of Ma'on on the haj-road from Damascus to Mecca, some distance east of Petra.[33] Uzziah made successful war against them, as pointed out in Chapter IX (2 Chronicles 26:7). Jehoshaphat had raided the same region when there was a three-cornered contest for the possession of ash-Shera' (Seir) which reaches southward from Ma'an (2 Chronicles 20:20-25), and Amaziah brought not only captives but the gods of the Benî-Shera' to the temple in Jerusalem (2 Chronicles 25:11-16). There were not many of the Amalek Edomites left when the Simeonites migrated to the neighborhood and destroyed the remnant in ash-Shera' (1 Chronicles 4:39-43) in Hezekiah's time. And Ezra 2:50 names "children of Nephîsîm" as included in the *nethînîm*. These also are of North Arabian origin. The Ishmaelites of Nephish (Genesis 25:15) are grouped with Hagar and Itûr and Teyma, who are raided by Israelites, in 2 Chronicles 5:18-22, and remain subject to Israel till all are deported to Assyria. That these *nethînîm* of Ezra were of Arabian derivation was well known to him and to the Chronicler. There was no objection to such holding secondary sanctuary positions, as in Ezekiel 44:9-16, and no notion of maintaining a segregate ethnic Israel, nor even a temple-staff of that type. Pekah, in 2 Chronicles 28:6-15, would certainly have made *nethînîm* of some of his captives of Judah, had not Azariah interfered with a fundamental

[33] Musil, pp. 247, 274.

prophetic contention that no Israelite should make a slave of a fellow-Israelite. (Compare Jeremiah 34:8 ff.; Nehemiah 5:1-13.)

That *nethînîm* were simply one type of Levites is also shown by Ezra 8:20, which says that David and his princes gave them for Levitical service.[34] It is well to observe that while Josephus calls them *hierodules* or temple-slaves, and while the Syriac version has "slaves" or "their slaves" in Nehemiah 10:28, 11:21, the Syriac calls them *gayyûra* or "proselytes" in Ezra 8:20, being anxious for us to know that these slaves have been duly converted to Judaism. The same fact is presented in Nehemiah 10:28: "the *nethînîm* and all others who had wholly separated themselves from the peoples of (various) lands" (the defective AV translation does not bring out the real meaning). The *nethînîm* are but one element in a host of Jewish non-Israelites. Numbers 8:5-20 makes all Levites to have been originally "donated ones given unto Me" (*nethînîm nethunnîm lî,* v. 10) by Israelites as a substitute for their first-born; and they needed ceremonial cleansing before admission to the sanctuary, even as Midianite maiden-levites must have needed it. These "bound ones" are represented as gathered up from among the Israelites. Whence their "bound" or "adjoined" character? How many of such ancient substitute-levites were of foreign or pre-Israelite stocks? Their being aliens in the various communities is shown by the provision that they could not share in the annual allotments of Israelite community lands. The "service-women" of 1 Samuel 2:22 are certainly Levites of some sort. But whether the Levite women at Shiloh were foreign or not is not told.

But the regular exclusion of Levites from the annual land-allotments in the various communities points to a fact emphasized by Joseph Jacobs in writing of *nethînîm*. In certain Talmud passages the *nethînûth* status is equivalent to *mamzirûth*: the *nethîn* was viewed as a bastard, which Jacobs thinks means the offspring of a *kedēshah* or temple woman. It doubtless meant a much larger constituting class. Any foundling might be presented by its mother to a shrine, as is actually done sometimes in the Orient to-day. The wide possibilities are illustrable by a case in the cuneiform records of the time of Nabu-naid, the king of Babylon whom Cyrus supplanted. It is No. 154 of the *Records from Erech,* published by Professor R. P. Daugherty. A mother ap-

[34] For further notes see Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* III, 519; *Jewish Encyclopedia, s.v.* Nethinim; and *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, s.v.*

pears in the official congregation of the temple É-anna at Erech, before the Master of Trusts *(bêl pikitti),* the endowment-manager (*kêpu*) and the treasurer of É-anna, and declares: "My husband is dead, and there is famine in the land. Therefore I have branded with a star my two little boys Shamash-Erba and Shamash-lê', and have given them to the goddess, the Mistress of Erech. Preserve them alive! They shall be *shiraku* of the goddess, the mistress of Uruk." Her petition was heard: the boys received rations from É-anna, and became *shiraku.* But this term is "donated ones"—exactly the Hebrew *nethînîm.* We see that a Jewish sanctuary either in Palestine or Babylonia, received "donated ones" of any people, in the same way, "that they might eat a piece of bread" (1 Samuel 2:35). Nowhere was there greater racial commingling than in the sanctuary-staff. The practice of adopting Gentile waifs certainly underlies Ezekiel 16:3-8. As to the social status of the female "donated one," among nearly four thousand Phoenician inscriptions from Carthage I have seen but one (No. 2114 CIS) in which a woman acknowledges herself to be a *nethînah.* Evidently the status was not one that Phoenician women were disposed to boast of. But the *kahînah* or priestess was very prominent and powerful.

A particular case of *nethînîm,* specifically called the slaves or the servants of the dead, is afforded by the shrine of Ezekiel, at Kifil, a short distance south of the ancient Borsippa, where the great E-zida shrine of Nabu stood. The "servants of Ezekiel" may be compared with "the children of Solomon's servants" included in the *nethînîm* secured by Ezra, and with the epithet *'Abd-el-maut,* "servant of the dead," which we have seen applied to any slaves set free at a grave in modern North Africa. Benjamin of Tudela gives a vivid description of the splendor and wealth of the great Ezekiel shrine as it was at the time of his visit. None dared molest its guardians and attendants, even in the most troublous times. Its asylum-character was inviolable. Of especial interest is his statement that the great corps of servitors included both Moslems and Jews. It reveals the fact that the Levite-servants of an ancient Israelite sanctuary were not necessarily Yahwists, just as the devout youth in Daniel 1:6 f. were not necessarily worshippers at the shrines of the gods whose names they bore. What modification of Yahwist liturgy would be produced by non-Yahwist liturgists is an inevitable question.

But when Benjamin II visited the shrine, some seventy years ago, he found attached to it a small group of pious hermits,

devoted to incessant reading and study, and supported by the Yeshiba or sanctuary academy-endowment. They were known as *'abdê hannabî,* "servants of the Prophet," a title descending from generation to generation. They were supposed to represent one family, and were free from all taxes: the same sanctuary-exemption that we have seen descending from an immemorial past. Three Arabs were their servants. Benjamin II does not say whether these Moslems were accepted as inferior shrine-attendants or whether they had no actual connection with the shrine. These "scholar-servants" of the prophet sometimes numbered twenty.[35] But since they are "servants of the *nabî*" instead of "servants of Ezekiel," and since this sanctuary is a hundred miles or more from the Grand Canal ("River Chebar" of Ezekiel 1:1) where Ezekiel dwelt, and in the domain of the ancient shrine of Nabu, one wonders if *nabî* to-day is but an adapted survival of the ancient Nabu-cult that ruled the region for thousands of years. Jews have put their hero-names on other ancient pagan shrines.

Such presentation of slaves to shrines was a form of compulsory propagandism. The story of the Gibeonites in Joshua 9:15-27 suggests that there might be choice between death and acceptance of the service of Yahu. A like alternative confronted many conquered by Assyrians. When Daniel became *Belit-shar-utsur,* the title announced his princely rank, and his declared goddess-protector. Shudur-Aku, Mash-Aku (Daniel 1:7) announce attachment to the Sumerian Moon-god's service. Abdi-Nabu is "Nabu's servant." Sin-balatsu-ikbi, "Sin has commanded his life," and Shamash-mîtu-uballit, "The Sun-god gives life to the dead,"—such names suggest captives spared because claimed by some shrine, just as a Hittite in David's service was Uriah = Ur-Yahu ("Servant of Yahu"?).

But this raises the question, Might not whole cities be made *haram,* as servants of some god: or might not a throng of *haram* individuals be made a new Levitical city? That situation is before us in Babylonian *kudurru* deeds, and in some Moslem *wakf* deeds establishing new shrines. A striking survival among the Nupes and Haussas of northern Nigeria shows this modification of the *haram* city. As shown in Chapter X, the remnants of a Judeo-Christianity from ancient Nubia are found among them, described by Frobenius in *The Voice of Africa.* In Haussa-land are various settlements called *Nassarawa:* there is one Nassarawa province in the southwest. The same type of town in Nupe-land is called

[35] Benjamin II, p. 128.

Issa-ji (or *Issa-tshi*). This is their genesis: if town A surprises town B, and captures all without bloodshed upon either side, the victorious leader says "God bless thee!" Thereupon all the old people remain in the captured town, but all the young people are settled in a new town C, about midway between A and B. They are sacred and inviolable slaves of God, and they pay no tribute! It is the same *zakku* status that we saw in Chapter III and so often claimed by Jews in many lands. The conquerors may never injure them. Frobenius (II, 634) says that no new settlements of the kind have been made for a hundred years. But a number of these *nethîn* or *haram* or Levitical cities survive.

Now the names given to the people and town are of the first importance. Frobenius points out that Issa-ji means "Jesus-slaves": Nassarawa, "Nazarene slaves." The institution is not Christian, however; it is the Gibeonite situation with a Christian name substituted. It tells us succinctly that when a town in ancient Palestine was made *haram*, the inhabitants might not always have been massacred. It was possible to make a whole town "Levitical" at a stroke. It was one method of propagandism. The fact that in Numbers 4 only persons between thirty and fifty could be in active Levitical service is to be compared with the fact above, that old persons could not be placed in the Issa-ji or Nassarawa towns. But how early was begun this practice of making Levitical cities out of those declared *haram*? Did Joshua really destroy everything in his campaigns? Were the Levitical cities in chapter 21 made such by the *haram* procedure? The question is a fair one. We may not be ready for a positive answer.

Zephaniah 1:8 f. hates devotees in foreign uniform who step over the threshold.[36] And Ezekiel, planning reconstruction, says that foreigners had been chief Levites in the sanctuary, and while he would not utterly exclude them, he proposes that hereafter their activities shall be limited to guard duty and minor rituals, such as ceremonial "removal of iniquity" (Ezekiel 44:6-14). What we have seen at his own sanctuary-tomb to-day gives point to his prescriptions. Hosea 4:6 complains of priests who did not know the law. Does Ezekiel mean that the foreign Levites of his complaint were not to be allowed to learn the whole law? Just this attitude we have seen in Indian Judaism, the white Jews eventually putting an end to the ministry of the Black Jews, and refusing them teaching or training, on the ground that they are simply the descendants of slaves. Some of the ancestors of Palestinian

[36] Philistines? See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* III, 848.

nethînîm were captives, some were purchased, some donated to Jewish sanctuaries. And such institutions are before us in the cuneiform records. But what becomes of the whole conception of an ancient segregate, purely ethnic Israel, and particularly of the pure-blooded priest-and-levite class, which the lost-tribes hunter invariably assumes?

The "donated" character of ancient Levites or *nethînîm* would be expressible by the personal name or official title Mattan-(Yah?), "Given to" (Yahu?), a title we find borne by the high-priest of the opposing faction, who was slain in 2 Kings 11:18. The same name was borne by a son of Josiah not originally expected to be king (2 Kings 24:17), and he surrendered the title, becoming Zedekiah when placed on the throne. He must have been originally donated to the temple-service by his father. For David made his own sons priests,[37] a precedent which was certain to be followed, and which itself followed ancient precedents of Egypt (cf. Isaiah 19:11) and of Mesopotamia, where a *barû,* "seer," must be of the descendants of the ancient kings of Sippara.[38] Now the Falashas of Abyssinia, who have not the Talmud nor institutions marked by Babylonian residence, cling to the belief that the military hero-Messiah who will one day conduct them back to Palestine must bear the name Theodore. But this is simply a Greek translation of Mattan-Yahu. The famous Kasai knew he must assume the title Todros or Theodore, if he would be supported by the religious fanaticism of Abyssinia. The whole points to Mattan-Yahu having been a title of special dignity—a chief among *nethînîm*?—in pre-exilic times. The Chronicler makes it the name of the chief of the temple-choir, in later times.[39] Was this chief of the temple-choir in earlier days the "chief chanter of oracles," as in Isaiah 19:11? In Nehemiah 13:13 such Mattan-Yah had charge of offerings, and in 1 Chronicles 25:4, 16 Nathan-Yah was an Asaphite chanter of David's time, while Mattan-Yah was an Hemanite chanter. But as Heman the Ezrahite or son of Zerah is admitted to be Edomite,[40] we have Mattan-Yah as an oracular dignity traced back to David's time, and specifically conceded to be a foreign Levite of Edomite origin.

[37] *Cohanim:* AV "chief rulers," 2 Samuel 8:18.

[38] See Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kentniss der Babylonischen Religion: barû* qualifications.

[39] 1 Chronicles 9:15; Nehemiah 11:17, 12:18; guardian of the door, 12:25, 35.

[40] Genesis 34:13, Zerah: while Ethan and Heman are of the Beni-Kedem in 1 Kings 4:30 f.

The prominence of the term Mattan in compound names in the Phoenician inscriptions from Carthage is also to be noticed. In some cases the Mattan is a very high official. The fact contrasts sharply with the indisposition of women to acknowledge a *nethînah* status. Since the Sidonian Ashtart still held the Mount of Olives in Josiah's time (2 Kings 23:13), it may be that the full name in 2 Kings 11:18 should be Mattan-Baal, instead of Mattan-Yahu, as suggested above.

An interesting sidelight upon *nethînîm* activities comes from Latin America. Seven hundred years of Moorish dominance and Jewish prominence in Spain and Portugal put many Semitic words and institutions into Peninsular life and speech. The presentation of servants to Moslem sanctuaries was familiar there for centuries. So Lieutenant Herndon reports the system as practiced on the Upper Amazon. The fees for the functions of the pious padre of the Indian village of Chasuta were very scanty, the sacristan and sexton having their special perquisities. So the governor appointed yearly twelve men "for the service of the holy mother church." Each had his function; one to care for the curate's house or cabin; one fished for him, one hunted, one washed, one cared for his sugar-cane plantation; one waited on him at table; one was his trader on the river, and so on. All these were exempt from any secular tax or impost. This explains why Jewish guardsmen or temple servitors are free from any royal tax or impost in Ezra 7:24; everyone is already obligated to render some temple service. At Sarayacu these *mitayos* were appointed for a month at a time, instead of a year at a time (cf. 1 Kings 4:7). But when they had learned the Mission arts, they were prone to desert and go to Brazil, to ply said arts for wages. These service-posts were posts of distinction, much craved by the Indians, who were prone to sauciness and swaggering when appointed. Pagan Indians paid a poll tax of $7.00 a year; Mission Indians were exempt from this.[41]

That such variety in service rendered by temple-attendants meant social distinctions among themselves was inevitable. It is characteristic of our common humanity. Without multiplying cases, take the women who were employed in weaving temple-hangings in 2 Kings 23:7. Cuneiform inscriptions show such weavers to be a very important part of the staff of some ancient temples. "Elhanan the Bethlehemite of the groves of the weavers" in 2 Samuel 21:19 is made by the Targum of Jonathan

[41] Herndon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon,* pp. 206 f., 223.

to be David, "weaver of veils of the house of the sanctuary." Be that as it may, in the Apocryphal Gospels we have distinctions among the weaving temple-maidens, with Mary receiving the purple material, and enviously gibed at by the others as "queen of the virgins."[42] The *Protevangelium of James* awards her the like preëminence, with the difference that the weaver-maidens do the weaving at their homes, instead of at the temple.[43] It is plain that where we find Judaized folk to-day scorning each other as of slave descent, as among Bombay and Cochin Jews, the social distinctions may have originated in the days when the ancestors of both classes were actually Judaized slaves.

One net result of so many kinds of service being rendered by those who were bound to a shrine would be that the term Levite would tend to disappear, as too indefinite. The early church insisted upon a purely voluntary connection with the congregation. There could be no bound ones, there could be no slaves of the church. "Am I not free?" exclaims Paul; sent by no human master? (Galatians 1:1, 1 Corinthians 9:1). Our consecration is voluntary! No one can ostracise us as children of a slave-woman! (Galatians 5:1). Onesimus, a slave by secular law, should be a brother beloved to Philemon (15 f.). But varied social and sanctuary service remains. So the *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, compiled for use in Eastern churches mainly during the second and third centuries, cites ancient Pentateuchal prescriptions and announces that the *episkopoi* or bishops or overseers are the former high-priests; the presbyters or elders are priests; while the deacons, readers, singers, porters, deaconesses, widows, virgins, and orphans are all your "Levites."[44] The terms *'obed* and *doulos*, "slave," are discarded for *diakonos*, "deacon"—a voluntary minister. None of the church's staff are *levî*, "bound ones."

With regard to the social distinctions made in the ancient shrine staff, Josephus[45] records that in the time of Agrippa many Levitical singers demanded the right of wearing linen garments, as the priests did, and also the privilege of learning some new chants. Whether these had been used only by a special group or were entirely new does not appear from Josephus' narrative. But a Sanhedrin assembled grants the petitions, much to the displeasure of Josephus: "we have never been able to avoid the punishment of such transgressions!"

[42] Pseudo-Matthew, 9: *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII, 372 f.
[43] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII, 363.
[44] *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, II, XXV; *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VII, 410.
[45] *Antiquities*, XX, ix, 6.

Rabbinical Judaism probably found the suggestion of "bound" in the word *levî* very objectionable, and used instead *habēr* for "Associate" or "Fellow." The early exiles felt profoundly the need of better organized instruction than there had ever been in Palestine. The great temple-schools of Babylon aroused their emulation. In Isaiah 50:4 the speaker has the "tongue of the learned"; he is a "fully-instructed one." Now in the making of a shrine functionary in the Orient there are three conventional stages; a volume of illustrations is not needed. Baldensperger[46] describes the three stages in the making of a dervish. First, he is a *mu'amām* or pupil; an "entered apprentice," porter, sexton, fire lighter; a *sho'ēr,* the term applied to the clan of Obed-Edom in 1 Chronicles 16:38.[47] Second, the apprentice becomes a *nakîb,* in charge of all vessels, equipment, and common ritual.[48] Such degree Ezekiel 44:9-14 prescribes: these Levites are fully competent to "remove iniquity," or ceremonial impurity from any who appeal to them. Third, the *Khalîfy,* "Caliph"; the "Sar of Levites" of 1 Chronicles 15:16 ff., where two degrees of Levites are recognized. Such Caliph alone has authority to admit new members into the Order.[49] The other old Arabic term *kahînu* is the one current in the Old Testament: Hebrew *kohen.* Gesenius defines *kahînu* as "factor, agent, or one with full authority to act for another." In liturgy, he is the inquirer's representative in making an inquiry or bringing an offering; and he is such a representative because the average inquirer does not know all the whims and moods and ways of the god. The failure of pre-exilic priests to provide reliable oracles for the perpetuation of the kingdom resulted in the effort to produce a more reliable oracular service. Rabbinism arose, splitting a thousand ritualistic and legalistic hairs.

Now "the priests the Levites" of Deuteronomy is more exactly "the associated priests"; it is so translated by some modern Jewish scholars. But to use Levi as the term for "Associate, Comrade, Fellow," in the rabbinical schools and also in the opposing priestcraft, meant hopeless confusion. An equivalent term was necessary. So all who attained sufficient equipment for priestly or rabbinical service became *Haberîm,* which means the same thing. Translations from the Talmud often make it "schoolmen." The

[46] *Palestine Exploration Fund,* January 1922, pp. 23 ff.

[47] The Obed-Edom of Gath, in 2 Samuel 6:10 ff.

[48] The *malak Yahu* rank that Achish recognized, in 1 Samuel 27:5, 29:9. In 1 Samuel 19:19 David seems there in training for the work of *nabî,* or seer; compare Gehazi, and the young man acting under Elisha's instructions, in 2 Kings 9:1 ff.

[49] Cf. 1 Samuel 16:13 for admission into the Order pictured in 19:19 ff.

position of such in a school was like that of a Fellow at one of our universities. As far as the public was concerned, they were like the young Levite in Judges 17; they had no congregation; they were waiting a call.[50] So in Palestine, in the Roman period, the learned priests were *Haberîm*, or "Comrades" of a Union or close brotherhood pledged to observe the prescriptions of the rabbins with the utmost minuteness. All other priests and persons not members of this brotherhood were scorned as *'Am ha'ārets*, "country boors."[51]

But we have seen that a colony-council, or congregational council, with a "Father of the House of Judgment" is as old as the Assyrian records from Cappadocia. Calling the council by a Greek name, Sunedrion, Sanhedrin, did not change its essential character. "The associated priests," of Deuteronomy became the Associated Learned Priests of the rabbins. One is an "Associate, Fellow, or Companion," even though he has no congregation.

The rabbins did not invent such use of the verb *habar*. The name Hebron is explained as a "confederacy," a "town of the Four" (Genesis 14:13, Joshua 14:15). Compare the Dönme, sectarians of Sabbatai Zevi. They call themselves *Habarîm*, "Associates, Comrades," and *Muamenîm*, "Believers"; more exactly "confirmed ones, steadfast ones."[52] The terms are in all Semitic speech. Any little group of men may use them, in speaking of one another, or to one another, as members of any American fraternity may address each other as "Brother." So at Safed in Galilee in 1548 A.D. *Haberîm* appear as a mystic order or secret fraternity of some sort.[53] Any group of men can claim to be the only true, or legitimate, or faithful, or divinely authorized, or orthodox brotherhood. None such ever favorably impress the great body of mankind.

It may be said that the conception of a Levite Messiah among the Falashas hardly accords with the probability of their original derivation from the Jewish garrison at Elephantiné. But that garrison had its temple, and was zealous for its maintenance, and was in regular correspondence with the officials at Samaria in its interest. And we have also to remember the *Book of Jubilees*, recovered in recent years from the Aethiopic version. This book expects the Messiah from the tribe of Levi, not from the line of David. The same idea appears in *The Testament of the Twelve*

[50] Rodkinson, I, 18, 237; VII, Baba Bathra, I, 210.
[51] Jost, I, 155, 162, 201.
[52] Lukach, *The City of Dancing Dervishes*, p. 187.
[53] Schechter, p. 238.

Patriarchs, and in some of the Psalms of Solomon. This *Book of Jubilees* being current in Abyssinia, the dream of a military deliverer, which is certainly of militarist origin, is reconciled with it by making the great Levite Messiah to be also a soldier. But this Todros, Theodore, Mattan-Yahu being specifically a supreme Levite supports the probability that Mattan-Yahu was a regular title of the head of the "donated" Levites: The Donated One, *par excellence* (or, "the Supreme Gift of Yahu"?).

Thus it is beyond all question that immense numbers of strangers or foreigners in ancient Palestine were formally presented to Israelite sanctuaries. Their numbers were such that numerous cities were inhabited by such attachés or proselytes, who were not allowed to share in Israelite community-lands. And thousands of these were captives taken in war. But this proves again that no segregate, purely ethnic Israel was ever dreamed of in those times; nor was any such Israel maintained or deported.

Recurring to the fact that the *levî* or "bound one" disappears from rabbinical and early Christian terminology: it was said that objectionable social discriminations were a factor: rabbinism established an aristocracy of scholarship, all members of which were Fellows. But the fact that the Babylonian language had not the term *levî* must have been another factor. A Jewish Levite would have to be designated by another term in Assyro-Babylonian speech. In a dictionary list occurs the term *lêmu,* grouped with the well-known *barû,* the ubiquitous Assyro-Babylonian "seer": compare 1 Samuel 9:9. It has been suggested that *lêmu* is a possible variant of *levî:* but the term does not appear in connection with any popular liturgy known to me. But the *nethîn* of the Hebrew texts surviving to-day among the Suaheli is of the Babylonian dialectic intensive form: not of the West Semitic. As already stated, a Suaheli may announce himself the voluntary *naddîn* of this or that notable personage. But the ordinary Babylonian term for anything donated to a god is *kudur.* Should a Babylonian known as a seer or a donated one become a Jewish proselyte, continuing his vocational activities, he would be known as a *nabî* or *nethîn.*

But this unceasing drift of individual proselytes into Jewish Levitical ranks prompts the query, Was it possible for a great Assyro-Babylonian religious class or profession to have attached itself as a community to Judaism? It is thought by some modern scholars that the Persian Magi were simply Babylonian *mahhê,* who gained preferment by entering the Persian service. The long-

mysterious Jewish Essenes may be a parallel case. Nothing need be added here, by way of description, to what is given in the recent standard encyclopaedias.[54] Unquestionably the Essenes maintained a "school of the prophets," eschewing the ritual of the Law, and studying the prophetic books, and making predictions on their own account.[55] They suggest the communities of which we catch a glimpse in 1 Samuel 19:20 ff.; 2 Kings 2:3, 5-7, 15 ff.; 4:38-44; 6:1-7. But there was a large Oriental element in Essenism, which has not been explained. Moffat admits that this cannot be explained without going outside Judaism. Epiphanius declares that they were Sampsaeans or worshippers of Shamash (the Sun-god), and that they also cherished the heretical books of Elkesai, of Babylonia. But this reputation for prophecy and sun-worship reminds us of the liturgies published by Zimmern.[56] A Babylonian *barû* or prophet-seer had to be a descendant of the ancient kings of Sippara, the chief seat of the Sun-god cult. The Seleucid princes were as superstitiously deferent to these seers of the Sun-god as the Persians had been before them; and Diodorus Siculus (II, 31) credits them with numerous predictions fulfilled to the letter. The *Jewish Encyclopedia* claims the Essenes as a branch of the Chasidîm, of Maccabean times. But it cannot explain the many non-Jewish elements among them or the Essene claim of much greater antiquity. Nor is there any explanation of the fact that the "Epulones" of the great goddess of Ephesus, otherwise known as "king-bees," are known by the same name "Essên." No even semi-plausible etymology for the name "Essene" has been found: but the ancient authors agree that the name had to do with holiness, piety, or special consecration to God. Philo of Alexandria explained that it meant *therapeutai theou* (Greek) "ministers of God." Without recounting a score of fanciful etymologies, all the evidence points to an ancient order of sun-worshippers from the Euphratean alluvium, some of whom were Judaized; others had become associated with the shrine at Ephesus. The evidence points to the familiar Akkado-Assyrian cultus-term, *assinnu,* a "devotee, temple-servitor." The root *asan* = the Latin *colere.* The term *isinnu* is a great sacred festival, like the Passover or Yôm Kippûr; while *isinîtu* is a "divinity" or "worship." *Assinnu* is an intensive form, and would imply "very devout, assiduously religious." The double *n* points to an original form *assênu.* But in later Babylonian an *a* in a first syllable, often

[54] See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible: Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* 5:396-400: *Jewish Encyclopedia,* V, 224-232.

[55] Josephus, *Wars,* II, 5.

[56] *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Babylonischen Religion.*

becomes *e* under Aramaic influence: e.g. *Nabu* becomes *Nebo; Yahu* becomes *Yeho*. Similarly Assênai would become Essênai. But *Essênai* is one form of the name of the "Essenes," and is preferred by Josephus. It seems that the Essenes must have been an ancient religious order of the Shamash-cult, that accepted much of Judaism. The syncretized order clung to their original *assinnu-essênai* name, as they could not be accurately described by any of the current Jewish ecclesiastical terms. The Essenes then are another evidence of the extensive proselyting by early Judaism. As they were not a hereditary order, nor a group of slaves, they could have called themselves voluntary *nethînîm*, self-donated to the service of God.

CHAPTER XVIII

The City of Refuge

Certain features of the social life of Palestine, as reflected in the Old Testament, must now be considered. How did they affect ethnic intermingling? There is the institution of asylum; the question of domestic slavery; the status of the fatherless and widow, so bitterly complained of by the reformer prophets; and the status of the harlot.

As for asylum, David could take refuge with the Philistines with his troop; conversely, exiled Philistines entered David's service, and Cretans and Philistines became the nucleus of the standing army of the South, and more than once decided the succession to the kingdom, as in the cases of Absalom, Solomon, and Joash.[1] Ittai seems, from David's address to him, to have been a fugitive or exile from Gath. But any refugee may become a leading citizen in his new home, as we saw in considering the status of deportees in Chapter VI. An asylum protégé by reason of that guestship with the local god, may become a man of power, as Moses did in Midian, or as Hadad of Edom did in Egypt (1 Kings 11:14-22), or as Rezon of Zobah became king of Damascus (11:23), or as Jeroboam became a man of influence at the court of Shishak (11:26-40). But the marriages of Moses, Joseph, and Hadad remind us that every asylum was inevitably a promoter of marriages with aliens, in any land, and that the foreign refugee might marry into native families of the highest rank. Compare the marriage of a Pharaoh's daughter to Mered (1 Chronicles 4:18), and Sheshan (2:34 f.). No restriction to such an inter-ethnic movement appears in the Old Testament. The refugee might be a priest and as such take high rank in his new home, as a priest driven out of Jerusalem (Nehemiah 13:28) might take highest rank at Samaria. In 1 Kings 4:5 we find Ira from Gilead was the favorite priest or oracle of David after the Absalom rebellion; cf. Judges 10:3 ff. We do not know in this case if he was a refugee, or one whom David brought, like Chimham (2 Samuel 19:37 f.), to attach Gilead more strongly to himself. Similarly, Zabud ben-Nathan is the priest who is the royal oracle in 1 Kings 4:5; but we do not know his earlier status. It must have been the

[1] See 2 Samuel 15:18-22 and 18:2 for Absalom; 1 Kings 1:38, 43 f. for Solomon. For Joash, observe that in 2 Kings 11:4, 19 the AV has "the captains" for "the Karî," Carians or Cretans; "the Cherethites" of 1 Samuel 30:14; written "Karî" also in 2 Samuel 20:23.

Philistine guard, active in the temple-management[2] who gave the Philistines fame in Israel as "soothsayers" (Isaiah 2:6). It is clear that every Israelite asylum would not only be a center promoting foreign marriages, but also one for the importation and diffusion of foreign cultus-practices, of which Ezekiel 44:7 ff. complains. A foreign *gêr* might even have special renown as a "Levite," as in Judges 17:13; just as a Chinese doctor may be particularly attractive to some Americans. No restriction to such inter-ethnic cultus movements appears in the Old Testament. The absorption and assimilation of fugitives went on incessantly in the ancient world. As for the Philistine element in Israel, recent ethnological observers in the Orient say that one-fourth of the Palestinian Jews show Philistine lineaments.[3]

An outstanding result of the asylum institution would be that its protégés would be the most contentious for its maintenance; they would often constitute its garrison. We have already seen that the employment of Jewish garrisons by Gentile powers was not separable from Jewish propagandism. In fact, the first we hear of Levites in Exodus history is as a military force (Exodus 32:26 f.), battling against a rival cultus. Their origin here is not stated, but they are not a distinct tribe; they all have kin in the rank and file of all tribes of Israel. They must have been new proselytes from various tribes: many perhaps won by Moses. As the armed guardsmen of the tabernacle-sanctuary, they must have been members of Egyptian garrisons first. That would mean that Yahu-garrisons from some region were in Egypt, and that individual Israelites had been "levited" to them, to secure their immunities and privileges. This would explain the Jewish and Egyptian traditions that Moses was a chief officer of the Egyptian army, and that he used his position to wage a cultus-war in the interest of a mixed multitude of refugees and other immigrant folk: the typical mixture to be found at ancient asylum-cities.[4] It must be remembered that the standing complaint of Israel is that they had been *gêrim,* or proselyte-protégés, in Egypt, and that their long-standing *zakku* rights or *gêrim*-privileges were abolished. So the Exodus Levites in their military aspect are comparable to the Carian temple-guards employed by Jehoiada, above cited. These latter must be the "priests who guarded the door," and made repairs (2 Kings 12:9), which the altar-priests would not

[2] See "Cherethites," Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* I, 376 f.

[3] See R. N. Salaman, *Palestine Exploration Fund,* 1925, pp. 33-47; 68-79, article, "What Has Become of the Philistines?"

[4] See Josephus, *Against Apion,* I, 14 f., 26-28.

do. We have the same institution in Babylonia. The "priests who guard the door" are supervisors of repairs, directors of processions, chief soothsayers of oracles "like the Philistines," and also captains of the temple-garrison. For every very great temple-asylum was also a fort. We have the story of the pious door-guardian Nabu-shum-imbi, defending his Babylonian temple all night against a rival claimant, just as Josephus pictures in the last days of the temple at Jerusalem.[5] And a well-known case of protest by asylum-protégés comes to us from the Sargonid period. Sennacherib had utterly destroyed the ancient asylum-city, Babylon. Esarhaddon sent the *Shaku* of the Tin-Tir quarter (palm-grove district?) to investigate conditions. This man, Ubaru, wrote that the Tin-Tir folk were returning to Tin-Tir, were cordial to him, and daily entreated the king: " 'let the fugitive and enslaved maid of Tin-Tir be restored!' And from Sippara [forty miles north of Babylon] all the way down to the shores of the Bitter River [the Persian Gulf] the chief men of the Kaldu land are begging the king, 'Let Tin-Tir be inhabited again!' All the lands are favorable to my lord the king!"[6] On receiving this report, Esarhaddon proceeded to rebuild the city, and to write a *zakku* charter for it. His sons, Ashur-bani-pal at Nineveh and Shamash-shum-ukin at Babylon, solemnly pledged its maintenance and to respect its "divine territory" *(ilu duraru)*. Some Sea-landers are treacherously slain there, and Ubaru in behalf of the refugee population addresses a solemn protest to the kings: "Babylon is a gathering together out of all lands: it is twenty lands in one. A dog that runs in there must not be slain!"[7] Women who marry there gain the same protection, or a woman-protégé claimed the same sacred protection for any outsider whom she might marry. We have again before us the ethnic mingling produced by every great city of refuge. Jerusalem, as the most sacred city, would have the most mongrel population in Palestine: Jeremiah 7 paints it as the most criminal. And the fiery militarism of the Babylonian refugee population soon brought another partial destruction of Babylon, when Ashur-bani-pal suppressed the revolt into which the population had forced his brother Shamash-shum-ukin. And Jerusalem, with like pretensions, forced Nebuchadrezzar to a like destruction.

[5] Godbey, "The Assyro-Babylonian *amêl* TU. Biti," in *Notes Upon Some Officials of the Sargonid Period*, p. 27.

[6] Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, No. 418.

[7] Godbey, "The Semitic City of Refuge," in *The Monist*, Oct. 1905.

The number of such centers in ancient Palestine must be recognized. In Numbers 35 is a recognition of six cities of refuge: in Deuteronomy 19 there are only three. Yet the Talmud recognizes that every one of the forty-eight Levitical cities was originally an asylum. There was a conflict between Church and State. The clash of forces in Palestine operated as in Mesopotamia; there was a gradual elimination of the pretentions of the asylum cities. In Chapter XV was cited Philo's declaration that the Israelite asylum-centers were also aggregations of proselytes from all peoples. Philo claimed that they had always been intended as such. He further explains that they were so because the Levites themselves were persons who "have left their children, their parents, their brethren, their nearest and dearest things in order that they may receive an immortal inheritance instead of a mortal one."[8] He portrays them as primarily an order of volunteers: many from non-Jewish peoples.

Philo gives us further light upon the forty-eight Levitical asylum-cities in explaining why any refugee is a guest of the asylum-city till the death of the (local) high priest. He explains Numbers 35:25 by saying that as any slayer is in immediate danger from those nearest of kin to the dead, his natural refuge is with the high-priest because "the high-priest is the relation and nearest of kin to the whole nation."[9] This statement of the relation of the composite high-priest of his own day shows the actual status of the ancient priestly head of each Levitical city. The custodians of any oriental sanctuary, the theoretical heads of any religious orders, are descendants or nearest male kin of the founder or baal of the sanctuary or of its original custodians. Thus two simple Palestinian peasants, James and Zoker, grandsons of Judas the brother of Jesus, were made rulers of the Christian Church in the fifteenth year of the reign of Domitian.[10] The head of any ancient baal-asylum was theoretically the head of any clan "accreted" there, and officially "the father" of each one. He could protect any refugee "son," but his successor was not bound to do so.[11] The high-priest of Asmonean times is a generalization from the gradual absorption of the powers of the heads of many ancient baalist sanctuaries. He was "the vicar of the Grand Baal."

[8] Philo, *On the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel,* 38; Yonge's translation, I, 238.

[9] *Special Laws;* Yonge III, 336.

[10] Lindsey, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries,* pp. 120 f.

[11] In the Sumerian asylum city, the head priest was not the Father of the community, but the SHISH. GAL, "Elder Brother": a form of expression that persists in Chinese.

That shelter at a sanctuary till the death of its head-functionary is not an institution peculiar to Judaism has been recognized by modern Jewish observers. Benjamin II records that in every Persian town is some building containing the tomb of a disciple or relation of Ali. A wall around it encloses a small plot of ground. Each is a refuge for any fugitive, or for a criminal of any kind. Angry secular authorities may order that no food be brought such by devout neighbors, but the prohibition is not very effective. If judges decide that the fugitive is not guilty, he goes forth free and fully protected. If condemned, he simply stays in the sanctuary, enjoying its hospitality during the time of his prison sentence, or till the death of the Akhund in charge, when he is set at liberty. Jews and Christians may not take refuge at such tombs of the orthodox, but they can flee to the house of the Akhund himself. A bankrupt Jew can take refuge with the Akhund. He is safe from all prosecutors, and gains time to effect settlements with his creditors. The death of the Akhund closes all cases.[12]

The original asylum-city being unequivocally declared by Talmudic testimony and by that of Philo to have been a center of ethnic commingling directly opposed to the theory of a segregate pure-blooded ethnic Israel, the question of its promotion of sexual promiscuity is directly raised. In the modern Orient, especially in Persia, the practice of temporary marriage is well known. Benjamin II reports that he found the custom general among Oriental Jews. Such temporary marriages are not contracted by parties residing in the same community. They are made between men who are transient visitors to any town and women who reside there. The contract covers only the time of the visitor's stay: he cannot take the woman away with him.[13] It is such an alliance that Samson made in Judges 14-15:3. Since he did not take the woman away with him, the liaison was considered terminated. The institution puts directly before us women ready to make such alliances with strangers, and the various causes that may bring strangers to their community, and the religious institutions that sanction or promote such alliances. The sum of it is that a great asylum-sanctuary like the mausoleum of Fatima at Kom in Persia may gather a throng of women willing to enter into a temporary alliance with any visitor. Such an one is a *muti*.[14] The institution

[12] Benjamin II, *Eight Years in Asia and Africa*, pp. 208-213.

[13] Benjamin II, p. 226.

[14] Morier, "Hajji Baba," chapters 53-55. The term *muti* is a corruption of the Arabic *mot'a*. Scholars now commonly use the term *beena* to de-

does not appear to be primitive Persian; it is not provided for in the sacred Persian books. It is one that the Persians found in the Semitic civilization into which they came. Such women seem to be the *zêr mashîtu,* "granter of seed," of the cuneiform records of the Hammurabi period; apparently shrine-attachés. The exact point in the temporary relation is that any children of the union are legitimate—that is, they are the man's legal heirs; and he may have any number of such temporary alliances,[15] often called *sigha* marriages, because the formal dowry written in the contract may be only a handful of barley, *sigha.* Ezekiel 13:18 ff. denounces

scribe the temporary union that any woman might make with a visiting foreigner. She enjoys peculiar privileges and immunities, so long as she remains with her own clan and people, and her children are members of the clan. If she leaves her clan to go with the man to his own, she becomes a *be'ulah* (Isaiah 62:4), an "owned" or "possessed" woman: her husband is her *ba'al.* Dr. Morgenstern points out that this temporary alliance with a stranger played an enormous part in shaping early Israelite social life and tribal organization. (*"Beena* Marriage (Matriarchat) in Ancient Israel, and its Historical Implications," in *Zeitschrift für die Alt-testamentliche Wissenschaft,* 1929, pp. 91-11.) The marriage of Jacob with Laban's two daughters shows their consent necessary to removal. The marriage of Moses with the sister of Hobab: of Gideon to a Shechemite woman: of David to Michal are cited as specimens of the *beena* union. Morgenstern also points out that the word *shipkhah,* the "hand-maid" or "woman-servant" of our AV also expresses this temporary relationship of a woman. It is to be emphasized that in contrast with the *beena* woman, who is a clan-member, the *shipkhah* is the "foreign" woman who accepts or proposes a temporary relationship with a citizen: see Hagar, Genesis 16:1 ff., 25:12; women given by Pharaoh, Genesis 12:16; Ruth 2:13; 3:9; and Abigail, 1 Samuel 25:41. This last gives us the formula by which a woman not of the man's race or clan might propose cohabitation; a formula persistent in Talmudic times. The alien *shipkhah* occurs dozens of times in the Old Testament. Morgenstern also points out that the word *mishpakhah,* which occurs more than fifty times in the Old Testament, and is usually translated "family" really means those of *shipkhah* ancestry. Our immediate interest in these temporary alliances of clanswomen with foreign men, or clansmen with foreign women, is the part that sanctuaries played in promoting them. In Genesis 29:31-34 the origin of the Levites or "joined ones" is declared to be the union of a stranger (Jacob) with a native woman of Harran, and in 31:19 the women of Laban's clan seem the custodians of the clan-gods: for Laban's headquarters are at a distance of three day's journey, 30:36. The women of the Shiloh sanctuary in 1 Samuel 2:22 (noticed in the preceding chapter) were probably expected to form temporary unions with visitors. Not till Deuteronomy 23:18 do we find these alliances of *kedēshôth* or "consecrated women" officially proscribed, though Hosea 4:14 classes them with ordinary harlots, though Israelite women in general did not do so. We count as licentiousness or fornication to-day much that was not so considered in the ancient Orient. See Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia;* Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage;* Lods, *Le Culte des Ancêtres dans l'Antiquité Hebraique;* and Aptowitzer, "Spuren des Matriarchats in Jüdische Schrifttum," in *Hebrew Union College Annual* (1928), pp. 207-240.

[15] Nweeya: *Persia, the Land of the Magi,* p. 177.

the women who for handfuls of barley or morsels of bread pollute the name of Yahu; they make a business of acting as spies or secret agents of vengeance, saving notorious criminals and trapping those who ought not to die, as Delilah trapped Samson.[16] The system is found in the Code of Hammurabi. Women who are oracles or spies[17] of a goddess-sanctuary may keep wineshops in the proper quarters. But if they do not report any plotters or outlaws resorting to them, they are put to death. Moors carried the system into Spain, and Spain acquired the reputation of pre-eminence in the employment of demi-monde spies. Ezekiel seems to denounce the same ancient system. But in the case of these temporary or pretended alliances in the Orient, the formal contract may specify that any children shall be considered the man's legal heirs and representatives. Such *sigha* marriages with alien asylum-protégés, male or female, meant incessant mingling of local Israelite blood with various ethnic strains. It is the same privilege guaranteed the women of Babylonian asylum-towns. Possibly *Epistle of Jeremy* 43 alludes to it. Certainly the foreign woman who counted herself assured of safety in a new alliance because she had made the customary "insurance sacrifices" (AV "peace offerings") and the man from afar had departed for an appointed time was familiar to the writer of Proverbs 7. The term *ba'al,* "owner-husband," of Proverbs 31:11, 23, 28, she does not use of her "man." The Proverbist considers her a trapper of men.

There are three main roots for this institution. First, any refugee's status as such may be only temporary. Those he feared may be dead (1 Kings 11:21 f.; Matthew 2:20), or a reconciliation may have been effected (1 Samuel 29:4). In any case, his admission to sanctuary may depend upon the decision of the local chief priest, and the death of the chief priest may bring about a change of policy: an expulsion or a general "jail delivery." Hanun need not protect the refugees of Nahash (2 Samuel 10:1-5). The asylum being open to any native or foreign refugee, or proselyte, regardless of creed or character (Numbers 35:9 ff.), its inmates would naturally seek sex-alliances and women willing to accept such would as certainly congregate there.

Second, there was the practice of women making vows for some temporary religious devotion. Any maid or wife could make

[16] Delilah means "female devotee"? *Dullu* in Assyrian is any shrine-function or service. Sometimes a captive king is made to perform *delilati* to the Great Gods.

[17] *Eshshêbu,* from Hebrew *hashab,* to plan, advise, contrive.

such a vow, with approval of father or husband, while a widow could devote herself without fear of prohibition (Numbers 30). We see this plainly in Hosea 4:14. Wives and daughters have made a *pered,* Arabic *ferd,* to serve at sanctuaries at certain festal occasions. (A *ferd* is a temporary "retreat" for any asserted religious purpose, and acts as a moratorium on all secular social claims or duties.) Women represented as protected in Babylonian asylum-law in any marriages they chose to make were certainly alien protégés in some cases, who had made a *ferd* to the city for that purpose. The asylum became an assignation-center. That is exactly what Hosea complains of. Dr. Kerr relates that it is still so in Morocco, men and women paying weekly visits to saintly asylum tombs, spending the night in orgies of vice. "Herein is Moslem blessedness, that all sins committed in a saint's house in the name of the Prophet, are as righteous acts in the sight of God."[18] So the *pered* practice of Hosea and Ezekiel meant sexual promiscuity and ethnic intermingling at any noted sanctuary. In Persia to-day the visits of married women to country shrines, or a month in the spring "to eat mulberries" at some secluded village are a popular jest.[19] And the great Holy Sepulcher festivals at Jerusalem draw a throng of harlots. Compare Matthew Paris' description of the general council of Lyons. Cardinal Hugo in his farewell speech for Pope Innocent and the council said,

"Friends, we have effected a work of great utility and charity in this city. When we came to Lyons we found three or four brothels in it, and we have left at our departure only one. But this extends without interruption from the eastern to the western gate of the city."[20]

A third factor in the promiscuity of asylum-society is the principle that its protection could be extended by any official throwing his robe over any person or object. Schechter tells a story of a dog that took refuge from its cruel master by creeping under the robes of a sage, who then said to the cruel owner, "Since this dog sought my protection, you shall not touch it."[21] In the Baba Metzia is a story that a calf about to be slaughtered ran and put

[18] Kerr, *Pioneering In Morocco,* p. 50. Compare Ezekiel 18:6, 11, 15; 20:30; 22:9-12.

[19] Stack, *Six Months in Persia,* I, 294; II, 148.

[20] Matthew Paris, 792. Bruys says 1500 courtesans attended the Council of Constance. For like conditions at the sacred city of Jenné and the Moslem "house-cleaning" explosion, in 1830, see Dubois, *Timbuctoo the Mysterious.*

[21] *Studies in Judaism,* p. 175.

its head under the robe of a rabbi, who said ,"Go, you are created for that purpose." And because he did not grant protection, terrible tortures came upon him for years.[22] The stories illustrate the emphasis upon the ceremony in ancient Israel, and the cruelty or treachery of those who did not grant protection, or who were false to the obligations assumed.

The promotion of promiscuity results from the enrobing of women at the refuge-shrines, or by their officials. As observed already, the number of petty sanctuaries in Palestine once credited with some protective power was very large, though relatively few gained prestige enough to develop cities of importance. But the abuse in question was possible and still is, for a host of petty sanctuaries and "holy men." In the ancient orient any man might claim a woman as a member of his harem, or pledge her his protection, with his robe (Ezekiel 16:8; Ruth 3:9). One thus claimed might then be divorced, but could not be sold: she remained a free woman because she had been "enrobed."[23] She could seek a new alliance. Jeremiah 8:20 asserts that like an "enrobed" woman leaving her husband is Israel's forsaking Yahu; Jeremiah 9:2 seems a play upon *bogēd:* the adulterous are "traitors"—because "enrobers." The like play upon the word *begēd,* robe or badge, and *bagad,* to cheat or deceive, is in several Old Testament passages, unrecognized by the AV translators. In fact, incessant robe-ceremony frauds may have made the custom a by-word for treachery and produced the verb *bagad.* Ezekiel 42:14, 44:19 shows us that a rapacious priest might go forth with his official robe to "consecrate" anything that appealed to his cupidity. In Abyssinia to-day a priest may claim in the market what he wants. In Malachi 2:14 ff. we seem to have this specific charge against the rascally priests: wives who have been "enrobed" are crying out against being "put away": the priestly scoundrel may merely cloak rape with his robe-ceremony.[24] But women thus "put away" remain "consecrated" and forced to find new sanctuary alliances. On the other hand, as above cited in the case of Babylonian law, a consecrated woman is assured the peace and safety of the asylum, and no man whom she has claimed or "delivered" can be taken from her against her will. So this third factor again puts the many asylum sanctuaries and their various functionaries before us as incessant promoters of ethnic promiscuity; the maintenance of a segregate pure-blooded ethnic Israel is an antipodal conception.

[22] Rodkinson, vol. VI, Baba Metzia, 217 f.
[23] Exodus 21:8; AV wrongly, "dealt treacherously with."
[24] Cf. Appius Claudius and Virginia.

The restrictions in Leviticus 21:7, 13 f. appear as very late efforts to lessen gross profligacy.

Parenthetically, it may be observed that this robe-ceremony is one of the most persistent elements in Jewish custom. Contracts are still ratified by the buyer or husband taking in hand a garment or a handful of the garment of the bargainer. It is called *kabboloth kinyan,* "taking possession." The shoe-transfer of Ruth 4:7 is one variety. Sometimes a handful of robe may be cut off and delivered. Three inches square of the *sudarium* or "sweat-rag" is enough. This is probably the *bukanu* ceremony that binds a bargain in old Babylonian contract-tablets. It appears to originate in a ceremony of imprecation upon the breaker of a contract; cf. Ezra 9:3, 5 ff. with Nehemiah 13:23 ff. and 5:12 f.

An illustration of the way sexual promiscuity was promoted by such a system of asylum is afforded by mediaeval England. Fetter Lane in London runs through the center of an ancient sanctuary district. All the old monastic or saintly establishments were crowded in between Holborn Hill, High Holborn, and the river. Every one was an asylum for rogues, and not one could control its protégés. Long after the abolition of the religious establishments, "Alsatia," between Blackfriars bridge and the Inner Temple remained an asylum for debtors and criminals: a little autonomous commune of rascals.[25] Our immediate interest is in the name Fetter Lane. It was the great boulevard of all the worst rogues of London. All the women who preyed upon them or were preyed upon dwelt there. Popular opinion counted them especially the mistresses of the men of the celibate orders, whether Dominican "black friars" or white-robed Templars. So while the name of the street occurs in fourteenth-century wills as Faitour (Fayture, Faytoures, Faitur), meaning "rogue, cheat, impostor, sorcerer," much popular explanation connected "Fetter" with old French *foutre,* Latin *futuere,* referring to the sexual orgies supposed to be rampant there. So the multiplication of asylums owned by the temple at Jerusalem would mean the same freedom from local secular law, and the same sexual mingling of various peoples. But such multiplication may be one of the factors that made various neighboring peoples ready to combine with Titus to destroy Jerusalem.

Another feature of the asylum-sanctuary was that it might greatly extend its political power by acquiring title to property at various points, each of which exercised the asylum-authority.

[25] Sir Walter Besant, *London in the Eighteenth Century,* p. 165.

Such property might be a donation, purchase, bequest, or political grant. These places of asylum and untaxable religious foundations remain one of the most annoying administrative problems in the modern Orient. As for political grants, I Maccabees tells that two small districts were ceded to the Asmonean high-priests in addition to the district around Jerusalem. Two hundred years later Philo of Alexandria wrote of the temple's power:

"But the temple has for its revenues not only portions of land, but also other possessions of much greater extent and importance. . . . The first-fruits contribution is called their ransom. . . . Simultaneously with their making the offering they are sure to find either a relaxation from slavery, or a relief from disease, and to receive in all respects a most sure freedom and safety for the future."[26]

Such are some of the advantages which he announces come to all men who are willing to make the first-fruits donation regularly. The temple has treasuries in many cities, each authorized to receive donations, and to assure freedom to refugees. The system made Jerusalem the center of a host of asylum-points whose potentialities for mischief were intolerable to any secular government. Thus the Seleucid emperor Demetrius cedes to Jonathan the high-priest the city of Jerusalem, holy and inviolable, citadel and all; Jonathan to place his own garrison in it. "And whosoever shall fly to the temple at Jerusalem, *or to any places belonging to it,* whether they owe the king money or are there on any other account, let them be set free, and let their goods be in safety."[27] It goes without saying that such a system is irreconcilable with American notions of a stable general government. An ancient Oriental government undertook to save itself by naming the high-priest, under whose protection there might else be a host of offenders against its own secular authority. The infamous record of assassination and appointing and deposing high-priests, which Josephus pictures, was the logical result of this evil system. The anarchy of the last years in Palestine when Greek or Syrian cities assailed the high-priest's territory was inevitable. In their view, such Jewish cities were screening from justice many a Greek or Syrian rascal. The occasional confiscation or destruction of all Jewish synagogues in all Greek regions was not without some cause. When Jesus said, "My Father's house shall be called a house of prayer [for all nations], but ye have made it a den of

[26] *The Monarch,* I, 3; Yonge, III, 193.
[27] Josephus, *Antiquities,* XIII, ii, 3.

thieves" (of all nations,—Isaiah 56:7; Mark 11:17). He stated the inevitable product of Asmonean priestly arrogance and insistence upon ancient special privileges and immunities. Such prove a curse in the end. The later Palestinian frenzies that destroyed Samaritan sanctuaries owned by Mt. Gerizim had some like provocation. The system was intolerable. Even more intolerable was it that a Jewish high-priest should have power to arrest in any Seleucid or Roman territory a free-born Greek or Roman citizen and have him dragged to Jerusalem or before a local tribunal, demanding sentence of death upon him (Acts 9:1 f., 13 f.; 26:9-12). The agents of the Roman Inquisition did even so. But since hundreds of freemen in cities of Asia had suffered in this way, we understand why all neighboring states joined with Titus to destroy the den of the Jewish Inquisition.

Another extension of the asylum may be called the verbal extension. It amounts to profession of conversion. An Arab in battle may shout that he takes refuge with NN, of the enemy: the verbal surrender must be respected. "I take refuge with Allah, from Satan the accursed!" is a Koranic pious ejaculation. So one takes refuge by announcing his conversion. A Buddhist nun may rescue a condemned criminal by throwing her mantle over him: but the delivered one must thereafter live the life of a monk. So the relentless Sadducean proffer of "the Torah or death" meant that many embraced Yahwism merely to escape punishment. The Asmonean conversion of hosts of neighboring brigands has already been emphasized. So in the Talmud we find quibbling over the amount of protection to be accorded. Any murderer or adulterer of the Noachians can escape punishment by embracing Judaism.

But if the wrong had been done to an Israelite, he does not escape.[28] It will be seen that this operated to fill every asylum-city with foreign criminals, loudly professing Yahwism, as Jeremiah 7:8-11 portrays. Among Semites to-day the institution still works the same result. In Fez, Morocco, neither Jew nor Christian may even enter the streets upon which the doors of the mosque-tomb of Muley Idrîs open. But all these streets are an asylum for all "orthodox" criminals and debtors. Jew or Christian must profess conversion to gain sanctuary benefits. Any criminal can take down from the wall a sacred text and carry it as a safeguard or "pass" if he would visit the sultan's court.[29] It is the familiar ancient Jewish Erubîn device: enlarging one's house

[28] Rodkinson VII, 212 f.

[29] Kerr, *Pioneering in Morocco,* p. 139; Sternberg, *Barbarians of Morocco,* p. 99 f.

on the Sabbath by cords or by carrying out into the street some domestic furniture. So the Talmud shows us Gentile criminals becoming Jews to escape punishment. And further, if a mere proselyte had accidentally killed an Israelite, his privilege of asylum is quibbled away, while it is acknowledged that in former times all slayers were welcome at any asylum, according to Numbers 35:25, until formally condemned by the congregation.[30] This early stage is that of all more primitive society: as among modern Beduin, one may be an outcast from one's own kin or clan, yet cordially welcomed anywhere else. The custom of protecting a people's own criminals, yet refusing protection to the alien refugee seems the resort of an unscrupulous propagandism. It is recognizable to-day among the Wasambara, noticed in Chapter IX, where the original asylum at the grave of any chief has been transformed by Arab Judaism into four Levitical towns where all the religious functionaries or men of magic are concentrated, and asylum is accorded by them to criminals of the Wasambara and of their subject peoples.[31] It seems that an alien must profess to be such subject to be received. As for the older Israelite custom expounded in the Talmud, the foreign murderer thus Judaized could attain a position of honor and power in the asylum-city. He paid no rent to the local "Levites" in the six cities of refuge of Numbers 35:6, but he did in the other forty-two, is the rabbinical conclusion. And at the death of the local high-priest, he might return to the headship of a Jewish college in his native town, if he had held such position.[32] It will be remembered that this study is not intended to determine how far the asylum institution operated to produce an ideal social organization; we are merely asking if it promoted ethnic intermingling.

We have noticed also the exemption from all secular taxes or exactions that the protégés or citizens of cities "given to a god" enjoyed, as in Ezra 7:23 ff. This meets us in every cuneiform *kudurru*, or "donation"-deed. A slave becomes free if he reaches the Holy Land, say some rabbins. But such a principle produces ethnic mingling again by attracting a multitude of runaway slaves. But this is only the ancient world-wide principle that any one becomes free from all secular claims so long as he remains in the sacred tract. A debt cannot be exacted from him. An impecunious Kafir to-day can cancel his debts by turning Moslem. We have cuneiform letters asking who is to pay the debts of certain persons

[30] Rodkinson IX, Maccoth, pp. 18-22. For interference by popular protest see I Samuel 14:38-45. This ancient mob rescued instead of destroying.

[31] Reclus, *Africa*, IV, 355.

[32] Rodkinson, IX, 34, 42.

who have been presented to a god. But this again means ethnic mingling by attracting bankrupts and runaway debtors, like David's Adullamites (1 Samuel 22:1 f.). A slave to-day attains his freedom if he reaches the shrine of Sheikh Saad or attains freedom by being dedicated to Sheikh Saad.[33] This institution appears in Deuteronomy 23:15. It was simply a bid for the runaway slaves of all lands, and furthered the ethnic promiscuity of Yahwist asylum centers. It was a form of theft. To-day any slave in Morocco, if dissatisfied with his master, can take refuge in a mosque, and thus compel sale of himself to another—perhaps to the mosque on its own terms. Asylum is made a source of revenue. As stated, all persons thus escaping to, or donated to, or donating themselves to a sanctuary are very insistent about their exemptions. The Babylonians in a letter to Ashur-bani-pal complained that a "lordship-levy" (*bêltu*) has been imposed upon them, in violation of their charter of exemptions. The Assyrian monarch, fully equipped for technical fencing, replies that the levy was not a *bêltu,* asserting his lordship; it was *kurbanu,* a "gift to the god."[34] This recalls Henry Tudor's "benevolences" from the barons. This *kurbanu* is the *corban* of Mark 7:11. Vast numbers of Jews had been "set free unto God," or had dedicated themselves and their property to God; and on this ground they claimed exemption from all previous social duties, and from all taxes, as in Ezra 7:24. Some boast an immemorial status of this sort, as in John 8:33. The vast multitude of *nethînîm* or "donated ones" were not those who precipitated a catastrophic protest against Roman taxation. If you have been "given to God," said Jesus, pay his dues also! (Luke 20:21 ff.). The multitude oppressed by this tax-free aristocracy who were "given to God"—the multitude upon whom all imposts fell were they who finally burst into a "French Revolution."[35]

The relation of the asylum-city to commerce must be remembered. Its geographical position might be such that commercial necessities operated to preserve its sanctity. Ramoth Gilead, to control which Israel and Damascus warred so long and where Ahab lost his life, is an illustration. Its position made it the most important commercial center between Damascus and the Red Sea: each would-be empire near by wished to control it. As a city of refuge (Deuteronomy 4:43, Joshua 20:8, 21:38) it became Gerasa in Greek times.[36] And this name is probably the familiar Hebrew

[33] Oliphant, *Land of Gilead,* p. 81.
[34] Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters,* No. 301.
[35] Wallis, *Sociological Study of the Bible,* pp. 220-24.
[36] Dalman thinks the original Ramoth-Gilead was eighteen miles north, at El-Husn.

garash, to expel or banish: the "city of fugitives." In lower Babylonia, "the Sea-Land," the restoration of asylum-cities plundered by foreign invaders is told by king after king. For the Sea-Land was the port of entry for all the coastal trade, from the Red Sea shores around Arabia and South Persia to the coasts of India and Malaysia. As already shown, Palestinian traders were in Malaysia at least 700 B.C. Tiglath-pileser III says that Merodach-baladan, king of the Sea-Land, brought "gold—the dust of his land—in abundance: vessels of gold, precious stones, products of the sea [pearls?], beams of *ushu*-wood, *ellutu*-wood, particolored clothing, spices of all kinds." These are not products of the marsh-lands, but imports. Above has been cited Babylon's declaration that it was "a gathering out of all lands: it is twenty lands in one." But so was every commercial city near the head of the Persian Gulf. There had to be absolute security for merchants, or there would be no foreign traders. Commerce made such asylum-cities cosmopolitan, and urged the maintenance of their asylum-character. And if of forty-eight Levitical cities in Palestine only six held their asylum character in later times—still later only three—it seems that those most important commercially survived. It will be conceded that commerce made Israelite asylum-cities centers of Israelite intermarriage with many peoples.

The necessity of defining the limits of asylum territory is recognized in all lands where this primitive social institution is known. The cuneiform records of ancient kings tell of many royal fixings of bounds. Not a few necessities sprang from the quarrels of neighbor asylum-cities. As various kinds of property became the god's when brought within those bounds, great temples could be great cattle-thieves, claiming any cattle that might stray within their boundaries. An agreement that all white sheep shall be Aramaean, all others Israelite, could be a rogue's opportunity (Genesis 30:31 ff.). In the Old Testament the word *migrashîm* in connection with Levitical cities is translated "suburbs" in Leviticus 25:34, Numbers 35:2-5, Joshua 21:11-42. But the word *garash,* as stated above, means "expel or banish": so the *migrashîm* of the Levitical cities are the limits within which no fugitive might be molested. In 1 Chronicles 13:2 "the priests and Levites are in the strongholds of *migrashîm,*" which in 2 Samuel 6:2 is "the Baalim of Judah" in the district of the Levitical city Beth-Shemesh of Joshua 20:16. Since the ark and its altar constituted an asylum, the phrase "strongholds of *migrashîm*" certainly refers to "fugitives." All the Levitical cities having such defined tracts

around them means that they were all old baalîm-sanctuaries when Israelites wandered into the land. So in Ezekiel 45:2, 48:15-17, around the sanctuary-city is to be a tract for the *môshab* and *migrash:* the temporary resident and the refugee. In 2 Samuel 9:12 any *môshab* on Ziba's lands is the servant and protégé of the last of the house of Saul.

With this multitude of ancient sanctuary-cities, each the center of a tiny baalist township, no unified, centralized state was reconcilable. The congregationalism of later Judaism has been repeatedly mentioned. The modern Jewish scholars emphasize the fact. One of the foremost, Herbert Loewe, writes, "Judaism has never liked centralization of authority; certainly not since the Diaspora; and it has flourished by reason of local autonomy in religious spheres."[37] But the source of this appears in the ancient baalist asylum. Every such community knew that a king with a vision of a unified state was directly in conflict with its own pretensions, and every would-be empire-builder knew these sanctuary-cities were a chief obstacle: each one giving asylum to the criminals escaped from another; each local god compelled to go to war sometimes to make some other god harbor a little less crime and sedition. Never in ancient Israel was there any semblance of the political and social unity of a modern Anglo-Saxon state. Clinging to an ancient petty-community-self-assertion, Judaism has produced a host of brilliant agents for Gentile empires and kingdoms and organizations without ever attaining a similar unity for itself.

To recognize that the asylum-city is not an Israelite invention, but is found in various stages of a development among primitive peoples, extending back into an immemorial past is of first importance for the general reader.[38] For example, Yahwist Israelites introduced the asylum among the Agau of Abyssinia, and later among the immigrant Habesh, and the institution survives in Christian Abyssinia. The Abouna is the Christian patriarch; the Negus asserts his political preëminence, but there is a balancing power to both in the *queddam,* or "cities of refuge." Every church is a *beit kidana,* or "House of Protection," as any altar or high-place was in ancient Palestine. Each local monastery or refuge-town has its own *alaka,* the "high-priest" of the refuge-

[37] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* VII, 604b.

[38] See Hellwig, *Das Asylrecht der Naturvölker,* Stuttgart, 1903, and "Asylum" in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics;* and Godbey, "The Semitic City of Refugee," in *Monist,* Oct. 1905; and Montet, "Le Culte des Saints dans l'Islam," in *Hibbert Journal,* July 1909.

cities of the Old Testament. There is also a Grand Prior or Etchegué of the monastic orders at Debra Libanos (Libân sanctuary). But the *alakas* are the real rulers of the country, the actual administrators of justice, the final courts of appeal. Both sides have to respect their sanctity in times of factional war.[39] Such is the asylum-system that ancient Israelites brought into Abyssinia. It illustrates the self-assertion of ancient baalist sanctuaries.

It should be said that the right of asylum theoretically belongs to all Oriental sanctuaries (cf. the *kidinûtu* of the cuneiform). Any *wêlî,* if but a mere cairn, can protect any property left there. Ezekiel, chapter 6, depicts high-places filled with corpses of those who sought refuge there in vain. Our immediate interest is with the fact that protégés of such sanctuary might be aliens who had fled there, or been placed there as "set free to the sanctuary," or they might be disowned or homeless children, or they might be widows self-devoted who lived upon its bounty. The term *levî* would apply equally well to any of them. So when we find Exodus 12:48 including "the proselyte within thy gates," and see "Levite within thy gates" the parallel in Deuteronomy 12:18, it is plain that any proselyte may be a Levite. Then examining the more detailed Deuteronomy 14:26, 29; 16:11, 14, we may fairly conclude that the term *levî* here includes all three classes, and that we are to translate: "the Levite within thy gates; even the proselyte, the fatherless and the widow." None had any right to share in community lands; all might be protégés of some Levitical city. A little further attention is necessary to the ethnic commingling resultant from these three destitute classes.

[39] G. Bertin, *La Grande Encyclopédie,* "Abyssinie"; Harris, *Adventures in Africa,* p. 268.

CHAPTER XIX

Captivity, Adoption, and Slavery

That Yahwism and Judaism never spread at any period in history by the natural increase of a segregate race whose purity of descent was commanded and strictly guarded has been clear from the beginning of this study. That some of the cherished ancient institutions steadily operated to produce ethnic commingling is also indisputable. The peculiar hostility of Gentile governments since the early Christian centuries was generally aroused by certain Jewish propagandist institutions. How far did slavery and the custom of adoption interlock with captivity? How did these factors affect the assumed racial purity?

In the *Jewish Tribune,* November 11, 1927, Aaron Blattman presents the case of wayward Jewish girls in New York city. Since there is no home for these girls, they have been regularly committed to Protestant or Catholic institutions. The total is many thousands of cases in the past years. One result has been that they are largely lost to Judaism. This means, that if pure Jewish features were a reality, this process places thousands of Jewish faces in Gentile communities, without giving any excuse for the discovery of traces of lost tribes. We have no Old Testament regulations for the segregation, exclusion, or restriction or harlotry. On the contrary, we find the prophets complaining of the unrestrained promiscuity of certain of the high-place festivals, as in Hosea 4:12-14; Ezekiel 22:9-11. But those Oriental festivals have no ethnic limitations. The harlot of Proverbs 2:16 ff., 7:5 ff. is pictured as a foreigner. The depravity of the foreign woman may be exaggerated; the immediate fact is the acknowledgment of the foreign woman as a prominent element in Israelite life. Modern observers in Tunis, where the Jews are generally much inferior to those further west, in the view of the writer upon Tunis in the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* have reported that the harlots were generally Jewish. One writer estimated their number in the city of Tunis at six thousand, at the time of his visit. He found, upon inquiry, that they were living upon the public, that they might not be an expense to their brothers. We shall see reason to consider this situation a survival of ancient Berber and Moorish customs.

Since there is incessant complaint from the prophets about the condition of the widow and the fatherless, a glance at social institutions is necessary. We have the story of Judah marrying a

Canaanite woman and securing another for a daughter-in-law. When left a widow, and unprovided for, she proceeds to provide for herself (Genesis 38), and the current Palestinian conventions do not condemn her. The widow is shown in the same situation in some parts of northern and western Africa. Benjamin II[1] reports of the Amare or Khums Arabs, near Setif, in Algeria, that they bring to any visitor one of their widows as a companion. The widow has to depend largely upon strangers. In the case of temporary marriages in Persia the women who gather at asylum shrines for that purpose are largely widows or divorcées. A widow may even be forbidden to remarry. She lives on the town, and her earnings go to her brothers.[2] We find in the Code of Hammurabi the disinherited girl: her father has given her no dowry, but has devoted her to some shrine. Poverty was often the prompting motive, as we saw in considering the growth of a levite class. Here the law interferes (section 180) and awards the devotee-girl an equal share with her brothers in any estate left. But her brothers are also the woman's heirs. She does not leave any of that property to any children that she has had. In the making of ancient Levites we saw that the shrine-guardians in North Africa are sometimes the widows of the deceased, and we may recognize the result in case of a "pauper" shrine. Amos taunts Amaziah with the assertion that his widow will yet be a harlot, as a host of other poor widows must have been (Amos 7:17). We have an illustration of a widow devoting herself to a shrine in the story of Anna of the tribe of Asher in Luke 2:36 ff. Such widow devotees formed an important element in the early Christian church; and the contrast between their behavior and that of the widows at pagan sanctuaries is sometimes sharply stated. Our immediate interest is with the fact that the licentiousness resulting from the defective social system complained of by the prophets, again makes impossible the pure ethnic strain so often assumed.

As for the children of such promiscuity, their status appears in the story of Jephthah (Judges 11:1-3), whose mother was probably a foreigner also. It is in the above-cited section of the Code of Hammurabi. It is apparent all over the Orient to-day. In Persia *haram-zadé* is one regular term for "brigand, rascal, petty beggar, or thief." But this Semito-Iranic compound means "son of a devotee." Jephthah became the *gibbôr* of a new eponym-clan, though he had no posterity. His story shows one of the ways in which new clans continually spring up in the East; other

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

[2] Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 218.

"empty" or penniless men flock to such a capable leader; a new powerful clan of such mixed bloods takes its place in the corporate Israel. But we recognize that the passionate plea of the prophets for the fatherless does not mean the legitimate orphan merely; it envisions a multitude of waifs and strays begotten of the ethnic promiscuity of the religious and social institutions of the times. Yet later Israelites might be proud to trace their lineage to Jephthah as a legitimate Gileadite, or to Rahab the non-Israelite harlot. What romances she has mothered!

And here we must remember the outstanding historical fact of forced promiscuity. There has been no period of Jewish massacre or exceptional oppression that has not meant the violation of Jewish women. Graetz[3] says:

"The Jews of Germany are to be regarded as colonies of Frankish Jews, and such of them as lived in Austrasia, a province subject to the Merovingian kings. . . . From the vast horde of Jewish prisoners, the Vangioni had chosen the most beautiful women, had brought them back to their stations on the shores of the Rhine and the Main, and had compelled them to minister to the satisfaction of their desires. The children thus begotten of Jewish and German parents were brought up by their mothers in the Jewish faith, their fathers not troubling themselves about them. It is these children who are said to have been the founders of the first Jewish communities between Worms and Mayence."

Since Jacobs estimates that during the five centuries from 1000 to 1500 A.D. three hundred and eighty thousand Jews were killed in various Central European massacres, we have there some suggestion of the amount of concomitant violation of Jewish women.

Especially notable has this been in Slavic countries. A favorite Cossack method of extorting money from the Jews has been to capture a large number of prisoners and hold them for ransom. That the women were violated by these savages is understood. The Council of the Four Lands, at its session in 1650, had to take cognizance of the poor women with children born to them of Cossack husbands during captivity, and thus restore order in the family and social life of the Jews.[4] The number of European Jews in the Middle Ages being relatively small, as compared with to-day, such savagery certainly left much Cossack impress upon the physical type of the Russian Jews. Since two-thirds of the Jews of Europe are in this eastern region, the Judaizing of the Turkoman Khazars, and the violent infusion of Cossack, Tartar,

[3] *History of the Jews*, III, 40 f. [4] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, 286.

and Mongol blood in the following centuries made a distinct physical type in local Judaism, blended later with Jews from Germany.

These problems of legitimizing the children of captive Jewish women are paralleled in the Babylonian Talmud. A Boraita attributed to Hillel I runs,

"The inhabitants of Alexandria used to betroth their wives, but at the time they were prepared to go under the bridal canopy other people used to come and take them away: and the sages were about to proclaim their children bastards. Said Hillel I to them: 'Bring me the marriage-contract.' And finding it written there, 'You shall be my wife when you enter the canopy'—therefore the children were not proclaimed as such."[5]

The result of the discussion was that folk-phrase and folk-contracts and folk-custom were pronounced as making a legal and indissoluble marriage even though Jewish sages or *haberîm* had not drawn up or approved the folk-contract.

In this Talmudic record of forced sexual commingling in North Africa, and the rabbinic yielding to folk-phrase and contracts, we certainly have a question of Berber or Moorish proselytes and of ancient North African pagan customs that still survive and influence North African Judaism. The Ouled Naïl are often spoken of as a peculiar tribe. Angus Buchanan in a recent article[6] speaks of them rather as a peculiar feminine guild, spread all through the Sahara. The maidens choose to earn a dowry of gold and silver bangles by prostitution. Some do not marry for years; some not at all. But in such communities is the sentiment that girls should not be formally married till they have proved their worth. Winwoode Reade gives the key to this way of thinking. In parts of West Africa a girl has a much better chance of marriage when she has proved that she can bear children. And Domville-Fife reports of the Hamito-negroid Nubas that when a girl is to be formally married the chief requires her in the presence of the assembly to name all of her youthful lovers. Each of these is then assessed so many cows or goats, and the collection forms the dowry for the bride. This seems the earliest stage of the Hamitic Berber institution that survives in North African Judaism.

A second stage is recognizable in Tunis. Sladen writes:[7]

[5] Rodkinson, vol. vi; Baba Metzia, p. 276.

[6] "Sand," in *Asia*, June 1926, p. 568. Compare Domville-Fife, *Savage Life in the Black Sudan*, p. 97; Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 425.

[7] *Carthage and Tunis*, London, 1906, ii, 539-542.

"The Jews of Tunis have much the same opinion about prostitution as the Japanese. It is common, and they regard with equal approval a girl's adopting the oldest of all professions so as not to be a burden to poor parents. . . . All the prostitutes and nearly all the low dancers of Tunis are Jewesses. . . . For among the poor Jews if a girl cannot get married advantageously when she comes to the age of puberty, she turns her thoughts to prostitution as the other natural occupation for a grown-up woman, and her relatives regard it as praiseworthy that she should mean to relieve them of the responsibility of keeping her. Hence it is that the indecent dances described elsewhere at café-chantants are always performed by Jewesses."

It has been emphasized that these North African Jews in general are not physically distinguishable from the Moors and Berbers around them. This Tunis situation suggests that old institutions survive among Judaized natives.

Another stage was reported over one hundred years ago by the American Captain Riley. Shipwrecked, he lived as prisoner among the desert nomads for a time, and was finally taken to Mogadore for ransom. He could not perceive any difference in appearance between the Moslems and the Jews, and very little in their practices. Deuteronomy 23:12 f. was observed by both. There seemed unrestrained intercourse between lusty "Arabs" and Jewesses. Customs, habits, manners, and appearance were the same. Special dress was prescribed, to distinguish them.[8] Of the morals of Mogadore, he wrote that the great body of the Jews were very poor; Moors entered the Jewish quarter at will and appropriated any woman that pleased them. They might even pay a woman's husband to stand at the door to guard against interruption. Riley observed that the average Mogadore Jew of his time did not seem to object if well paid. Similarly the American trader Jackson, who was in Morocco from 1790 to 1806, ranging from Cape Nun to the Mediterranean, and inland to Timbuktu, records that the regular Moslem formula of announcement of the death of a Jew was *maut bêl kerân,* "a wearer of horns is dead," i.e., a cuckold. The American was not favorably impressed by the Jewish traders of the desert.[9]

These pre-Yahwist (?) ethical standards and social customs throw light upon the Talmudic reference to Alexandrian Judaism. The American view of Mogadore seems essentially the Talmudic estimate of Alexandria. As a whole, it means that North African

[8] Riley's *Narrative,* pp. 344, 377 f.

[9] Jackson, *Morocco,* Philadelphia, 1810, *passim.*

Judaism during more than two thousand years has never been controlled by the ideal of a pure-blooded segregate race.

In the Old Testament, Miriam's song makes the pursuing Egyptians boast, "My lust shall be satisfied upon them" (Exodus 15:9). Deborah has the wise ladies of Sisera's household confident: "have they not divided the prey? to every man a damsel or two!" (Judges 5:30). Lamentations 3:51 says: "Mine eyes are sore with sorrow for all the daughters of my city!" and (4:5) "they that were brought up in scarlet have embraced dunghills," and (5:10), "they ravished women in Zion, and maids in the towns of Judah!" Isaiah 13:16: "their children shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes, their wives ravished." Compare Deuteronomy 28:30, 32. Again, after denouncing the wealthy and callous-souled ladies of Jerusalem, he says:

"Thy men [husbands] shall fall by sword
And thy heroes in battle
And the gates of Zion shall sorrow and sigh
As she sits bereaved on the ground.
On that day shall seven women lay hold
On a single man.
Saying, 'We will buy our own food
And will buy our own clothes,
Only let us be called by your name;
Take away our disgrace'!" (Isaiah 3:25 ff.)

In the Talmud we find the decision that such a betrothal must be considered valid; but such stipulations if made by a man ought to be abolished.[10] He should not be allowed to dictate such terms. Such unfortunate women as Isaiah describes might be the wives of priests: we have the Talmudic prescription that when a city has been sacked, the wives of priests are thereafter forbidden to their husbands.[11] This recalls the taunt flung at John Hyrcanus, that his mother had been a captive, and the taunt flung at Amaziah (Amos 7:17).

An interesting case is that of Mari ben-Rachel. His mother Rachel was captured by a pagan Babylonian named Issur (Jewish pronunciation of Ashshûr), became pregnant by him, and was married to him before the birth of her child, Issur embracing Judaism. Since Issur was a non-Jew when the child was conceived, Jewish law did not recognize that the child was made legitimate by Issur's marriage and conversion. The legal device

[10] Rodkinson, VI; Baba Metzia, p. 247.
[11] *Ibid.*, IX; Aboda Zara, p. 151.

of adoption does not seem to have been considered. So the son was merely the son of Rachel, and was known as Mari ben-Rachel, or as the son or heir of his maternal grandfather Samuel. When he became a rabbi he was Rabbi Mari, also Ra. Shi. (Shemuel). The complications when Issur was near death while Mari was away at school are of vast significance. Issur could not will his fortune of twelve thousand zuz to Mari, for Jewish law declared that Issur had no legitimate son; and anyone who seized Issur's property at the moment of death could retain it. How could the money be secured to Mari? There was much debate, but Babylonian law had an institution of transfer by acknowledgment. A man could draw up before witnesses an acknowledgment that something in his possession belonged to another person, without stating reasons or consideration. So the dying Issur formally acknowledged that the money in his possession really belonged to Mari.[12]

Now this making the legitimacy of an heir turn upon the time or the ceremonial completeness of a proselyte's conversion was full of potential mischief and certain to result in friction in some Gentile communities. It will be noticed again. Here the fact that an immense number of children in the ancient Orient were of their mother's family only warrants the query, Has the term *le'ummîm* been etymologically understood? It is often paired with *'ammîm*. Now an *'amm* is either "grandfather, male ancestor," or the clan descended from or named for such. But what term describes those who claim a woman as eponym, like Zeruiah, David's sister, with her noted sons, Joab, Asahel, and Abishai? *Le'ummîm* must be formed from *'umm*, "mother," and mean "of mothers"; clans with a feminine eponym, instead of a masculine one. In the nature of the case before us, there had to be many such.

But the whole situation reminds us that the deported and colonized Israelites were not always safe, unless they were in military colonies or garrisons. There would be a certain advantage in a bellicose Judaism and sword-propagandism. But the women of the lands about the garrison would be the prey of Jewish soldiery. The Jews in mercantile Alexandria were chartered citizens, and sometimes the dominant commercial element; yet the ruling of Hillel I shows the peril in which the women often were. Nearly a million deportees were glanced at in Chapter II; many of these were no safer than the ravished ones left behind, pictured in Isaiah 3:25 ff.

[12] *Bab. Talmud,* Baba Bathra, 149a; H. S. Linfield, "Jewish and Babylonian Law," in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature,* October, 1919, pp. 58 f.

Comparable to the above German and Cossack cases is the situation shown us by Aristeas. It is proposed that Ptolemy Philadelphus shall set free the Jews enslaved when his father raided Palestine, carrying away one hundred thousand persons. Of these, thirty thousand were not enslaved; they were privileged and highly paid garrison-soldiers and royal guards. The slaves were "those too old or too young for such service, and the women as well"—seized "by the soldiers who claimed them in return for the services they had rendered in action."[13] Of the seventy thousand slaves, a majority would be younger women. Ptolemy proposes to pay ten shekels a head, babies and all, since several years had passed, and there were many babes at the breast. It is estimated that four hundred talents will be sufficient, which means one hundred and twenty thousand persons by this time. The actual amount proved to be six hundred and sixty talents, which means one hundred and ninety-eight thousand persons, babies and all. That is, the original number had been increased by one hundred and eighteen thousand children, born to the enslaved Jewish women. The youthful women must have had two or three children each. And what shall be the status of these, if the mothers return with them to Palestine? "Set free unto God" —shrine-property in older times. What prophet will plead the cause of "the fatherless"? Will Deuteronomy 23:2 be cited against them? Will they become part of "this people that knoweth not the law and are accursed"—"fainting sheep that have no shepherd" (John 7:49; Matthew 9:36)?

A most interesting feature of this story is the fact that Josephus does not show his own anti-Samaritan prejudices in telling it; neither does the Aristeas letter show any distinction between Jews and Samaritans on the part of Ptolemy. Josephus says that when Ptolemy "had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judea [Idumea?] and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near Mount Gerizim, he led them all into Egypt, and settled them there": the Jerusalem people are those thought worthy of garrison duty.[14] And Ptolemy's reply to Eleazar specifies those "whom the Persians had carried captive to Egypt."[15] So this liberation of slaves by Ptolemy includes Idumeans, Samaritans, and some descendants of Palestinians deported by Persians during three centuries preceding. Yet all are Jews for Ptolemy, who cares nothing for the petty sectarian quarrels in Palestine; and Josephus accepts them

[13] Aristeas, 14. [14] *Antiquities,* XII, i. [15] *Ibid.,* XII, ii, 5.

all as Jews, for his laudatory purposes. The inclusion of the descendants of some enslaved by the Persians seems one of the factors that account for the number liberated being much larger than the preliminary estimate. But can one think of a more motley ethnic collection than these mixed Palestinian women with children fathered by the mingled peoples of Egypt—Copts, Aramaeans, Persians, Libyans, Arabs, Greeks, Moors, negroes, etc?

Of the protracted horrors of the Maccabean wars, Josephus[16] tells us that in the beginning ten thousand captives were carried away by Antiochus, and the author of 2 Maccabees (6:4 ff.) pictures the orgies of Aphrodite and Bacchus at Jerusalem; while the Assumption of Moses (8:3) says that "their wives were given to the gods among the Gentiles." Charles points out that the women were evidently presented to the famous groves of Daphne at Antioch. 2 Maccabees 5:24 says that the orders of Apollonius were to seize and sell all the women.

This ubiquitous and immemorial savagery with women makes Ulla say to Judah ben-Ezekiel, "How do we know for certain that we ourselves are not descended from the heathens who violated the maids of Zion at the siege of Jerusalem?"[17] This phase of the inquiry, in short, takes us back over every period of pre-exilic Hebrew history. The same brutality toward women that Aramaeans of Damascus and Ammon used toward Israel (2 Kings 8:12; Amos 1:3, 13) was used by the Israelites also (2 Kings 15:16). All the long periods of occupation of Palestine by Amalekite and Moabite, Ammonite, and Midianite and Mesopotamian in the Book of Judges mean the same treatment of Palestinian women, while Israelite victories in every age mean the same seizure of maids by Israelite victors, and the same problem, in every generation, of the status of hosts of fatherless children. The forcible commingling of Israelite and non-Israelite peoples began with the oppression of Israel in Egypt, continued with their seizure of maids of Midian and Moab and Amorite and Bashan in the wilderness, continued when they invaded Palestine and sacked petty villages (as in Deuteronomy 20:10-15), and has recurred from time to time through the centuries since. We have the terrible rebuke of the ages for those who sought to capitalize ethnic conceit and antipathies and make religion their handmaid. The more loudly racial uniqueness and segregate purity is proclaimed, the more will the claimants be trampled in the mire. The claim is a standing challenge to an incessantly commingling humanity. Still

[16] *Antiquities,* XII, V, 4. [17] Graetz, II, 551.

boasting of unique ethnic purity as the secret and strength of its religion, no people ever lived that had less right to claim it. When Semitic ethnic uniqueness is no longer asserted, anti-Semitic outrages will cease.

We have also to consider the abandonment of children, and their adoption: certainly implicate with the foregoing facts, and with the increase in the ranks of the levitical class. For it is the Oriental woman who vows the first-born to a shrine, as in 1 Samuel 1:9-28; and tens of thousands of first-born were the result of violence toward women. The late claim of purity of priestly descent must mean the growth of a caste-spirit in the levitical order,—devoted children of legitimate birth being arrayed against the illegitimate who were made levites. The latter class is still in the Orient. The practice of adoption includes the slave-born, as in Genesis 16:1 f., 30:3 f., 9 f., as well as the legitimate children of the very poor. Ezekiel pictures the outcast babe and its adoption by a passer-by as familiar features of the life of his time (Ezekiel 16). Lyde reports the practice still current among the Ansairiyeh of the Lebanon mountains. Taken at its best construction, it shows us kindly Israelites adopting Hittite and Amorite waifs, and bringing them up as members of Israelite families. The institution of adoption appears in the story of the birth of Ishmael, and the mother is Egyptian. Moses, on the other hand, is adopted by an Egyptian princess. Thus clans are at times perpetuated by adoption of some foreigner. No objection is recorded. And the Ansairiyeh also shows us the practice of vowing or dedicating a daughter to some shrine. The parents may then commute the dedication for a cash equivalent, failing which the sheikh of the shrine may give the girl in marriage where he will, which generally means to the highest bidder. It does not involve rigid ethnic limitations. This same practice of giving girls to Jewish shrines, to be married as the priests might decide, appears in the Apocryphal Gospels concerning Mary and Joseph. Mary was a consecrated temple-weaver; and the same devotee temple-weavers appear in 2 Kings 23:7, and in various cuneiform inscriptions. As an ancient Palestinian institution it must have involved ethnic intermingling.

Dr. Wolff reported the white Jews of Cochin as far less moral than the black. They lived on their ethnic pride, their ancestry, and heirloom jewelry, and were known to sell their wives or daughters to Europeans, Parsees, or Moslems. As a result, fathers often abandoned their reputed children, as knowing them not really their

own. They had been known to turn their children over to Christians to be baptized and reared as Christians. Here we have offspring of Jewish mothers transferred to Gentile communities. Considering the promiscuity denounced by Hosea 4:12-14, etc., that Philistines were ashamed of the lewdness at Jerusalem (Ezekiel 16:27), that ordeals for jealousy were a feature of priestly activity (Numbers 5:12 ff.), we see that the adoption of the children of Israelite mothers by Gentiles in those days was a factor in ethnic commingling.

Then we have the already mentioned institution of domestic slavery. It should be emphasized at the outset that this was not a product of Yahwism or Judaism. It was a social inheritance from an immemorial past. Neither Jewish nor Christian corporate conscience was yet awakened to the enormity of the institution. One might manumit one's own slaves, or purchase many for the purpose of setting them free. Practical protest did not go farther. Much merit has been claimed for Christians and Jews who ransomed captive fellow Christians and fellow Jews. But here again is but the persistence of ancient social customs. In the Code of Hammurabi, section 32, if any petty officer on a royal errand be captured, he shall be ransomed by his own household or family. If they are unable, then his temple or religious fraternity must ransom him. Failing this, the palace must ransom him. He must not be compelled to sell house or land for his ransom. It will be recognized that the captive may be in the hands of another temple or people of another cult, and that we have here the people of various cults ransoming members who are held as slaves by those of another. The like action by Jew and Christian two to three thousand years later is a traditional social virtue that did not originate with Yahwism.

Then the institution of adoption is an immemorial savage device for increasing the fighting strength of a tribe or clan. An American Indian captive in earlier times often had the choice of death, slavery, or adoption into the captor's tribe. Jackson, trading sixteen years in western Morocco and Sahara (1790-1806), compiled a list of shipwrecks in that time on the coast near Cape Nun. Of the survivors, a small number, about forty, were then living as Moslems or Berbers in nomad tribes. Many of the castaways were killed on landing because they did not understand the seizure by nomads, and offered violent resistance. When the captive understood the nomad customs, he was given opportunity to become a Moslem (or a Jew). If he accepted, he was announced

as adopted by the sheikh of the clan, and was given the sheikh's name; he was a "son" of the family, and was then given a course of religious instruction, and a nomad wife. Captain Riley, shipwrecked later on the same Sahara coast, records his personal experience. An old sheikh, anxious to win him from the Arab who then held him, "called me captain and endeavored to convince me that I had better go with him to the mountains southward, where he had large possessions, and would give me one of his daughters for a wife, and make me a chief of his nation."[18] The institution is familiar to all anthropologists, but commonly ignored by those who write on the history of Jewish social institutions. Savage society offers adoption or death. A more settled society could profitably use slaves. In the Israelite or later Jewish alternatives of slavery or Judaism and adoption is seen the stubborn clinging to ancient savage institutions that were not the product of Yahwism.

Now these ancient pre-Israelite social institutions incessantly infused various ethnic strains into the Yahwist or later Jewish community. We have seen the primitive liturgical or hierodule class of warring Levites recruited from the ranks of foreigners. In Genesis 17:26 f. and Leviticus 25:44 is certainly not new Yahwist prescription but ancient pagan custom. All persons bought from foreigners for slaves are to be circumcised. They become part of the corporate Israel, and are unsalable. Originally an ordinary foreigner did not share the passover feast; the circumcised slave did (Exodus 13:43 f.). But thus a wealthy childless Israelite could found a great clan by purchasing foreign slaves and making them part of his household. He might have no children, yet leave a big family of "Benî-NN," not one of whom was of Israelite blood. So any foreigner bought by a priest becomes a member of the priestly household and entitled to eat of the holy meats (Leviticus 22:11). Actually the cuneiform records show shrines purchasing slaves. Many Palestinian Levites must have been shrine-purchased—or purchased by the resident heads. We have already noticed that Levites are usually spoken of as given to Yahu (in earlier times, given to any "god") in the Old Testament, and sometimes as given to the chief priest of a sanctuary. And we have seen that many records of such purchases of Gentile slaves by Jews of the Dispersion for presentation to a sanctuary are still extant. Such methods were a considerable factor in the spread of Judaism northward through the Khazar kingdom. In the Talmud both male and female slaves become thus members of the Jewish

[18] Riley's *Narrative*, p. 211.

congregation. The present status of the Black Jews of Cochin has been noticed as probably arising from this immemorial practice. But all this means incessant infusion of Gentile blood into the corporate Israel, with no notion of maintaining an ethnically pure Israelite stock.

On the other hand poor Israelites might be sold, or sell themselves, to a foreigner. In 2 Kings 4:1-7, two boys of a prophet's widow are about to be sold as slaves for their father's debts. It is very significant that Elisha here does not rebuke or protest against such a social order. Nehemiah pictures poor Jews selling themselves (Nehemiah 5:1-13). A similar condition is apparent in Jeremiah 34. That they sold themselves to fellow Jews is incidental. Had some foreigners offered better terms, it is a fair inference that the poor would have sold themselves to such. The Kerkuk tablets show us Khabirû folk selling themselves as slaves forever; becoming members of the household.[19] We lack direct evidence of the extent of this practice by the oppressed poor whose cause the prophets championed. But Rab-shakeh's offer of a piece of land to the poor soldiery of Hezekiah, whose Arab allies had deserted, enables us to visualize the general fact that poverty was continually urging Israelites on various terms into foreign lands. There was also Naomi, and her sons in Moab, the sons marrying there; and the woman of Shunem in Philistia (2 Kings 8: 1-6). This was an incessant factor in dispersion.

The status of the slave as shown in the Talmud illustrates the situation. "The more maid-servants, the more lewdness" is a saying attributed to Hillel. But the offspring were apt to fare as badly as Hagar and Ishmael. A priest could have any number of maid-slaves; but their children were bastards. "Any captive girl should be sought in the house of harlots," was a rabbinical saying. All bastards should be excluded from Jerusalem. A beautiful female slave was sent to R. Zadok. He ignored her all night. Why? "I belong to a great family of priests; I will not add bastards to Israel!"[20] The expression includes them in Israel, but as a class the slave-born are outcast. A slave was not a "brother," and could not be counted in making up a quorum for a congregation. But a proselyted slave was, because any proselyte was a brother. So the unproselyted or heathen slave was essentially a *mushkênu,* rating at half the value of a freeman, if slain, as a Babylonian *mushkênu* did.[21] These few Talmudic citations show

[19] Chiera and Speiser, *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* March 1927.

[20] Rodkinson, v: Aboth 36, 50, 60, 63.

[21] Rodkinson, v: Baba Kama 19; Cohen, Berakot, VII, 1, 2, 47b, p. 306.

that the female slave in the Judaized family of the period was assumed to be at the whim of her owner. For the point before us, it meant that an immense amount of the Jewish blood of the period was being poured into the veins of children of Gentile mothers; and these children of slave-mothers were not accounted as Jews. The female slave in a Jewish family, if not proselyted, was in much the same legal position as the Jewish slave in a Gentile family. And the legitimacy of the children of a proselyted slave might turn upon a ceremonial detail. Thus R. Shimi ben Hyya said that when one bought slaves from heathen and circumcised them but did not give them the ceremonial lavation, or baptism, they were still unclean. So were the acquired children of a female slave. And R. Hyya ben Abba and R. Johanan ruled that when Jewesses were pregnant from heathen who had been circumcised yet not ceremonially bathed, the children were bastards.[22]

Now this is very important: it bears upon the noted hostility to Jewish proselyting that appears for centuries in Gentile legislation. A Gentile who accepted Judaism to win some fair Jewess might see his children later pronounced bastard and disinherited because of some alleged omission in his ceremonial induction into Judaism. No Christian or Gentile court would tolerate such a contention. So also where Christian children were bought and circumcised, the contention might be later set up that they had never been "full Jews," and had no legal rights as such; and if the omitted ceremonies were eventually performed, they were not retroactive, as we have seen in modern times in the case of the Cochin Jews. But whether children were accounted legitimate or illegitimate, the immediate point for us is that the Jewish institutions and the Gentile prohibitions meant an incessant commingling of Jewish and Gentile blood.

The Jews of later times remained the principal slave dealers for long periods, as well as great slave-holders. Since they circumcised all slaves that especially pleased them and added them to their corporate Judaism, and since kindly treatment by a Jewish owner made many Gentile slaves eager to be Judaized to avoid being sold by him, the subject of Judaized slaves gave the early Christian church much annoyance. Judaism's success in winning converts from Christianity was such that the Council of Elvira (306 A.D.) forbade Christians eating with Jews, or intermarrying with them. Constantine, as already noticed in considering the Samaritans, enacted a law forbidding Jews and Samaritans to take

[22] Rodkinson, IX: Aboda Zara, pp. 125 f., 129 f.

vengeance upon those who apostatized from them. Deuteronomy 13 and the like prescription in the Mishnah were defied: Jews who ventured to stone such apostates were to be burned to death; while any who became proselytes to Judaism or attended their conventicles suffered confiscation of property by the Christians; and if Jews bought slaves from other cults, they were immediately emancipated.[23] The emperor Constantius (339 A.D.) forbade Jews marrying Christian women, or circumcising slaves, on pain of death. The slaves might be small children, easily purchasable from poor parents or soldier-captors, and the more easily brought up as Jews. The imperial prohibition is an acknowledgment of the success of Jewish proselyting methods.

A glance at the total disorganization of Roman empire society at this time is essential. The irruptions of the barbarians crowd the years from 350 to 500 A.D. All ancient social institutions went to pieces. Jews were scattered through western and northwestern Europe, and whoever won in the struggle, the Jewish trader with trinkets for the barbarian or homely tools for practical purposes was ready to purchase for a trifle as slaves the captives otherwise likely to be massacred as an encumbrance. Immense wealth could in like manner be bought from the invading savages for a few trifles. Details are not recorded, but we find various Jewish communities becoming wealthy while the ancient social order was being swept away. The traffic in slaves was immense, and largely in the hands of Jews. Christian families of culture, wealth, and noble rank one year might be captives, sold as slaves to Jews the next year. It was a parallel to the Maccabean times, when slave-dealers followed the Seleucid armies to purchase captured Jews—a reproduction of the conditions of oriental warfare from time immemorial.

So imperial legislation and ecclesiastical denunciations put the situation before us incessantly. Honorius followed Constantine with a law forbidding Jews to proselyte their Christian slaves, but making no protest against their holding such. Theodosius II (439 A.D.) decreed that any Jews or Samaritans who became Christians should not be disinherited. Samaritans were notoriously active as slave dealers, and the legislation indicated rival propagandist activities.[24] After the barbaric wars had ended the Western Roman Empire, the third Council of Orleans (540 A.D.) announced that no slave should be forced to do anything incom-

[23] Codex Theodosianus, XVI, 8, 1:10-2. [24] Codex Theod. XVI, 8, 28.

patible with his religion, and in case of violence he could seek asylum in a church, the clergy of which were authorized to purchase him from his master. The fourth Council next year went further, authorizing any such slave to take asylum with any Christian, who should then redeem him from his master. It further announced that any Jew who made a proselyte to Judaism, or took a Christian slave to himself, or by promise of freedom bribed a Christian to become a Jew, thereby lost his property in said slave. This was a bit of council stupidity, since such Judaised slaves were already free. The first council of Maçon (582 A.D.) decided that the usages of war must be respected, and that the property right of every Jew who had bought a Christian slave must be respected, but that every Christian slave was redeemable from a Jew for twelve solidi—yet the redemptor might hold such as his own slave! These voices of the councils found no response in the practice of the laity, or even of the clergy. They were mere benevolent gestures. But the expressions show the incessant infusion of various ethnic elements into the Judaism of the time, through the institution of slavery.[25]

The fourth council of Toledo (633 A.D.) recognized the institution of slave-dealing as rampant everywhere. The tenth, in 655, declared that the clergy, in defiance of the law, were selling Christians as slaves to Jews and heathen. More specifically, it said again, "Even many of the clergy, a fact monstrous and unutterable, pursue an execrable commerce with the ungodly, and do not hesitate to sell to them Christian slaves, and thus give them up to be converted to Judaism."[26]

Gregory the Great (590-604) strongly protested against Christians being sold as slaves to the Jews; but he willingly conceded to the Jews the privilege of importing all the slaves they could from heathen lands. Better to be Jews than to be heathen, he thought. He had no objections to the slave-trade as such. Christian Roman slave-dealers might prosper and welcome. But proselyting their slaves gave the Jews of Rome an unfair advantage in the matter of increase. So Gregory even went the length of seizing and confiscating some slaves of the Jews. But bribes to Roman officials, or submission to pretended baptisms put Jewish slave-dealers on an equality with Christian dealers; and proselyting of Christians continued.[27] In a letter to Fortunatus Gregory orders corporal punishment for a Jew who has forced or bribed his Christian

[25] Milman, *History of the Jews*, III, 169-74.
[26] Milman, III, 213.
[27] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, x, 448.

slaves to worship at a Jewish altar; the slaves are to be set free. Next year he wrote Vanantius in Tuscany that Christian slaves were to be accounted attached to the soil, and not to be removed to and fro at the whim of Jewish owners. Any Jewish landholder who did such things was to lose his land as well as his slaves. Any slave who desired to become a Christian became free, if he had been in the Jew's possession more than three months. But as the slave might also become free by accepting Judaism, the Pope's prescription could not be very effective. Gregory wrote to Thierri and Theodebert, kings of the Franks, and to queen Brunehaut, expressing surprise that Jews in their dominions held Christian slaves and had a regular traffic in them. Another letter to Bishop Leo, of Catania, in Sicily, complains that the Samaritans there purchase and circumcise heathen slaves. Leo is to confiscate the slaves to the church (!) and punish the Samaritans.[28] But, as above stated, any Jew might escape the papal disapproval by a nominal acceptance of Christianity. As a Christian slave-dealer, nothing could be said against him. The fervor and variety of Gregory's utterances prove that the problem was a very large one, and that Judaism was incessantly adding to its ethnic commingling.

We can not review all the councils. Some were peculiarly savage: the twelfth of Toledo, the worst of all. The protest of Gregory had some effect in France. Clotaire II (615) enounced that Jews could not hold any military or civil post that gave them command over Christians. But this proved only a gesture. The Council of Rheims (627) annulled all bargains that Jews might make for the purchase of Christian slaves. Prospective prisoners of war seem in mind. And the Council of Chalons-sur-Marne ruled that Jews could not sell Christian slaves out of the kingdom: a parallel to some American white-slave legislation.

With the Moorish conquest of Spain, a new market was created and a new impetus given to the Jewish traffic. The Khazar Jewish kingdom was then flourishing, with a consequent large supply of pagan slaves for sale. Thus Dozy pictures the new situation:

"Originally the name 'slave' was applied by the Germanic peoples to all their captives taken in the wars against the Slavic nations, whom they sold to the Saracens. Eventually the term 'slaves' included a throng of people of various stocks thus captured and sold. So the Saracens finally called all foreign members of harem or army by this name, whatever their origin. According to the express testimony of Ibn Haukal, an Arabian traveller of the tenth

[28] Milman, III, 174-76.

century, the slaves which the Caliph of Spain had in his service included Galicians, Franks [French and Germans], Lombards, Calabrians, and natives of the north coasts of the Black Sea. Some were persons captured by Andalusian pirates; others were bought in the markets of Italy: for the Jews, who speculated in the misery of the peoples, bought children of both sexes and took them to the seaports to which Greek and Venetian ships came, to transport them and sell them to the Saracens. Others, destined for harem-service as eunuchs, came from France, where large establishments were maintained by the Jews for the production of eunuchs. The one at Verdun was especially notorious, and there were others in the south.

"Since most of the captives were very young when brought to Spain, they readily accepted the religion, language, and customs of their masters. Many received a careful education, so that they later acquired libraries, or wrote poetry. These learned slaves were so numerous that one of them, a certain Habib, compiled a volume of their poems and adventures."

The slaves were very numerous in army and court, especially under Abd-er-Rahman III, who had 3750, 6087, 13,750 at different times: to some of whom he entrusted the highest official stations; and the whole body of them he used as an offset to the pretensions of the Arab aristocracy, who were compelled to bow before them.[29] This is the policy of ancient Assyrian kings over again.

The incursions of the Northmen next made a great opportunity for Jewish slave-dealers: a fact overlooked by many Jewish writers, but incontestably evidenced. A recent student of the Orient writes,

"Ibn Khordadbeh describes the routes taken by Jewish slave-dealers to Bagdad and India. Many European girls were thus transported to Eastern harems, either by the Red Sea, by Aleppo and the Euphrates, and by Syria to Bagdad, through Arabia on to India. But the girls, it is certain, never passed the Persians or Arabs. In Denmark, where northern slave girls were purchased, gold dinars of Bagdad have been found in plenty. Warsae says that the immense quantity of Arab coins found recently on the Baltic coast and in England, etc., shows that a most extensive trade with Arabia must have taken place in the eighth to the tenth centuries of our era. In the Stockholm Museum there are more than 20,000 coins minted in about seventy towns in the north and east of the Arab empire, and more than three-fourths were struck in the ninth and tenth centuries. Gothland in particular appears to have been the great slave market, and the seat of a very lively

[29] R. Dozy, *Geschichte der Mauren in Spanien,* II, 38 f.

trade. The road generally taken by the Arab traders with their white slaves, after leaving Visby, was along the Russian rivers to the Caspian Sea and Bagdad. The extraordinary activity of this traffic is proved by the mention of it in the Sagas, and in Arab literature. The Vikings were not only warriors: but they were also active traders, and brought their own and the Arab wares in their vessels to England."[30]

This slave-traffic of the Jews was not affected by all the preceding pronunciamentos of Christian rulers and councils.[31] With regard to the traffic in the Moorish kingdom of Spain, Abrahams observes that the Spanish Jews themselves were the heaviest dealers. They were best acquainted with the local demand. They supplied the Caliphs of Andalusia with all needed eunuchs and guardsmen: the same position of royal trust and antagonism to the native population in which we have seen Jewish guards in the Dispersion period. For the like reasons, the Jewish slave traders described by Ibn Khordadbeh as catering to the markets of the Bagdad Caliphate, must have been Jews of Babylonia and northern Syria. Abrahams thinks that not many male slaves were Judaized; circumcision was always an objection. But female slaves were converted in considerable numbers, for they were always anxious to find a kindly permanent home. Very young slaves were brought in great numbers, treated as the children of the family, and they took the family name when married. Such girls generally became Jewesses as soon as purchased. Thus a large infusion of various bloods into Jewish families was continually going on, both in the Moorish kingdom in Spain, and in the lands of the Bagdad Caliphate. In Moslem lands the last act of a dying Jew was frequently the manumission of his slaves. Sometimes they were life-servants to his widow, and free at her death. Such freedmen, as members of the Jewish community, sometimes took the name of their former owners, as did negroes in America. Again it is to be noticed

[30] Col. S. B. Miles, *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf,* II, 368. Impoverished English of the time sold their children to the sea-robbers, or gave them instead of the cash demanded. The Isle of Thanet was one slave-depot; Baldwin, earl of Flanders, was one of largest traffickers of the time. "The mother of Earl Godwin was a regular dealer in slaves, buying and selling them, and selecting assortments of beautiful girls for exportation to Denmark." Her death by lightning the populace viewed as a divine judgement on the titled procuress. "In those ages parents exposed their children for sale in the market place like cattle." Chiefs were charged with selling for prostitution their concubine captives with their own unborn children. Southey, *Naval History of England,* p. 120.

[31] Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages,* pp. 98 ff.

that the expression "Benî" or "sons" of so-and-so never tells anything certain of Jewish ancestry.

One interesting feature was that in Moslem lands in general the Jews could buy only Christian or pagan slaves, while Christian lands were allowing only the Judaizing of Moslem and pagans. So Moslem and Christian promoted the Judaizing of each other! But this later slavery in Judaism again makes a pure-blooded Jewish race a fiction of the imagination.

In Western Europe especially the relationship between Jews and the Christian populace was in general tolerably cordial, and intermarriages were common. The denunciations of the church Councils were expressive of their inability to control the situation. The Council of Chalcedon spoke against intermarriage in 388 A.D. In the West the third Aurelian Council denounced confiscation and excommunication against those intermarrying with Jews—a measure pretty certain to drive many headlong into the arms of Jewish friends. The Council of Toledo (589 A.D) forbade Jews to have Christian wives. Many such prohibitions by church and state are on record. Graetz records that in Hungary many thousands were lost to the Jews in a few years through intermarriage and consequent proselyting, the populace being indifferent to the anathemas of the church and the prohibitions of the state.[32] Christian parents often sold children to the Jews, and many sold themselves. Thus slavery and adoption regularly interlock, where Judaizing is in question. Spain, Portugal, and Gaul were also centers of the same mingling for more than a thousand years. No prohibitions were effective.[33]

How rapidly slavery multiplied any eponym-clan may be briefly illustrated. The Abram-clan in Genesis 14:14 musters 318 armed retainers "born in his own house"; in verse 15, they are *'abadav,* "his servants": and one of these is the prospective heir to the chieftainship (15:3). These "servants" are evidently those "born in his house"[34] in Genesis 17:23-27, and circumcised along with others "bought with his money" when Ishmael was circumcised. The clan begins as a motley assembly of proselyted slaves: not a very promising prospect for a pure-blooded Israel. Compare with this the Wakalindi rulers of Usambara, in East Africa, north and northwest from Mombasa. Next the sea are the Wabondeis or lowlanders. Thirty miles inland is a range of mountains; two more parallel, till fifty miles from the coast. These three ranges

[32] *History of the Jews,* III, 521.

[33] Graetz, III, 36, 44 ff., 527, 546. For modern mixed marriages, see Fishberg, pp. 195 ff.

[34] In Arab speech these are mamelukes.

are inhabited by the Wasambara, among whom the black Usambara Jews are numbered. The fourth range, sixty miles from the sea, is the stronghold of the Wakalindi, a division of the Wachaga to the north—a much Hamitized folk, certainly not pure negro. They claim descent from one mighty hunter, Mkande, who settled on the range, and in five generations his "sons" had become the most powerful tribe and ruled the whole country. They had increased their numbers by adopting favorite slaves. As for polygamy, old Kimweri, who died in 1868, had a hundred sons and an unknown number of daughters, which leaves Gideon with his seventy sons hopelessly behind. In writing orders to subordinate tribes, these Wakalindi rulers wrote as "Sons of Mkànde," as certain folk a little later than Abram's motley slave-clan called themselves "sons of Israel."[35]

Josephus shows us a Jewish community or colony founded by Herod the tetrarch at Tiberias; foreigners, Galileans, and many compelled by Herod to emigrate from points in his dominion formed part of its population. And poor people of all regions were welcomed; and vast numbers of slaves liberated by him and provided with good houses, were made house-holders of the town.[36] The motley citizenship promptly acquires the necessary Sabbath-scruples; and priest Josephus finds the administrative problem a considerable one, in which no question of purity of descent can be decisive.[37] Within a hundred years this unclean slave-colony city became the seat of the high-priest's successor, the Patriarch of western or Roman Empire Judaism. His council of apostles or legates, through whom he supervised each western synagogue continually, assembled there. The changed viewpoint illustrates the fact that all ancient Jewish proscriptive prejudices do not prove more than partisan or contemporary states of feeling. And this Tiberias, of alien and slave-colony population, of impure antecedents, has remained grouped through later times with Safed, Hebron, and Jerusalem as one of the four holy cities of Palestine. Josephus does not tell us how Herod constituted the "senate" of his new Jewish town. There is certainly no ground for assuming that it was composed of a few who produced records to establish pure Israelite ancestry. But the actual operation of the ancient oriental institutions of slavery and adoption into family or community or clan or tribe, and their effect upon the fiction of a pure-blooded Israel has been sufficiently illustrated.

[35] Rev. J. P. Farley, "The Usambara Country in East Africa," in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, February, 1879.
[36] *Antiquities*, XVIII, ii, 3. [37] *Life*, 32-35, 53-64.

CHAPTER XX

Badges

Some modern anthropologists have endeavored to determine the "typical Jewish face" by the composite photograph method. The *Jewish Encyclopedia* has two such studies, made in New York and London. The method is unscientific because unhistorical. It is prompted by the same mistaken prepossession of Jewish ethnic singularity that animates the lost-tribes hunter. It would be just as scientific to make a composite photograph of the Falashas, or one of the Judaized Berber peoples of North Africa, or of the Black Jews of Cochin, or of the mountaineers of the Caucasus, and then to publish such as "the typical Jew." The method ignores all the long array of outstanding facts of the spiritual and political conquests made by Yahwism and Judaism among many peoples, and the prescriptions for incorporating thousands of foreigners and captives into the corporate Israel, and it ignores intelligent Judaism's pride in these historic achievements. With these facts kept in mind, the composite photograph method has no justification.

It should be said that the notion of a distinctive Jewish face is a very recent obsession. Yet it haunts some contributors to the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* who seek to justify that other almost immemorial obsession, that those who adhere to some beliefs and customs attributed to a traditional ancestor must be genealogically descended from him, and constitute a segregate ethnic type, a peculiar, chosen people. These Jewish writers can find a Jewish type maintained in purity in a group of ordinary Chinese. Some modern ethnologists[1] are sure they recognize "the Jewish type" unchanged, from the bas-reliefs and other monuments of 2,500 years ago down to the present time. This simply begs the whole question. There is not a single bas-relief so far of any historic character known to be of Yahwist or Jewish faith. The many reliefs of ancient Asiatics, Aramaeans, or Arabs simply show us ethnic types among which Yahwism may have gained adherents. More than a score of Aramaic-speaking peoples are scattered from the Persian gulf up the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, through three thousand years of ancient records. They varied widely in culture and in the extent of their commingling with contiguous peoples of various stocks. We cannot tell from which of these long-hybridized Aramaic-speaking peoples Abram sprang. There

[1] E.g., Nott and Gliddon, *The Types of Mankind,* Philadelphia, 1854.

is not a single fact upon which to base an assertion that distinctively Jewish faces are portrayed on ancient monuments.

Dr. Fishberg succinctly replies that the laws existing from early times requiring all Jews to wear distinctive badges are a complete answer. There has been no historic people among whom a Jew could be recognized by his different face. There is no distinctively "Jewish type," but a host of widely-differing local types of Jews. The notion of a distinctively Jewish face is really an American obsession. It could not originate in the lands that through centuries required Jews to wear badges for the purpose of distinction.

Occasionally there has appeared in print some Jewish complaint of the opprobrium or indignity of the ancient and mediaeval prescriptions of the badges Jews had to wear. But such writers advertise their lack of acquaintance with general history and their misconceptions of Jewish history. So long as men have been on the earth, little social groups have found it necessary to know friends from foes. A record of all the known distinctive marks adopted voluntarily by savage peoples would fill volumes. Modes of cutting the hair and tattooed signs are common to all the ancient world. Streaks of paint or peculiarities in clothing have always been in favor, because easily discarded upon urgent occasion. Distinctions in rank are made in the same way, and are found all the way from savage plumes and special furs to clan-plaids and tartans, and modern military uniforms. Especially favored at times are those not readily recognized at a glance. O'Donovan, on a diplomatic mission to the Turkomans of the Merv oasis in 1880, wrote:

"Personally I never could discover the difference between them, but the Turkomans had no difficulty in telling to what clan a man belonged at first sight. On asking how the distinction was marked —for to my eye there was nothing in the dress, like the Highland tartan colours, to distinguish the wearers—a native pointed out that a peculiar way of knotting the sash and wearing the hat always indicated a member of the Sultan Aziz clan, a peculiar tie of the sword-belt one of the Burkoz, and other minute points of dress the members of the other clans. My eye could never be sufficiently trained to tell a man's clan at first sight by the cock of his hat, or the tie of his sash; but my Turkoman friends never erred in the matter, which is a somewhat important one in their society."[2]

This succinctly states the reason for legislation upon the subject. In all ancient oriental associations distinctions by which the

[2] *The Merv Oasis*, II, 160 f.

members might know each other were felt to be necessary. The general public felt that the members should be instantly recognizable by non-members, especially if the association was one comprising dangerous fanatics. Jewish distinctions in clothing during the Middle Ages are an interesting study. These distinctions were largely of Jewish devising: they could not even recognize each other by any physical peculiarities. For the present point, it is to be repeated that all prescriptions made for Jewish costume were made because a Jewish race, recognizable by physiognomy, did not exist.

As soon as Mohammed parted company with the Jews or Judaized Arabs about him, as soon as large numbers of Jews flocked to the star and crescent of Islam, the necessity for distinctive badges was recognized by Jew and Moslem. By the pact with Omar, 640 A.D., Jews were required to wear a yellow seam in their garments to distinguish them. In 1005, the Jews of Egypt were ordered to wear badges on their coats; in 1301, yellow turbans. The yellow turban was once imposed on every Bagdad Jewess; to-day she is allowed a blue gown and yellow shoes, such as Turkish ladies usually wear.[3] Similar laws exist in Persia and Morocco to-day. Sephardic Jews at Jerusalem are still wearing the black turban imposed upon them by the laws of the mad Moorish Caliph Hakem, while the Samaritans still wear a crimson turban.[4] Dr. Wolff found the Jews of Bokhara compelled to wear a mark, that no Moslem might give them a salute.[5] The Caliphs of Bagdad once made all their subjects wear distinctive clothes.[6] The Caliph Mutawakkil, 846 A.D., decreed that Jews and Christians must wear yellow, never white. If they rode, they could use only wooden stirrups.[7] Later, badges were reversed. In Fletcher's day, yellow was the characteristic of dominant classes, while Christians and Jews had to wear dark purple or black.[8] Coarse yellow shoes are the prerogative of the Wahaby Puritan, the heterodox may not wear them.[9]

But the necessity for such distinctions did not originate with the rise of Islam. The use of them is found in the Talmud. The cutting of badges or tattooing is one of the things that could not be done on the Sabbath-day. But distinctive tattooings were neces-

[3] Banks, *Bismya,* p. 80.
[4] Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine,* II, 241, 294.
[5] *Mission to Bokhara,* p. 11.
[6] Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise,* p. 123.
[7] *Notes and Queries,* 9th Series, VIII, 521.
[8] *Notes from Nineveh,* p. 43; cf. Van Lennep, *Bible Lands,* pp. 522-742.
[9] Palgrave, p. 397.

sities of paleolithic times. A slave in Jewish Babylonia wore a peculiar hood or had a tag with the owner's name hung upon his neck.[10] It is important as showing that the ancient Babylonian Jew could not be distinguished ethnically from other people around him. They adopted badges by which they might know one another. Blue and purple and scarlet are so prominent in the ancient tabernacle lore that they probably played a part in dress-distinctions. In the case of the Jews of Kaifeng, China, it was observed that the Chinese called them "blue-cap Turks," because they wore a blue head-dress while at prayer, while Mohammedans wore a white one.[11] This was probably a ceremonial of putting one's self under the robe (i.e., protection) of heaven. Josephus declares that the blue swathes on the mitre of the high priest represented the sky.[12] In Abyssinia the blue badge was retained by the Abyssinians who joined the Christian church. Every one must wear the *mateb,* or blue cord, or string of blue beads to ward off the Evil Eye. It assures the protection of Heaven. For Egyptians, blue was for Amen, "The Hidden," God of the blue sky, blue waters, and so on. That forced the Falashas to adopt a new badge. Almost every one wears a white cord around his neck, with charms strung upon it.[13]

A further illustration of badge-distinctions demanded and fixed by the Jews themselves is found among the Cochin Jews. They asked and received the privilege of flowing colored robes to distinguish them from their pagan fellows. As previously stated, their princes were to wear red, the princesses yellow, children green, scholars or clerics white, and those in mourning blue. In a land of castes and possible contacts with the untouchable, it is necessary to know every one's status at a glance. In ancient Palestine each unclean or banned one was recognizable. The Black Jews wore distinctive skull-caps, which they changed for a turban in the synagogue. They put the same cap upon any pagan slaves they owned; but if they sold such slaves to non-Jews, they required them to abandon the use of the Jewish cap.[14] Their choice of blue for mourning, in contrast with Arab and old Egyptian

[10] Rodkinson, I, 109, 210. It means that Jews tagged or branded their slaves just as non-Jews did. For data from the cuneiform showing a great variety of distinctive badges, see Beatrice Allard Brooks, "Some Observations Concerning Ancient Mesopotamian Women" in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature,* April 1924, and "The Babylonian Practice of Marking Slaves," in *Journal of American Oriental Society,* 1922, pp. 80-90. Brands or paint marks upon any part of the body, or jewels, fetters, rings, tags, ribbons attached to any member or to the clothing were in use.

[11] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* IV, 37a.

[12] *Antiquities,* III, vii, 5 f.

[13] Nahoum, p. 74.

[14] Thurston, II, 481, 489.

white, recalls the Yezidî abhorrence of blue, associated with death and the devil.

The same necessity for distinction arose in the early church, since its membership was acquired mainly from among the Jews or Jewish proselytes. We find Tertullian denouncing the Christians of his time who wore the same colors, wreaths, fillets, or flowers that were popular with profligate pagans, and he also abhorred their using the same decorations of doorways on festal occasions. Christians are to leave off notable pagan insignia.[15] So in the same period we have the Jews of Rome adopting badges of their own, and we have Gentile authorities insisting that there be badges. Professor Lanciani, in his *New Tales from Old Rome* has a chapter on "Jewish Memorials in Rome," in which such provisions are included. Both church and state at various times specified the form of distinction. Pope Innocent III, at the Fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, in his preamble to the law enforcing the use of badges, declared that without such distinction Jews were mistaken for Christians. It must be remembered that badges were needed for Moslems also.[16] In England in Henry III's time, Jews were ordered to wear on their upper garments a badge of two white tablets, one on each breast, to distinguish them from Christians. The tablets might be of woolen cloth, or linen or parchment.[17] Bacon, in his Essay on *Usury*, speaks of orange-tawny bonnets as the distinction of Jews of his time. So late as 1736, at Avignon and elsewhere in Papal domains, Jews were obliged to wear yellow hats.[18] Similar badge-laws existed in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany.

Oriental or semi-Oriental Jews, as already stated, persist in a badge of their own. Long curls or sidelocks hang in front of their ears (Leviticus 19:27 f.), while those devoted to the service of various baalim had their own distinctive tattooings. So in ancient Palestine the Israelite or Yahwist was distinguishable only by badges. Marks upon the forehead seem to have been the most common distinction.[19] Or the distinction might be in the privilege of wearing colors of the ruler or of the ruling class (Esther 6:7 ff.; 8:15; 1 Samuel 18:1-4). Such protective distinctions are general in the Semitic Orient still. And they tell us that the ancient Yahwist was no more distinguishable by his lineaments

[15] "The Shows," and "The Chaplet," in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, III, 79 ff.

[16] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, X, 449. Compare "Badges," *ibid.*, II, 425 ff. and in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, II, 327 f.

[17] *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, IX, 157.

[18] *Athenaeum*, April 16, 1898, p. 493.

[19] Ezekiel 9:1-6; Revelation 9:4; 13:16-17; 14:9; 16:20; Genesis 4:15.

than is the modern Jew. The wearing of sidelocks and a peculiar caftan by Oriental and semi-Oriental Jews is still a chief distinction, and when these are discarded the Jews may be undistinguishable from their Arab or Armenian or Slavonian or Persian or Turkish fellow-citizens.

Now this sidelock distinction points to the influence of some Arabian tribes or of the ancient North African Berbers in the antecedents of any group of Jews. In Chapter X was noticed the fact that the Egyptian reliefs and paintings show us ancient Libyans as early as 3000 B.C. with various distinctive locks of hair. Some wore a short tuft above the brow, others a long scalp-lock on the crown of the head, others long temple-locks. The persistence of such distinctions among Judaized Berbers in different regions of North Africa was emphasized. It follows that any Jews whose ancestors once resided in North Africa may to-day be clinging to a custom which their fathers adopted from Jewish Berbers, just as Sephardic Jews in the Orient persist in some distinctions first imposed upon their ancestors by Moorish caliphs in Spain.

As for Arabia, it was noticed in Chapter V that kings of the region of Dedan, Tema, and Buz cropped their temples close.[20] Musil, noticing this, reports that the Hedjaz Beduin still shave their heads and leave a long crown-tuft. Descent from these ancient Arab kings of Jeremiah's time may be in the tradition of some modern Egyptians who thus wear long crown-locks, and claim that it is a badge of royal descent. Long sidelocks then are not characteristic of all Arabs, but are peculiar to certain regions or tribes. When found among Oriental Jews, they suggest such a local Arabian element in their antecedents. The northern Beduin allows these sidelocks to grow very long; the dandy often dresses them into horn-like projections or plaits over either ear. This same fashion is shown in the portrayal of human heads on Nabatean tombs.[21] But it does not appear in Egyptian portrayals of Aramaeans and Asiatics of the pre-kingdom period of Israel. Nor is it shown in any Assyrian relief of inhabitants of Palestine, nor in their pictures of themselves, nor in Egyptian portrayals of the ancient Sinaitic Beduin. Doughty's wanderings were in southeastern Edom, and Nabatean territory, among the Ishmaelites down to Mecca. The sidelock Jew cannot attribute his "horns" to Father Abram. But they are found still among the Judaized

[20] Jeremiah 9:26; 25:23 f. The AV has "utmost corners" instead of "those that cut off the *peah*" or temple locks.

[21] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta,* I, 69, 383, 418, 551; II, 38, 69, 239.

Arabs of Yemen, who wear them extraordinarily long. Feist observes that the Yemenite Arab Jews show some resemblance to East European or Polish Jews, who cling to the long sidelocks. A connecting link can be recognized in the various Judaized peoples of the Caucasus. For in Chapter XI it was made clear that Judaism reached the Sarmatians north of the Caucasus by spreading northward from Armenia and the "cities of the Medes" in northwest Persia, at a very early date. Survivals of this progress through the mountains are recognized by all scholars. The Jews among the many tribes in the Caucasus cannot be distinguished from their Moslem neighbors in externals and ideals. But those professing especial piety wear the sidelocks.[22] Since sacred sidelocks called *zulf* are generally worn in Arabized Persia,[23] and since leaving two little sidelocks beneath the temple is still required at Mecca of every properly shaven pilgrim,[24] it seems that the steady northward drift of sidelock Arabs into the Fertile Crescent will account for the sidelocks of Asia Minor and Armenia, of the Kurdish mountains and the Caucasus, and of those ancestors of the Polish Jews who formerly dwelt north of the Caucasus. It suggests Mecca as one ancient center from which the requirement spread.

In ancient Asia Minor some of the Hittite reliefs show long sidelocks. They are not a regular feature, however. They must indicate some special rank, caste, cult, or immigrant custom. Greek writers called the mingled European, Hurrian, Indo-Iranic and Aramaean peoples of Asia Minor of their time "white Syrians"; and the later sculptures of the region show adoption of the full Aramaean or Syrian costume. The northward spread of Arab-Aramaean influences is pictured for us. Many Palestinian Moslem Beduin to-day wear sidelocks, but they now serve no present distinctive purpose for them, and the origin of the custom is lost in the mists of tradition. The peasantry of the Hauran wear full heads of fine hair, with a parting and two long locks drawn down in front of the ears, instead of growing temple-tufts. This custom appears on Syrian statuettes in Palestine 1500 B.C. The present Samaritan community clings to the wearing of sidelocks. In the case of the Jews of Cochin, it was observed that they preserve the record of settlement there of a Yemenite Arab Jew colony. Their own sidelocks are then an Arab importation. Similarly, the Black Benî-Israel of Bombay, who resemble the Arabian

[22] Feist, p. 47. [23] Layard, *Early Adventures*, I, 316, 337; II, 140.
[24] Keane, *Six Months in Mecca*, p. 11.

Jews, wear all their hair, to distinguish themselves from the shaven Hindus, and until recently they wore sidelocks also.[25]

It may be that the wide spread of the sidelock among Asiatic Jews is directly traceable to the Asmonean propagandism considered in Chapter VIII. As already observed, the sidelock is a prominent feature in extant reliefs upon Nabatean tombs, and seems to have been an ancient distinction at Mecca. The forcing of a nominal Judaism upon Edomite and Nabatean territory as far north as Iturea and Argob surely forced into Asiatic Judaism some old Nabatean customs. The Nabatean commercial empire in apostolic times reached from Damascus to Assuan on the southern frontier of Egypt. It was observed in Chapter V that the Edomite title *allûf,* the "duke" of our AV in Genesis 36, became in later times the title of a graduate of a Palestinian rabbinical school.

These sidelocks are regularly called "horns" by the Beduin. "It is a fair young man; he has great and long horns." "She is beautiful; she has horns that reach down to her middle." "He is a father of horns!"[26] This last expression may also mean that the Arab is courageous and enterprising; one not safe to meddle with.[27] Sinaitic Beduin matrons may twist up a horn of hair to stand over the forehead. Its height suggests the number of children (1 Samuel 2:1). A forehead curl was probably the distinction of the "Cainites" east of Eden; the horn that was the "Mark of Cain" of the rabbins.

That a religious reason is usually given for the form of the preferred hair-lock points to some religious origin; and though the actual origin may be long forgotten, a new explanation may be given, to connect the institution with a new religion. The persistence of different haircuttings may become the distinctive badges of new religions. The actual origin of some peculiar hair-locks may be glanced at. Hindu Moslems shave the head of any child that they wish to preserve from the attacks of evil spirits, leaving a single lock on each side as *pir ki sukh,* "propitiation of the Pir" (or "Old Man"), the patron saint who is expected to protect the child. The theory is that the saint invoked will reside in the hair-lock left for him. The Nazirite in ancient Palestine left all his hair as a temporary residence for his protector-god. So in Gujerat, parents who have lost several children may vow the growth of the hair of the next children they have, vowing also some abstinence. At the end of three, five, or seven years the child is

[25] Feist, p. 68.

[26] Doughty 1, 469, 494.

[27] Schweinfurth, 1, 185.

taken to a sanctuary for its first hair-cutting. The earliest form of vow probably invoked the protection of the god at whose shrine the hair was finally cut. This custom of leaving unshorn the hair of children whose earlier brothers and sisters have died is very widespread. The hair may be cut at a certain age, or when milk teeth are shed, or at puberty. It is presented to a sacred tree, thrown into a sacred (?) stream, or buried in holy ground; in Arabia, at an ancestral cairn. There is always the idea of a guardian spirit resident in the hair. There was certainly some such practice as this in ancient Egypt. Sir Gardner Wilkinson observes that temple-locks were worn by children, while princes with shaved heads wore large imitation curls upon the wig or coiffure. The "Story of Two Brothers" places the excised "soul" of the younger brother in the tops of the cedars. Probably the excised curls of children were placed in a sacred tree. Was the custom brought into Egypt by the sidelock-wearing Berbers? May some Israelites have adopted the custom in old Egyptian days?

In Togoland, West Africa, the priests may never cut their hair. To shave it off would mean death, for the hair is the seat and abode of the priest's god. Recall the story of Samson. Among many peoples it is enough to leave a few locks or tufts of a child's hair as the abode of the guardian spirit.[28] Such are the crown and temple-locks that remain as badges among Oriental Jews.

These distinctions are paralleled among North American Indian tribes, where each tribe is recognizable by its own peculiar scalp-lock. The notion that the soul or spirit of the warrior was in the scalp-lock was the reason for taking an enemy's scalp if possible, and then holding a propitiatory scalp-dance to appease the captured ghost. In the case of the still-persisting crown-locks of the Beduin, one reason given for them has been that the angel Gabriel may seize the soul by this crown-lock and lift it out of torment and bear it to heaven. Thus Islam has adapted the notion that saintly protection or immortality was dependent upon this soul-tuft. The preference for temple-locks may be due to the fact that the early appearance of the beard is most prominently connected with the downward extension of the hair at the temples. It was concluded that there was greater vitality or soul-vigor in the hair from the temples downward. Columns have been written upon the curious superstitions connected with the hair. The brief statement of the underlying idea must suffice. It must be kept clear that the persistence of hair-badges among modern Jews or non-Jews is but a survival of immemorial superstitions.

[28] Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament,* III, 188 f.

CHAPTER XXI

The Provenance of Yahwism

With masses of indisputable evidence that so-called Israel has through three thousand years been accepting or conquering adherents from various ethnic stocks, and including all of them in Israel, without succeeding in eliminating all ethnic antipathies in the aggregate Israel, it may be asked how early this process began. The answer must be that it began when the religion of Yahu, organized in some ancient non-Semitic people, first won an Israelite adherent. The notion that the religion of Yahu was something that was the peculiar possession of the ethnic group called Israel, and unknown before in the ancient world, is in direct contradiction to the scanty but positive evidence of the Old Testament, and is contradicted also by ancient cuneiform records. The positive assertion that the name Yahu was unknown to the masses of Moses' fellows or to their ancestors, and unknown to any of the early patriarchs, either in Harran or Palestine (Exodus 3:13 f.; 6:3) must be accepted. Its introduction at this point in the narrative is decisive. The same fact is asserted in Joshua 24:2f., 14. Equally positive is the assertion that the cult had a historic origin in the ancient East: "he was first to call with the name Yahu" (Genesis 4:26). However annoying to the advocates of some theory of literary analysis, there is no historic reason for rejecting the statement. And there is no conceivable reason why Israelite fanatics claiming sole knowledge of Yahu should invent a story that the cult originated with an eastern Gentile, ages before Abraham's time. And such Israelite fanatic, insisting that Palestine was Yahu's own and only land, might be expected to give us a cosmogony expressing that fact. Instead, we have the assertion of beginnings in a region east of the upper Persian Gulf, "Where the God Yahu does not make it rain on the land, yet man does not need to irrigate the soil, for a mist rises and waters the whole face of that district" (Genesis 2:5 f.), which indicates the ancient coastal plain of what we now call Khuzistan, still the garden spot of all Persia. From thence Yahu transplants[1] into the Edin-na,[2] a cultus-park "from the east" (Genesis 2:8). There is no historic reason for rejecting this simple statement, which a partisan of

[1] *Nata':* used forty times in the Old Testament; always of transplanting trees, vines, shoots, etc.; something already existing, like a people; never of planting seed, sowing grain, etc.

[2] The Sumerian term for the low steppe next above the alluvial flood plain.

Palestine as Yahu's own land would not have made. Nor is there reason to reject the statement that the cherubim, placed at the entrance of the cultus-park in Genesis 3:24, were "from the east." These guardian colossi are familiar to all acquainted with the archaeology of the ancient Orient. And the excavations at Ur show such ox-figures as a chief element in temple or shrine decoration in that Sea-Land country, 4000-5000 B.C. They seem of the pre-Sumerian times, from the ancient culture now known to have existed east of the Euphratean alluvium.[3]

As to the cult of Yahu being known in the ancient Sea-Land at the head of the Persian Gulf, the name Ya'u or Yâ occurs in personal names of the time of the Hammurabi dynasty, in the opinion of Daiches, Clay, Barton, Sayce, and others. Then all the flood and creation lore of Genesis is unquestionably associated with the god who is expressed by the ideogram E.A. (House of Water) or EN.KI (Lord of the Universe), or NU. DIM.MUD (Man-form-moulder, Genesis 2:7). A volume is necessary for all the lore of this god, whose outstanding attributes are that he is *bêl tenishêti,* "Lord of mankind" and "Lord of wisdom" and "Lord of mercy and healing." Without further detail, there are scholars who believe that Ya'u was the actual pronunciation of the name represented by the ideogram E.A., which the Sumerians received from their Hurrian predecessors. The Sumerians never made E.A. their own chief god. The above preëminent attributes of E.A. are repeated by Sumerians and Akkadians from the lore of the old Hurrian sanctuary at Eridu. Was E.A. associated with the region east of the Sea-Land? The Kassites came from the far east, conquering and ruling Babylonia, 1750-1174 B.C. And in their time, contemporary with the El-Amarna Letters, the names Ya-u-um-ilu-ma, "Ya'u is god," and Ya-u-ba-ni, "Ya'u made me," and Ya'u-tum, were found at Nippur, the northern border of the ancient Sea-Land. As for E.A.-forms, the names Aku-E.A., Ikrûb-E.A., Iti-E.A. occur in the stele of Manishtushu, about 2775 B.C., while E.A. compounds are common in the above mentioned Kassite period. Then in the El-Amarna Letter No. 24, E.A.-sharru, "E.A. is king," occurs in the Mitanni kingdom, and as "Lord of Wisdom" is invoked by Mattiwaza of Mitanni in making a treaty with Shubbilulyuma, the Hittite king. Thus the god in question is ages older than the story of Sinai, or of Abraham. As for connection with the region east of Babylonia, an Elamite king with the name E.A.-Gamil was king in Babylonia

[3] Compare Ezekiel 1:10 and 10:14, for "cherub" = "ox."

about 1720 B.C., while a later Sea-Land dynasty had two kings, E.A.-mukin-zer, "E.A. the establisher of seed" (offspring), and E.A.-apal-utsur, "O E.A. protect the son," 1030-970 B.C.

With the fact of the creator-god from the ancient Farther East well evidenced, the mode of his cultus reaching Moses in Egypt remains. That it touched Palestine centuries earlier is shown by a seal discovered by the excavations at Beth-shean at the level of Amenhotep III, 1411-1375 B.C. Mr. Alan Rowe reads it, "Mânum the diviner, servant of the god EN.KI (Lord of the universe)." But the seal is much older than the Egyptian stratum mentioned, dating 1800-1900 B.C., long before the Hyksos period. As yet we know nothing more. But we see that the Yahu-cult could have reached Egypt in various ways, long before Moses.

Continuing with the Genesis passages deriving this ancient cult from the east, there is no reason to reject the assertion that the older Cain-clans or artisan-folk, when expelled from the district by the shepherd-folk, retired "toward the east of the Edin-na" (Genesis 4:14-15). Whether we understand by this eastern land the "land of nomads" or "outcasts," or "the land of Hind" = Scinde[4]=the Indus Valley or Delta may seem immaterial here. But the context suggests that "the land of nomadic peoples" must be understood, for reasons given in the next paragraph. By those who cling to the traditional India, the already-mentioned discovery of Sir John Marshall that an ancient and highly developed culture existed in the Indus Valley some thousands of years before Israelite Yahwists were in Palestine will be urged as showing that the return of the Cainites to an ancestral home in India was not an impossibility. But while this ancient culture was provisionally called Indo-Sumerian, a careful examination by Sumerian scholars has resulted in the decision that it has no connection with the Sumerian culture of postdiluvian Babylonia. The latter was not derived from India.

Five years ago, comparing the fragments of the flood-story that are at present available in the cuneiform, the writer concluded (1) that the Sumerian fragments are adaptations from an older

[4] Sindhu = "sea." The same name was given to the mighty river, even as Arabs use *nahr* and *bahr* for ocean or lake, river or brook. Persians, using H for S, said "Hindu": Greeks dropped the H and said "Indus" and "India." Exactly the same phonetic change they made when they turned the name of the Bombay district, Safara, Suppara, Coptic Sophir, into Ophir. So "India" is really "Sea-land." Hindus are "sea-people." And Scinde, the name of the territory about the lower Indus, is simply the ages-old "Sea-land." This suggests that the earliest Hindu civilization was in the valley of the Indus: a parallel to the early cultural development at the head of the Persian Gulf.

pre-Sumerian story; (2) that the flood was produced by a tremendous storm and tidal-wave sweeping up the Persian Gulf; (3) the story tells only of the destruction of Shurippak. Cities further south were probably so overwhelmed that none were left to tell the tale, while those much further north might report little damage to themselves. (4) Such disaster would make possible an "immigration of peoples from the East," as reported in Genesis 11:3. This material is included in a book not yet ready for the press. But recent archaeology has verified the above conclusions. C. L. Woolley in reporting excavations at Ur to the London *Times* (March 16, 1929) announced that all the graves examined had been originally dug down through strata of house-refuse and city dumping-grounds, sloping from northwest to southeast, with a slant of nearly 45° at the extreme northwest. This fact shows that the city stood on a small elevation that sloped down to the water-level. Reaching virgin soil, clean water-laid clay, the explorers proceeded to dig through it, and at a depth of eight feet found a flat stratum rich in flint chips and cores and the beautiful painted Hurrian pottery not found in the Sumerian strata above: and there were burned brick of a pattern wholly new to the explorers. So the drowned Hurrian city had eight feet of compact clay over its storm-levelled ruins. But Dr. Langdon reporting the evidence from Kish, twenty miles east of Babylon, found at a corresponding level, 55 feet below the present surface, an alluvial stratum only 18 inches thick, with a less complete break in the occupation of the ancient site. Mr. Woolley suggests that the flood did not destroy strongly walled towns, but only devastated unwalled villages and the open country. It may be that the immense thickness of the walls of cities and royal and sacred enclosures made them serve as levees. The expression *têl abûbi,* "mounds of a tidal bore," in some royal inscriptions shows that an exceptional storm and tidal wave was occasional in the Sea-Land.

As for the earlier and later occupations of this Euphratean alluvium being "from the east," within the last two years it has been discovered that the Iranian table-land had a highly developed historic civilization that was as old, or older than, the Sumerian. But our direct interest is with a still older, or prediluvian civilization. We saw in Chapter V that the Hurrian culture in the Kerkuk district (the Arrapkha of the cuneiform) was there in neolithic times, with a pictographic script of great antiquity. And in Chapter VII we saw that the peculiar Hurrian somatic type was the oldest known to us at points in Asia Minor and was traceable

across Persia to northwest India, and that his non-Semitic, non-Indo-European somatic type is the one that modern western caricaturists portray as "Jewish."

The pre-Sumerian or Hurrian culture, with its peculiar delicate geometrically painted pottery, has been found at Abu Shahrein (the ancient Eridu). It was the great ancient prediluvian E.A. sanctuary, the place of the Yahu-park(?) "transplanted from the east." But the same early Hurrian culture proves to be the oldest at El Hibba, Shurghul, and Fara, in the same region; at El-Obeid, near Ur; at Samarra, near Kish; and all through the Kerkuk district. It is also found in the Persian highlands, at Urmia, Mohammedabad, and in the coast-alluvium at Bunder Bushire on the Persian Gulf. Still later, Professor Herzfeld reports it as the oldest culture at Persepolis, at Teheran, and at several sites around Damghan (the ancient Hecatompylos) one hundred and eighty miles east of Teheran. It proves to be more abundant in the Iranian table-land than anywhere else in the ancient world. And Herzfeld announces that the peculiar pottery-painting found at prehistoric Persepolis is the original of the type found in the lowest strata at Susa and in the sites in the Euphratean alluvium.[5] The same early type has been found in Seistan, the southeast Persian province around Lake Helmund. In a small measure it has been found farther east in Beluchistan. Herzfeld reports a similar type from Honan, China. So the claim in Genesis that the oldest culture at the head of the Persian Gulf came from the regions east of it has volumes of archaeological corroboration.[6] The fact must have been transmitted by descendants of that ancient people.

As already stated, all archaeologists agree that the Hurri were a non-Semitic people. The polychrome Semitic pottery appears in Assyro-Babylonian sites at a far later time. The excavations show that the Proto-Elamites—as they were provisionally called ten years ago—were in the Euphratean alluvium before the Sumerians arrived. The story in Genesis 11:3 that after a disastrous flood in the lowlands a new people came in from the east is proved true by archaeology. The story must have been transmitted by descendants of the peoples in question. The Sumerians borrowed the script that scholars have associated with their name, and they gradually adopted Proto-Elamite or Hurrian customs. That they borrowed or transmitted the Proto-Elamites' story of their disastrous flood has been clear for some years. The script provis-

[5] Herzfeld, "Prehistoric Persia," in *Illustrated London News,* May 25, 1929; June 1, 1929; June 8, 1929.
[6] Cf. H. Frankfort, in *Antiquaries' Journal,* April 1928, pp. 217-235.

ionally called Proto-Elamite II is itself a borrowed script: perhaps from the older Proto-Elamite I? How very old the original must have been![7] The Genesis sketch of these ancient movements from the east would not have been invented by a fervent champion of the uniqueness of Palestine. Nor could such an one have so exactly guessed the relations revealed by archaeology. The Yahu pictured as sending a flood upon the bloody and brutal neighbors of his Hurrian worshippers is not the invention of the Semite, egotistically assured that he only is the chosen of Yahu.

That the cult of E.A. (=Yahu?) was centered at the ancient pre-Sumerian shrine of Eridu, the modern Abu-Shahrein, is familiar to all Semitic scholars. The initial explorations of R. Campbell Thompson, in 1918, proved that Eridu was on the west side of a tide-water lagoon at the head of the Persian Gulf, and that it was probably the oldest Hurrian settlement there. Its ancient shrines of hewn stone prove an exotic culture superior to that of the later clay and brick-using Sumerians. In Sumerian times the ancient population was subjugated and scattered, and Eridu became little more than a Sumerian necropolis. Some late restorations were made by the Semitic kings Nur-Immer of Larsa, 2209 B.C., Bur-Sin of Nisin, 2235 B.C., and Ur-Nammu of Ur, 2474 B.C. Peculiar regard for an ancient necropole would be fundamental with a Semite. And the inscriptions of Sargon of Assyria fifteen hundred years later boast of the restoration of ancient asylum privileges, and the re-assembling of its scattered and oppressed populace.

A very interesting suggestion is made by Lieutenant Colonel K. L. Stevenson.[8] Referring to texts not accessible to me, he points out that the ancient name of Eridu was Kha-Bur. And the usual Sumerian ideogram NUN-KI (="shade-land, protection land, prince's land, or park-land") he points out is an actual diagram of the gardens still made along the lower Euphrates. An irrigation-canal at right angles to the main stream supplies a number of little irrigation ditches at right angles to the canal. Stevenson suggests that the old name Kha-Bur resulted in the ancient Hurrian gardeners being known as Kha-birû. When scattered by the Sumerian occupation, the name Khabirû persisted: and these Hurri exiles carried their E. A. cult to other lands. If Kha-Bur is really the older name of Eridu, its connection with the gentilic Khabirû is possible.

[7] Cf. Amelia Hertz, in *Revue Archéologique,* 1928, pp. 90-104.

[8] "The Origin of the Hebrews: A Suggestion," in *Expository Times,* vol. 39, pp. 422 ff.

To revert to Cain, *Kayin,* "the smith": the fact that the oldest known smith-folk were in the highlands east of the Sumerian Edinna (Genesis 4:16) and were driven back there by invading pastoral peoples (Abel=meadowland) has archaeological evidence. Western Persia has prehistoric copper mines in regions now as dry as the Sahara. But discoveries concerning the old Proto-Elamites show them to be the originators of copper-working, and that their craft was highly developed perhaps 4000 B.C. Before 3100 B.C. they had discovered ores in the Armenia-Caucasus regions and spread their art there, as mentioned in Chapter XI.[9] This accords with the fact, previously noticed, that Tubal-Kayin, "the Tibarenian smiths," are presented in Genesis 4:16-22 as a younger branch of the original Kayin on the east of the Edinna. So the Genesis assertion that the smith-folk from the eastern highlands were an older element in the Euphratean alluvium than the (Semitic?) pastoral peoples seems another transmission by the descendants of the respective peoples. It cannot be considered the discovery of some trained ancient Palestinian archaeologist.

Again, this Genesis narrative deriving from the highlands to the east the origins of some culture at the head of the Persian Gulf has further support in the conclusion of many modern Egyptologists that the stimulus to development in the valley of the Nile came from the same Elamite or eastern highland region. The archaeological evidences are too numerous to be ignored. The conclusion is a recognition of the fact that the Proto-Elamite Persia-to-Indus culture was far older, and able to pioneer in distant lands. That we do not know the historic personalities through whom such culture came westward is no objection. But no Israelite advocate of Palestine as Yahu's "only land" would ever have claimed that Egypt received its early cultural stimulus from the Elamite highlands. We have to accept the fact that some ancient Yahu-worshippers insisted that Yahu was not a divinity originating in and peculiar to Israel.

Since it has been established that all the older higher culture thus far discovered in the Orient was that of people of the Hurri stock, it is necessary to say that the insistence in Genesis that the original Yahu-cult came from somewhere east of the Euphratean alluvium does not prove it to be of Hurrian origin. In fact the compilers of Genesis 4:16-26 insist in the last verse that the Yahu-cult did not originate with the Kayin or smith-folk. There must

[9] Frankfort, *loc. cit.*

have been definite transmission of the fact by the descendants or historical successors of the two ancient eastern cultures. At present archaeology tells us nothing of any of the ancient gods and religious communities in the Persian highlands. But when this cult came to the oldest communities yet found in the Euphratean alluvium, it came to communities of the Hurrian stock. The Hurri of the El-Amarna and Hittite documents were polytheists. But that does not prove that individual Hurri or societies of them were not the agency by which the Yahu-cult was carried westward from the cultus-site declared in Genesis 2:8 to have been established in the Edinna, near the head of the Persian Gulf. In that case, Yahwism was not only of non-Semitic origin, but its earliest propagandists were not Semitic.

How did the Yahu-cult reach Moses in Egypt, so that he is represented as proclaiming to his fellows a god whom they and their Aramaean ancestors had never heard of (Exodus 3:13 f.; 6:3)? The assertion is supported by the Shaddai-using debates in the Edomite book of Job, and by the fact long ago pointed out by Professor Gray in his *Hebrew Proper Names* that personal names compounded with Yahu are all but non-existent before the time of David. But there was a beginning of the practice sometime, and the facts cited do not constitute a historic reason for rejecting the statement that the mother of Moses was Jochebed, Ya'u-kebed, "Ya'u is glorious." An acceptable literary analysis must accept the indicated salient anti-Israelite features of the Genesis narratives as points of departure. How is it that a Sar of a Yahu-association in Palestine is represented as meeting Joshua and his pagan Aramaean brigands, and taking charge (Joshua 5:13—6:5, and 24:2, 14, 23)? How is it that the name Yahu is still used by many sectaries in Asia Minor, Persia, and Turkestan?[10] The great prominence of people of the Hurri stock in Palestine and Asia Minor in the time of the Hyksos domination of Egypt and in Palestine subsequently, was pointed out in Chapter V. The Iranian-governed Hurrian kingdom of Mitanni, that extended from the Mediterranean to the Zagros mountains, and from central Armenia to Babylonia was probably the "Hittite" power that ruled Babylon for a time. Of especial significance for our inquiry are the Egyptian acknowledgments of Hurrû colonies in Egypt. Thothmes III at different times dedicated 1578 Hurrû to the great temple of Amon. Thothmes IV brought Hurrû from Gezer. Amen-hotep III placed colonies of Hurrû around the great temple,

[10] A volume including some data on the point is in preparation.

one of whose three colossi was far-famed as the vocal Memnon. Ikhen-Aton writes of the Hurrû land. Rameses III, speaking of the fifteen years' weakness and anarchy preceeding his reign, says that a Hurrû (any Hurrû) made himself a chief in Egypt: that Egypt was subject to such petty chiefs and rulers of towns, everyone slaying his neighbor. This massing of non-Semitic Hurrû *gêrîm* around some of the chief temples of Egypt, with the free-lance activities described by Rameses III, reminds us that the Hurrian Khabirû liturgists and "divine" guardsmen mentioned in Chapter VI were sure to be represented in these Egyptian settlements. Semitic compilers have identified them as their own "*Ibrî,*" and reported them as "Hebrews" in Exodus 1:15 ff.; 2:6, 11. The Israel of Hoshea (Numbers 13:8) appropriated traditions of Hurrû once *gêrîm* in the land of Egypt. But with Hurrians dominant from Babylonia to Egypt, 1700-1300 B.C., an agency for the transmission of old Hurrian cuneiform lore existed a thousand years before the dominance of the Assyrian in Palestine.

There are also expressions from the Babylonian Isaiah that ask new consideration. We have seen him rebuke Israelites that discriminated against the "foreign levite" (Isaiah 56:3): we have seen Isaiah 14:1 f. assert that such "should inherit with the house of Israel." Now the Babylonian Isaiah uses "coast-lands" (AV "isles") in a restricted way not found elsewhere. The exiles who seek to return to their homes will find "the rivers or canals turned into coast-lands" (Isaiah 42:15), which means such coast-lands as they know at the head of the Persian Gulf. But his proclamation of deliverance is as pointedly addressed to the coast-lands—the Sea-Land of the cuneiform—as to Israel. "The Servant of Yahu" brings forth right to the nations (in exile?); "he will not waver nor yield till he has established justice in the land; and the coast-lands are waiting for his teaching" (Isaiah 42:4). "Sing to Yahu a new song: His praise from the borders of the land: Let the sea roar, and that which fills it: The coast-lands, and they that dwell there!" (Isaiah 42:10). "Be renewed [Septuagint reading] before Me, ye coast-lands: let your nations renew (exchange) their strength: then let them approach—then let them speak: together let us come for judgement! . . . The coast-lands are seeing, and fearing! The borders of the land are trembling: they draw near, they come!" (Isaiah 41:1, 5). "Hearken to Me, O ye peoples! O nations, give ear to Me! For instruction shall go forth from Me, and my truth as a light to the peoples! My pledged word draweth near, in a moment; My deliverance is on its

way. My arms shall judge (for) the peoples! The coast-lands shall hope in Me, and on My arms shall they put their trust" (Isaiah 51:4 f.).

It seems beyond question that the great preacher is proclaiming hope to the oft-ravaged Sea-Land as specifically as to Israel. Had we the Sea-Land's own collection of his messages of cheer, it might be as large as Israel's. He certainly is not a spokesman for Israel alone, he may even have not been an Israelite. In Isaiah 49:1-6, the Servant begins,

"Listen, you coast-lands, to me!
Hearken, you peoples from afar!
Yahu called me from birth, [cf. Jeremiah 1:5]
From my mother's womb he gave me my name.
He made my mouth like a sharp sword.
In the shadow of his hand he hid me. [cf. Jeremiah 1:18 f.]
He made me a polished arrow.
In his quiver he concealed me.
He said to me, You are my servant
Through whom I will show forth my glory!" (Gordon).

"Israel" after "servant," retained by Gordon, is omitted by some translators, as an interpolation in the interest of the narrow and exclusive Israelite pretensions. The Comforter continues that he is not Jacob nor Israel, but one who finds the conversion of Israel, —bringing it back to Yahu—a part of his life task. And Yahu says to him:

"It is too slight a thing, from your being my servant,
That I should but raise up the tribes of Jacob.
And restore the survivors of Israel
So I will make you a light of the nations
That my deliverance may reach to the borders of the land."

That the Singer addresses to the coast-lands this whole apostrophe of hope and a divine commission to comfort stands in sharp contrast with his various doom-apostrophes and taunt-songs addressed to Babylon. It is to be emphasized that he paints no picture of a devastated, ruined, deserted Babylon, as Palestinian seers had done. The overthrow of an oppressive political régime by Cyrus is the theme.

But since the Servant identifies the longings of the coast-land people with his own, was he one of them? The Sea-Land is to share in the deliverance of a converted Israel. In the above apostrophe it includes "peoples from afar." The Assyrian royal in-

scriptions show that some deported peoples were placed there, and also that from ancient times it had been a commercial emporium, or rather a group of emporia, with mercantile adventurers from many lands. The ports of entry for maritime commerce were there. The population was cosmopolitan. A century earlier when these coast-land peoples were dominant in Babylon a protest addressed to the Assyrian kings said, "Babylon is a gathering out of all lands: it is twenty lands in one." The old Sumerian records picture the God of Eridu as the Lord of all wisdom, and the Lord of all mankind *(bêl tenishêti)*. The cosmopolitan community demanded such a God. Bringing Israel into that territory meant a consolidation of forces that resulted in the religious leadership of post-exilic Babylonian Judaism. Was it from learning that E.A (Yahu) is always *bêl tenishêti*, "Lord of mankind," that Ezekiel learned to call himself "Son of Man" instead of "Son of Israel"?

It should be observed that these cosmopolitan coast-land people are called "Chaldeans"—Babylonian *Kaldu*, Hebrew *Kasdim*. The term seems to have no ethnic connotation. The Akkadian *kishadu* means shore or coast, and Hommel has pointed out that the Hebrew *kasdîm* is their dialectic plural form of *kishadu*, and would then primarily mean "coast-lands," then the coast-peoples. The Babylonian turns *s* to *l* before *d*, and says *kaldî* instead of *kasdî*. The more exact plural *Kasdîyîm* occurs in Ezekiel 23:14 and 2 Chronicles 36:17, while *Kasdîm* is specifically the region, not the people, in Jeremiah 50:10, 51, 24, 35, Ezekiel 23:15: "the land Kasdîm" is in Jeremiah 24:5; 25:12; 50:1, 8, 25, 45; 51:4, 54; Ezekiel 1:3; 12:13. Ezekiel's use of the term is especially decisive, because he lived in the northern edge of the region, and because he never uses the Servant's term *iyyîm* in speaking of it. On the contrary, with a suffix indicating "towards," he writes *Kasdîmah* in 11:24; 16:29; 23:16: the same form being intended in Isaiah 43:14: "To Kasdîm in boats! is their shout."

The Assyrian and Babylonian references would fill pages. To summarize briefly, the Sea-Land means the whole marsh and bayou and canal-region all around the northwestern head of the Persian Gulf. Every town had the swamps and reeds and bayous as a protection against desert nomads, while its stream meant an open road to the sea. Hunting fugitives there was like hunting in the Everglades of Florida. A dynasty of three Sea-Land kings ruled in Babylon 1050 B.C.(?). The name Kaldî was not in use then. About 950 B.C. it begins to appear in the records. Shalmaneser III (783-773) is the first Assyrian invader of the land

Kaldî. The term Sea-Land he does not use. The land Kaldî has several kings: it is not the abode of a single people.[11] But in one inscription he went to the land Kaldî, conquered Adinu of Dakuri, and received the tribute of Yakinu of the Sea-Land and Mush-allim-Marduk of Aukani (Amukkani?).[12] Similarly, Sennacherib tells again and again of his raids in the land Kaldi. But Merodach-Baladan, of the land Kaldî in so many records, is of the Sea-Land in one passage,[13] while the plunder taken from the Kaldî is "booty of the sea of the Kaldî-land—which they call the Bitter Sea."[14] There is good reason then to consider Kaldî as a late alternative term for Sea-lands, or coast-regions.

As to the mingled populations, the Assyrian records always contrast the land Kaldî with Babylon, and with a solid body of Aramaean tribes—thirty-nine in one royal list—thrust in between them and Elam. These tribes are on the lower Uknu (now the Kerkha), on the Surappu, in the marshes west to the lower Tigris, and across that toward the mouth of the Euphrates. The term Kaldî is applied to the ancient culture-regions of Ur, Erech, Kullab, Larsa, Eridu, and the coast down the west side of the Persian Gulf. Sargon repeatedly observes that the state of Bit-Yakin reached to the territory of Dilmun, the modern isle of Bahrein, which now is regarded by some scholars as the ancient base and sacred land of the Akkadian Semitic civilization. Thus the immemorial coast-land culture, with its many strata and many ethnic infusions, divided with the Bahrein base the control of the upper west Persian Gulf. Sennacherib claims to have raided eighty-nine walled towns and eight hundred and twenty villages in the immensely wealthy Kaldî-land, while his raids on the marsh-land Aramaeans eastward to Elam yielded flocks and herds; but there were no famous commercial towns. He speaks of the Kaldî as a *naphar* or assembly of peoples in four kingdoms.[15] Since this great cultural-commercial belt was ruined if the Babylonian market was closed to them, or unfavorable, concerted efforts of this cultured cosmopolitan population to gain control of Babylon were natural. The Servant-Singer's interest in the coast-lands, and the high culture that is voiced may then be the better appreciated.

That his cultural background is wholly distinct from that known in Palestine is apparent from his long-familiar identifi-

[11] Luckenbill, *Assyrian and Babylonian Records,* I, 566.
[12] *Ibid.,* I, 614, 625, 666. [13] *Ibid.,* II, 534.
[14] *Ibid.,* I, 703, 706; Shalmaneser III.
[15] Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib,* 52:36—54:50; 56:11 ff.

cation of Yahu with the God in the Sumero-Akkadian myth who cleft Rahab and pierced the cosmic Sea-Dragon (Isaiah 51:9 f., 15). No trace of this is known to us in any of the ancient Hebrew-Phoenician lore now extant. Was it known to the prophets of Palestine? They have no reference to it. It seems impossible that scores of prophets during several centuries should have been agreed in ignoring it. Nor would editorial compilers have stricken out references to such a cosmogony, when they did not do so from Isaiah 40-55. The Sea-Dragon myth was certainly not popular in Palestine. In Greek form, the legend of Perseus and Andromeda and the Sea-Monster is localized at Joppa; but this was long after prophetic activity in Palestine. In short, the Old Testament gives no cosmogony whatever that was made in Palestine to explain Palestinian origins. All that may have been popular has been discarded for the ancient Sea-Land cosmogony.

We must go a little farther. Not only does the Great Comforter identify Yahu with the god of the cuneiform story of conquering the Sea-Dragon, but also with the god of the Noachian deluge (Isaiah 54:9). Scholars know no Palestinian, Phoenician, or North African flood-legend. The Palestinian prophets know none. But this friend of the Sea-Lands knows of their ancient "waters of Noah," even as Israel remembers the Red Sea. And since the Genesis data already cited connect the origins of culture in the Euphratean flood-plain with people and culture from the east, it should be remembered that the Semitic translation of the Gilgamesh epos makes the hero seek his ancestors "in the mountains of Mash, the path of the sun"; "the mountains that each day guard the rising sun." Now the version of Nukh that Melito learned made Nukh worshipped in Elam at Shushan, after some enemy carried her away;[16] and the modern Persians point out Kuh-i-Nukh or "Noah's Mountain," and Nehavend, "Noah's Home," in this ancient cultural region. Alone, the items have little value. But the connecting of the Noah-hero with the district to which the other elements are attributed has some significance.

This assertion that Yahu was the God of the Noachian flood, when considered with the other data, compels rejection of the theory that the name Yahu in the Genesis flood-story is a Jewish interpolation in a late-borrowed tale. It must have come from the Noachian Yahu-worshippers to Israel.

Again, this Servant-Singer makes "the Yahu-garden in Eden" his standard of beauty for the restoration of Zion (Isaiah 51:3),

[16] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII, 752.

suggesting that he did not know that Palestine had far different physiographical or topographical conditions. And he identifies Yahu with the god of cuneiform creation-legend. "On a day when the earth had not been created; on a night when the earth had not been created," reads a recent fragment from Kish, published by Langdon (cf. Genesis 1:1-5). So the Servant declares, "Yea, before the Day (was) I was Yahu"; and again, "Who is there like Me? Let him proclaim it—let him assert it,—let him arrange his case before Me, from the time I established an ancient people!" (Isaiah 43:13, 44:7).

The *anî hu,* in this 43:13, and in 41:4, 43:10, 48:12, and Deuteronomy 31:39 must be *anî Yahu,* "I am Yahu." Compilers accustomed to *Anî Yhwh* in many Levitical passages have failed to recognize a different orthography of *Yahu* current in southern Babylonia, using *aleph* instead of the final *he,* and have omitted one *yod* as a dittography. The Levitical *Anî Yhwh* occurs in the present text of the Comforter in 41:4, 13; 42:6, 8; 43:3, 11, 15; 44:24; 45:3, 5, 7, 8, 19, 21. One wishing a parallel to this spelling of Yahu with a final *aleph* instead of *he,* can find it in the Aramaic papyri from Elephantiné, where Yedon-Yah is also written Yedon-Ya'; while the ostraka from Samaria show regularly *Yau.* We have dialectic and scribal differences in the treatment of the non-Semitic name that came "from the east," with the "Garden in the Edin-na."

Next, the great message of comfort to despairing Israel is repeatedly put before us as the work of a group—not of one voice. (See Isaiah 40:1 f.; 41:22 f., 26; 43:9 ff.; 44:26; 51:7; 53:1.) The plural pronoun is used repeatedly. Scholars generally recognize this. A recent German protest says, "Against the collective significance stands like an unbreachable wall the fact that the Servant has a mission to Israel."[17] That one man may be conscious of a mission, and a whole group of men may not be so is a false contention. Nor is it true that the Servant declares that his mission will be effective only after his death. The coast-lands are pictured as gathering to hear. Nor is it true that the Servant could not see that his activity involved suffering and perchance his own death. Such treatment is a familiar past experience of the Servant (Isaiah 50:5 ff.). There has never been a great reformer who did not realize what his protest might cost him. Millions to-day are held back from full self-consecration to great causes by the consciousness that their act will cost them much. The

[17] Fischer, *Wer ist der Ebed?* p. 36.

Great Comforter then represents a group of men in the Sea-Land, who set forth a lofty ideal of man, an ideal man that may be realized in any land, among any people. Thousands about them were "Servants" of this god or that. These comforters of Israel tell what an Ebed-Yahu, Ur-Yahu (Arad-EA?) should be like; cf. 2 Timothy 2:24 f.

To explain the literary and psychological uniqueness of the Servant Songs those who think of the Servant as an exiled Israelite have said that the speaker is merely adapting himself to changed national conditions.[18] This utterly fails to explain. To stir a disheartened people by many allusions to all that is dearest to them in their historic past is a device known to the orators of all lands, in all times. Changed political conditions may be the very reason for resorting to it. Yet the Servant songs are totally void of such appeal. The authors have never saturated themselves with Hebrew literature. It is impossible that a whole group familiar with Palestinian traditions should in their impassioned appeals omit every reference to places and persons and events and ideals and institutions whose memory is burned into the mind of the Israelite exile. It would seem that the Servant of Yahu neither knows nor cares for the details of the Israelite past.

To begin with, the Singer signally fails to identify himself with the Israel of the historic past. Even though he now challenges Israel to service by saying "Jacob, my servant," he does not refer this to the past and speak of an "unfaithful servant," nor use the favorite pre-exilic figure of Israel as a faithless wife, though Isaiah 50:1; 54:6 suggests that he has heard such comparison. Ever repeating that he is specially raised up and divinely commissioned to bring Israel comfort, and to call her to like service, he yet says of Jerusalem, "None to guide her, of all the sons she has borne! None to take her by the hand, of all the sons she has reared!" (51:18). He does not count himself an exception to this statement. His Messiah for Israel's deliverance is not one "of all the sons that she hath borne," or can bear; he is Cyrus the Persian.[19] He never identifies himself with the historic past of Israel by saying "Our God," or by saying "We have sinned," or "Let us return unto Yahu" (Hosea 6:1; 14:1), or "We acknowledge, O Lord, our wickedness and the iniquity of our fathers; for we have sinned against thee!" (Jeremiah 14:20 f.).

[18] G. A. Smith, Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* article "Isaiah."

[19] Isaiah 45:1, 13; 46:11, 48:15; 44:28; 41:2, 25. Some of these seem fragments.

Nor has he any topographical reminiscences. None of the cherished sites of Israelite history are named. He does not name the great tribes, Benjamin, Ephraim, Asher, Naphtali, etc. He does not speak of the twelve tribes; he does not know that there are any tribes; he does not use any of the technical terms for smaller divisions of the people: family, or clan, or thousands or suburbs of a city or place *(makôm)*. He does not use the old popular idioms of House of Israel, Virgin of Israel, Daughter of Zion, House of Joseph, or House of David, or House of Jacob. Judah and Zion are not "the inheritance of Yahu"; nor has Israel any lost "inheritance," nor does he think of bringing "every man to his inheritance, and every man to his land" (Jeremiah 12:14 ff.). He has no "lines" and "lots" and "portions" of the people; no elders or judges or staves or scribes. Judah and Zion are not an ancient "heritage of Yahu" (Jeremiah 10:16); they are but a region where the Lord of Mankind, of the Universe, had striven to establish a knowledge of Himself among a slowly-learning, blind, deaf populace. Distinction between the great of the land, and the *'am haārets,* the untaught masses, he does not know (Jeremiah 5:1-5, 21 f.; 4:22; Isaiah 1:3 ff.; Hosea 4:6). He has no reminiscence of the oppression of the poor by the rich and strong. The peculiar vocabulary of the earlier prophets and the later rabbins is foreign to him. He names none of the many other lands through which Israel is dispersed, save Sînîm (49:12). He has no bitter memory of any of them: no "burden" or doom-*massah* to cantillate. He stands before the exiles as a man without a country, if we do not recognize that Kasdîm or the Sea-Land is central in his thought. The milk and honey of Palestine (Jeremiah 32:22), its vineyards and fig trees and olives and cisterns for every man are the themes of the pre-exilic prophets. They seem no part of the Servant's reading or literary tradition. He has no such allurements (Jeremiah 31:5, 12) for the Israel whom he addresses, however much they may be reading and dreaming of them. The vine in earlier Yahwism and late Judaism is an outstanding symbol of Israel (Isaiah 5; Jeremiah 2:21; Ezekiel 17:1-10; Psalm 80). But Israel is no vine to him.

He does not promise the exiles "the land that Yahu swore to give to their fathers." Such pledge is no part of his literary tradition. For him, Yahu does not swear at all, nor think it necessary to repeat ancient promises. We get much more impression of a present choosing, and of a fervid present call to Israel, than of an ancient one. Isaiah 41:8 ff. could be read as in the present tense.

Israel is preferred to the Sea-Lands, and summoned to draw near in verses 1-4. We hear of no Isaac, no Joseph, no Moses. We hear of no "prophet like unto Moses"; none who is another Elijah. The very terms "prophet" and "prophesy" are unknown to him, though used by exiles (Jeremiah 29:8-32). No wilderness-wanderings are rehearsed. The deliverances by hero-judges, the presence of Yahu at crises in the ancient past are not in his equipment for the kindling of the exiles' hopes. He rehearses no plagues of Egypt, no escape at the Red Sea, the memory of which comforted Habakkuk (Habakkuk 3). No such reference can be proved in the passages in which Yahu brings water out of the rocks (43:20, 48-21), for in the cuneiform lore the outstanding function of the "Lord of Mankind" is that he is the Lord of springs and fountains, of whom all travellers beg waters. Assyria's polytheist kings record their worship of him at source-fountains they reached. And the highlands "east of the garden in Eden," from which Genesis 2:8 declares that the Yahu-park was transplanted, are renowned in all the past for the mighty fountains that produce their rivers.[20] In 48:20 f. the Servant says:

"Go forth from Babel! Escape from Kasdîm!
With a singing voice proclaim—make this heard!
Send it forth to the borders of the land!
Say ye, Yahu hath redeemed his servant Jacob
And they will not thirst when He leads them through deserts.
Waters from rock hath he made flow for them,
He will cleave a rock, and waters will gush out."

He seems to think of the returning exiles taking the southern route across the desert toward Teyma (cf. 41:18; 42:11; 44:28), where Nabuna'id then was, instead of following up the Euphrates, depending upon its waters.

Not only has the Servant no noted event nor traditional hero of the past of Israel, but he does not think of their returning to the midst of ancient perils. He utters no reassurances against the old hostile neighbors, Egypt, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Midian, Teman, Arabia, Elam, Philistia, Tyre, Damascus. Their future discomfiture is a chief hope of the earlier voices. Ezekiel (chapters 25-32) cannot forget these perils. But the Great Comforter is not saturated with such literature. The peril of pre-exilic Hittites and Amorites is unknown to him; he has no command to

[20] See Lieut-Col. Sawyer's "Exploration of the Upper Karûn river," in *Geographical Journal,* Dec. 1894; Lynch, in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society,* Sept. 1809; Wells, *ibid.,* 1883, pp. 144 f.; Curzon, *ibid.,* Sept., 1890.

destroy them; yet the Babylonian Talmud calls notable superstitions "ways of the Amorite" (Arab pagans on the west).

He has no reference to the long political vacillation between Egypt and Assyria, and Babylonia (Hosea 12:1, 10:14, Ezekiel 16; Isaiah, Jeremiah, passim). The historic crises of the deeds of Sargon, Sennacherib, etc., in Palestine get no mention. The horrors of wars, of which he might have heard from old exiles, have no word. The ancient and still persisting feud between Judah and Israel is unnoticed; their reconciliation is not promised. The coming deliverance is not a "day of Yahu" (Amos 5:18 ff.; Isaiah 2:12 ff.; Zephaniah 1:1 ff.).

Even more striking is it that he has no word of a "broken covenant," no term or detail of a code that Israel failed to keep. He does not know of any "Torah of Yahu," or any "statutes, judgments, ordinances, precepts, testimonies"; he does not speak of a "jealous God." He has not the phraseology of the Palestinian religious literature. He has no play upon *hayah,* "to be," as in Exodus 3:14. Misunderstanding of his *Anî Yahu* may have originated such play. He has no word of the historic evils mentioned by the Palestinian Yahu-prophets: baalim, high places, molech, teraphim, the oppression of the poor,[21] the licentious festivals (Hosea 4:12 ff., Ezekiel 19), the oppressive rulers (Ezekiel 34; Jeremiah 21:11 ff.; 22:1). He does not promise a righteous king, a branch of the stock of David, as Isaiah 11 or 32:1 f., or Jeremiah 23:5 ff. do. He pictures no golden age for all the world, just around the next political corner. There is no more fervid feeling, no loftier emotion than his, anywhere in the Old Testament. But the thronging events of the great historic past wring no sobbing reminiscence from him. The themes upon which historic Israel then felt so keenly, and still feels, are no part of his own ancestral traditions. He is not steeped in such Hebrew literature.

Since he charges no revolt from a divinely-decreed priesthood and sanctuary, he puts no blame upon "Jeroboam ben-Nebat, who made Israel to sin." He is silent about the historic iniquities at Shiloh, Carmel, Jezreel, Mizpeh, Tabor, Bethel, the Gilgals, Beersheba, Dan and Samaria (Jeremiah 7:12; Hosea 1:4 ff.; 5:1; 6:8 f. Amos 5:5; 7:9; 8:14). "The calves" of Dan and Bethel and Samaria get no more reference than the bull-colossi of Babylonia that confront him everywhere. He does not call them "cherubim," nor weave them into mystic visions as Ezekiel does;

[21] Amos 2:6, 4:1, 5:11 f.; Jeremiah 34:8 ff.; Isaiah 3:12 ff.; and 5; 10:1-4, etc.

nor see in flying snakes, *seraphîm,* the angels of Yahu (Isaiah 6). His literary traditions are as remote from those of Euphratean paganism as from those of the earlier Hebrew.

Nor does he denounce corrupt priests, and ignorant Levites. He does not announce a restored priestly organization, as Ezekiel 40-48 does. He could never have approved of one. He repudiates, like Palestinian protestants, all sacrificial worship. "Not to Me do you bring the sheep of your burnt offerings. And your sacrifices—you are not honoring Me! I never made you worship with a minhah, nor did I weary you with incense![22] You are not buying Me sweet cane with your money, and with the fat of your sacrifices you are not sating Me!" (Isaiah 43:23 f.; cf. Jeremiah 6:20). Like the great Palestinian Yahu-prophets, he would account such worship mere paganism.

In this repudiation of sacrificial liturgy, the Servant stands apart from Palestinians like Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah. They had recognized the existence of a priestly Torah, but had pronounced it a fraud. "How say you, We are wise, for the Torah of Yahu is with us? Lo, certainly the lying pen of scribes hath wrought to deceive!" cried Jeremiah, 8:8 f. But the Servant does not know of any written or traditional Palestinian Torah at all. He has none of its phraseology; none of its prescriptions are recalled.[23]

[22] A thrust at the priestly term, *reah nihoah,* "soothing or comforting odor" (?) which occurs fifty-three times in Levitical prescriptions.

[23] Professor C. C. Torrey's new book, *The Second Isaiah,* does not account for the remarkable features under consideration. Against the dissecting vagaries of Duhm, Cheyne, and Martin, Torrey thinks that chapters 40-66, with 34 and 35, are all the work of one poet who lived in Palestine about a hundred years after Cyrus. To include chapter 34, Torrey suggests that it was written between 450-400 B.C., when the Nabateans were driving the remnant of the Edomites into Palestine. Why does the poet then not acknowledge that Yahu is giving the Edomites refuge in Palestine? A curious vengeance on Judah's enemies, to make those enemies overrun the land of Judah! Professor Torrey does not explain why chapters 40-55 are devoid of all the phraseology characteristic of previous Palestinian literature, devoid of allusion to the familiar events and places of earlier history. Chapters 56-66, on the contrary, emphasize some old phrases, institutions, sins, terms, and the temple. The contrast is marked. Placing the poet in Palestine makes the unique literary features of 40-55 inexplicable. Should there not be special comfort passages addressed to places in Palestine that were especially distressed at the time? Why is there no reference to the temple-project of Haggai and Zechariah? to the Jewish communities in Egypt, shown by the Elephantiné papyri to have been in existence in that early Persian time, and to have been in regular correspondence with Palestine? But the Servant-Singer does not know that there are Israelite communities in Egypt or Libya, nor any Persian rule. Professor Torrey argues that 44:28 and 45:1 f. are Messianic interpolations for the purpose of proving that Cyrus, a hundred years before, was the only Messiah to be expected. But this does not explain the total elimination of all peculiarly Palestinian

The Torah or "Teaching" of the Servant is the only one that he knows. The Sea-Lands are waiting for the Servant's Teaching (Isaiah 49:4), and that Teaching will be greatly magnified (42:21). And he appeals to "the people who know what is right: the people in whose heart is my Torah!" (Isaiah 51:7). In his historic allusions for the purpose of comfort he has identified himself with the "Noachian"' people. His repudiation of any ethnic limitations has shown his stand for the proselyte against Israelite exclusiveness.

Now the existence in Babylonia of a great religious body who "feared Yahu" but did not accept Jewish ritualism and social exclusiveness is to be considered. They are well known in the Talmud as Noachians.[24] Jewish scholars commonly explain that these Noachians, often Jews, found a whole code of laws in Genesis 9:1-7. Also it is usually said that by Noachians are meant merely those who observe the moral obligations acknowledged by all mankind. The explanation is contradictory. For this code declares that there are no distinctions of clean and unclean beasts. All animals and plants are equally permissible as food. There is further the prohibition of the use of blood or flesh from the living animal; a command emphasized by some early Jewish Christian writers and inaccurately translated in the AV of Genesis 9:4. No two points could be named more at variance with the general practices of ancient or present savage humanity. No people without any such taboos and dietetic superstitions is known. Such are before us continually in the cuneiform religious literature. To say that the requirements in this code were those observed by humanity in general in ancient Babylonia is a colossal reversal of the facts. We have to recognize, with the Talmud, the presence of a body of Noachian Yahu-worshippers in Babylonia, sufficiently influential to secure the incorporation into Genesis of their own code, which directly antagonized the old Palestinian taboo-prescriptions of Exodus 34 and 20-23 and Leviticus 11. It is to be observed also that this Noachian attitude is expressed in the Hyksos conduct in Egypt, as reported by Josephus from Manetho in Apion 1, 27. For these religious revolutionists there were no sacred or taboo animals. Since the presence of colonies of Hurri in the Egypt of the period is proved by comparing recent dis-

background and literary reference or phrase that we have been carefully examining. With all such eliminated, what is there left indicative of Palestinian origin? The thesis is like maintaining that *Paradise Lost* is only *Hamlet* with a new Hamlet.

[24] See "Laws, Noachian" in *Jewish Encyclopedia,* VII, 648, and *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* IX, 379.

coveries concerning the Hurri of the earliest Sea-Land colonies with the Egyptian royal inscriptions, the presence of some early Noachians in the Hyksos-led hordes will probably be conceded by thoughtful historians.

This Noachian tradition also forbids cannibalism under any circumstances, as the Jewish authors of the *Clementine Homilies* emphasize.[25] The extant cuneiform flood-legends declare that the flood came because in time of a great famine the people resorted to cannibalism. The hero of the Sumero-Akkadian version declares that he will abandon the bloody city of Shurippak and return to the Sea-Land to dwell with his Lord E. A. (Yahu?) And this whole Noachian tradition and code is an integral part of the tradition of origins from the East, with a repeopling of the flooded district by immigrants from the east. The compilers of Genesis have taken care to assert that this code is ages older than Judaism. And the Talmud lore acknowledges that such a people and code long persisted in Babylonia, and that a certain cordiality existed between them and the Yahu-worshippers from Palestine. The Noachian code became the code of the Gentile Christian church, Acts 15:14-21.

The connection of the Decalogue with the Noachian tradition is again strongly suggested by the fact pointed out by Professor Frank Gavin, in discussing *Rabbinic Parallels in Early Church Orders*. He observes that after the parting of the ways between Judaism and early Christianity they continued to influence each other in many ways, especially accentuating their differences. Particularly significant was the elimination of the Ten Commandments from the synagogue liturgy. That was the whole Law for Christian and Noachian. Judaism insisted upon all the ceremonial and taboo prescriptions.

In preceding chapters was considered the acknowledgment of modern Jewish scholars that non-ritualistic adherents of ancient Judaism were known as *yirê Adonai,* or *yirê Yahu,* also identified with the *gêr tôshab*. Now in Isaiah 50:10 the Servant says, "Whoever among you is a *yirê Yahu,* and listens to the voice of His Servant, though he walks now in darkness and hath no gleam of light, let him trust in the name of Yahu, and rely upon his God." This specifically identifies the Servant with the *yirê Yahu* folk; they are those who are directed by the voice of the Servant. And if the sentence is addressed to the exiles, it asserts that not all of them are worshippers of Yahu—with which Ezekiel would

[25] Homily, VIII, XVI, XVII; *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* VIII, 273.

heartily agree. The Servant's repudiation of priestly ritual, as above stated, is the Noachian attitude; and the assertion that such are following his teaching can hardly be a literary accident.

With this Noachian attitude should be compared the zealous missionary Ananias, who won converts in the court of the later capital of the Sea-land, Charax Spasini. As noticed in the chapter on Asmonean propagandism, his activity resulted in the conversion of the Assyrian court at Arbela. While Josephus claims him as a Jew, Ananias had not tried to bring the prince Izates to Judaism, declaring that he could worship God without being circumcised; and that "the worship of God was of a superior nature to circumcision." And during the years of Izates' residence at Charax, no fear of local Assyrian sentiment could have been a factor in Ananias' policy. He simply did not Judaize in the full sense of the term. His attitude seems that of the Noachian Sea-Landers. As we shall see in the next chapter that the Diaspora in Babylonia began with a fully established priestly liturgy, the influence of the Noachians in eventually eliminating sacrifice from Judaism is suggested.

It has been shown that the term "Noachian" for all the *yirê Adonai* did not originate in Palestine. It does not occur in the Old Testament, where, as we have seen, the *yirê Adonai* and the *gêr tôshab* get much mention. It comes from Israel's residence in Babylonia. Ula, one of the earlier Babylonian Amoraim, complains that the Noachians of his time paid little attention to the thirty prescriptions the rabbins had drawn up for them. But they observed the elementary moral obligations, avoided sodomy, would not sell human flesh in their shops, and they respected the Torah (Hul. 92b). This is definite testimony to the existence of such a body of Yahu-worshippers in Babylonia. Many centuries of contact with Israel had not brought about their surrender to the cumbrous ceremonials that produced volumes of rabbinical debate. Perhaps their influence made Judaism drop its sacrifices in time. Was the Decalogue originally the Code of the Noachian Yahu-worshippers? The total repudiation of sacrifice and ceremony by the great Old Testament prophets points to that probability. Their whole code is essentially Noachian, and their battle for the *gêr tôshab* and *yirê Adonai* we have seen.

In conclusion, it is plain that the Great Comforter of the Exile represents a school that is not of the Palestinian historical and literary tradition, and that this school speaks for a conception of Yahu and for an ideal of the acceptable Servant of Yahu that is

above anything possibly producible by Palestinian priestcraft. This school's Servant of Yahu is not Israel, nor the speakers only, nor any one man. They speak of the Ideal Man and Teacher that Yahu wishes to produce in every land and in every age. And it seems that the Yahu-worship that Israel met in the Sea-Land was older in point of time and purer in ethical simplicity than the Yahu-worship shaped by Semitic priestcraft in Israelite Palestine.

CHAPTER XXII

Survivals of Sacrifice

The Servant's repudiation of sacrifices in Isaiah 43:23 f. raises directly the question of the effectiveness of his disapproval, and of the origin of the institutions he repudiated. Whatever their origin, they were pre-exilic. So the survival of sacrificial institutions anywhere in modern Judaism may point to a pre-exilic period. That the ancient Palestinians thought it proper to offer the same sacrifices to Yahu that they did to other gods (Deuteronomy 12:30 f.) is a long-familiar fact; reformers like Jeremiah said that Yahu never did command such things nor did they ever come into his mind. Solomon's temple is declared to have been built by Tyrian architects upon Tyrian models, and Sidonian shrines are asserted in 2 Kings 23:13 to have stood upon the Mount of Olives for four hundred years. That meant a certain identity in the Jerusalem ritual and that of Tyre and Sidon. It is one of the things complained of by Deuteronomists. The familiar offerings-tablet of Marseilles supports this conclusion. So do early Syriac Christian writers. Assemani (1, 480) quotes Jacob of Edessa as saying that "Hiram king of Tyre built a temple like that of Jerusalem, and there offered the legal sacrifices." "Those of the Torah" would be the Hebrew phrase. The modern scholar recognizes that the Syrian apologist is simply trying to defend the identity of pagan Tyrian institutions with those of Israel by claiming that they were divinely originated in Israel.

But it is also familiar that many institutions of Judaism are of post-exilic origin. For example, the familiar cock-sacrifice known as "beating the Kapporeth" was not an approved one till about eleven hundred years ago. There is no need to multiply details. The essential point is that in considering the continuance of ritual sacrifices by modern Jews it is not necessary to determine if the procedures exactly follow Levitical prescriptions. All scholars know that these do not uniformly agree. Since the recovery of the Jewish papyri from Elephantiné, one enthusiastic article has announced that they prove that the Pentateuch then existed in the present form. As a matter of fact, there is not a line in the papyri to tell of the mode of procedure in any sacrifice whatever. But the Servant's reproof of the deportees in Babylonia suggests that all other colonies of the Diaspora had the like worship. An examination of the point is essential. Identity of procedure with that of some later local paganism would be necessary to prove a post-

exilic influence. No discussion of the popular conceptions of the purpose or symbolism of sacrifice is in order. If the fact of sacrifice in any Jewish community be established, we have some reason to believe that its chronological point of departure, the time of its separation from Palestine, was pre-exilic.

The popular conception of the sacrificial worship recorded in the Old Testament is that Jerusalem was the one divinely prescribed place for it, and that such worship elsewhere was a sin. Jewish scholars have written much in support of this view. A corollary is that exile from Jerusalem suspended all liturgical worship. But the Old Testament does not warrant any such teaching. There had been no proposal to concentrate priestly liturgy and popular feasts at a single sanctuary till Josiah's time, some thirty-four years before Nebuchadrezzar destroyed Jerusalem. During that time, ten holy sites outside of Palestine are named, some of them seeming to have a greater prestige than any in Palestine. Ninety-six more are named that are in the land of Israel. Several had much greater prestige than pre-exilic Jerusalem ever had.[1] In addition to these sanctuaries, for four hundred years at least, Israelites had been establishing trading-posts in many lands. Solomon had planted horse-buyer colonies in Kuë, as already noticed, and had supplied Egypt with Israelite mercenaries in exchange for horses, as Meyer observes, explaining Deuteronomy 17:16. Sheshonk's raids of Palestine meant thousands of deportees. Tens of thousands had also been deported by others, first and last, who never heard that such deportation terminated their privilege of sacrificial or liturgical worship. Few of these had ever attended special sacrifices at Jerusalem. After this proposition in Josiah's time, tens of thousands had never attended any sacrifice at Jerusalem. For it is to be emphasized in this connection that no required place is specified anywhere in the Pentateuch. Hebron or Dan or Gerizim, Bethel or Beersheba were possible. Welch and Oestreicher have recently contended that a central sanctuary in each tribe was the Deuteronomic proposition. Such district or provincial priestly centers remain a feature of Falasha Judaism. In Chapter XVIII it was shown that commercial and political rivalries were a chief factor in determining the survival of sacred cities. The soundness of the contention of Welch and Oestreicher need not be discussed; the fact remains that the Josianic revolution specifies no central sanctuary. The Deutero-

[1] See Von Gall, *Zeitschrift für die Alt-Testamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1898; Beiheft, III; Wood, "The Religion of Canaan," in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1916, I-III, II-IV.

nomic code merely declares that the worship should be at some place supervised by the Associated Priests. Was the actual choice of the place left to the king? Why does one faction assume that the divine purpose stands or falls with the kingdom? But the life of prosperity and the peaceful end assured Josiah (2 Kings 22:19) proved illusory. For multitudes that fact was decisive against the place Josiah had chosen. He chose the place which he thought he and his priestcraft could most easily control. It is recorded that the country at large laughed at his overtures (2 Chronicles 30:5-10: the king's invitation is here transferred to Hezekiah). And his untimely end confirmed multitudes in the conviction that prosperity was not to be gained by accepting dictation in matters of religion from royal capitals, however heartily they approved the general viewpoint of Deuteronomy 28. As for Gerizim itself, apart from the Samaritan community, its sanctity has never been lost. It is well known that devout Oriental Jews make pilgrimages to-day to the reputed tomb of Joseph, and burn various offerings there.

Then geography and economic conditions were always against centralization. Only a small minority of any Semitic cultus could actually go upon a *haj* to some outstanding sanctuary. Especially was this true of the great Palestinian festivals in the busy harvest season. The modern Moslem still offers a *fedou* anywhere if local events suggest it, or if he is in special distress. Especially proud if able to attend the Feast of Victims at Mekka, most Moslems must content themselves with offering the same at their own homes, at the hour of the Mekka sacrifices. So tens of thousands of ancient Israel would have appreciated the opportunity to attend the special festivities at the royal chapel at Jerusalem, who nevertheless never saw them, yet never thought themselves without all proper priestly direction. Their removal from Palestine would not necessarily change this way of thinking. Though Josiah smashes some notable rival sanctuaries in his own neighborhood, there is no evidence that the general principle was immediately accepted, in Palestine or anywhere else.

To state the fact differently, the necessities and perplexities of daily life do not change. Technical terms do. Assembly for consultation, inquiry of a god—that will persist; the place and the name may differ. In the Old Testament, *mo'ed* is commonly an appointed feast, or period of time, or a periodic feast. But it is also the assembly for consultation, as in *Ohel mo'ed,* "tabernacle of the congregation" of our AV in the wilderness stories. But it

may be also the place, as in the Asaphite Psalm 74, where in verse 4, "Thine enemies roar out in the midst of thy assemblies"—interrupting the services. But in verse 8 the same word *mo'edim* means the places of assembly: "they have burned all the synagogues of God in the land" (AV). If we allow this Greek word "synagogue" to stand, we simply use a new term for *mo'ed,* a religio-social institution that is older than Israel: and in this Psalm the mourners are seeking *ôthôth,* signs or portents (verse 9), while the enemy offer their own ensigns to these sign-seeking assemblies. Whatever the date of the Psalm, there are many such sanctuaries in the land. Whatever the urge of the moment, assemblies for prayer, consultation, sacrifice, sedition, or murder, could be held in the *mo'ed.* Josephus shows us political councils and riotous assemblies in the Proseucha of Tiberias,[2] and seditious mobs in the temple at Jerusalem.[3] It does not matter if the current name were Gentile or Hebrew; Proseucha, synagogue, *kahal, ya'ad,* or *mo'ed,* or *kenîsat.* It does not matter if objections are finally made to the holding of a sacrificial consultation-assembly in a *bamah,* or high place, as Samuel did (1 Samuel 9:11-25). Life remains the same; and the ancient customary gatherings for inquiries and conferences result in places for them in all communities.[4]

As to sacrifice in the widely dispersed Jewish post-exilic communities and places of assembly, the admissions of Josephus are important, because he is so fully committed to the policy of championing Jerusalem liturgy, and says nothing about the local forms of worship in any other community. But in recording the favors and concessions made to the Jews by the Roman government, he tells something of the first importance. A dozen or more toparchies in Asia Minor have closed or confiscated Jewish places of assembly and worship; some have seized temple property. Sidon, Tyre, Askelon, Lydda, places donated by Syria and Phoenicia, all Asia, Delos, Cos, Ephesus, Sardis, Alexandria, Trallians, Milesians (Carian territory), Pergamus, Halicarnassus are named. Ephesus appears a center of Jewish authority for some territory, as the official warnings in two or three cases specify that the Jews are to be allowed to follow the laws of the Jews of Ephesus. Only in the case of Sardis is the specific demand of the Jews recorded. They proved that they had had "a place of assembly of their own, according to the laws of their forefathers, and this from the beginning; as also a place of their own wherein they determined

[2] *Life,* 54, 56 f. [3] *Wars,* II, i, 3.
[4] Cf. Matthew 12:38 f.; 16:1 f.; 24:3 ff.; Mark 8:11 f. Cf. Josephus, *Wars,* VI, v, 3.

their suits and controversies with one another." Upon this notification from Rome, the Sardian senate and people act, announcing that a "place shall be given them where they may hold their congregations with their wives and children, and may offer, as did their forefathers, their prayers and sacrifices to God. . . . Such a place shall be set apart for them by the praetors, for building and inhabiting the same, as they shall esteem fit for that purpose."[4a] It is impossible to repudiate the claim of a very old Jewish community at Sardis, or the claims that there was originally one place for sacrifice and liturgy, and another as a place of assemblies for discussion of legal and social relations. In Chapter XI it was shown that Sfard or Sparda was an old name of Sardis, and that Obadiah 20 shows Israelites already there. And a fact reported seventy years ago by Rabbi H. Frankl shows that some modern Jews regard the ancient Sfarda as their sacred land. Of the Jews of Constantinople he wrote (in his *Jews of the Near East*), that they thought only Jews buried in Asia could rise immediately out of their graves on the day of the last judgment. "Those buried out of Asia have to break through the rocky ribs of the earth by the path of torment before they reach the sacred land of their fathers." Consequently the ancient Jewish burying place upon the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus was "overcrowded with graves and tombs." All northwest Asia Minor was an ancient sacred land. See Jewish inquisition-centers in Revelation 2:2 ff., 12 f., 24; 3:7-9.

Two leading facts of the history of Judaism in Asia Minor favored the establishment of such sanctuaries in all the older Israelite communities in Asia Minor and the Mediterranean coasts. What else was to be expected of Solomon's horse-buyer colonies planted in Kuë and along the Parthenius River? The exclusive pretensions of Jerusalem or of any other Palestinian sanctuary were no part of the traditions of their time. Nor was the universal Aaronite or Levitical domination a fact of their day. Then there is the second fact that additions by proselyting and by the importing of Persian Jewish garrisons in the time of the Seleucids meant an Indo-Germanic Judaism. For the Hittites and Phrygians or Meshech ("Woe is me! for I am a *gêr* of Meshech!"—Psalm 120:5), and the later Khaldian invaders were all Indo-Germanic. There were still later Iranic Kimmerians, Medes, and Scythians noticed in Chapter XI as becoming the dominant element for a long time in central Asia Minor. The Lydian (and Carian-Philistine?) coasts were not Indo-Germanic, but it is to be emphasized

[4a] *Antiquities*, XIV, X; Sardians in 17, 24.

also that they were not Semitic; nor were Pamphylians and Cilicians. There is no evidence that there was ever an ancient Semitic native population anywhere between Armenia and the extreme west coasts. The old Assyrian trading-posts in Cappadocia, and the later Hebrew-Phoenician markets have left no evidence of a general Semitic population. And the last wave of the above-mentioned Iranic migration was the Persian Empire, while the Greek on all the Asian coasts was at the same time pressing into the interior. A Judaism gathered from such population inevitably had some communities considered metropolitan. Sanctuaries at Ephesus or Sardis or Pergamus might have more influence in their immediate vicinity than the community at Jerusalem had. That was a direct issue when men like Paul made through this region a declaration of independence of the Jerusalem hierarchy.

It was quite in the nature of things that the many Asian and Mediterranean communities named by Josephus appealed directly to Roman authorities, instead of asking the intervention of Jerusalem. It was natural that each should have a center of consultation and administration, as Assyrian communities in Cappadocia had 2500 years before. Through many centuries Jerusalem had not been able to exert any protective influence in behalf of distant Jewish communities. Instead, she usually begged such to support her, "for auld lang syne." The final destruction of Jerusalem would, for such a colony, strengthen the authority of the community that might exist at an important center like Ephesus. The above-suggested preëminence of the Jewish community at Ephesus is historically justified, and has its modern parallel in the efforts of intelligent European and American Judaism to act as guide for the illiterate survivals of an ancient Yahwism in Asia and Africa. The New Testament epistles to those in Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi, etc., are but expressions of the Diasporic habit of recognizing certain communities as the centers of influence and authority for numerous neighboring points. And as above acknowledged, old Diasporic districts like that of Sardis maintained the old sacrificial worship.

Again, ancient concessions by Syria and Phoenicia are mentioned in the citations by Josephus. There must have been some similar survivals of local sanctuaries. In the time of the Maccabean uprising the Greeks thought it necessary to set up altars for their favored numina in the principal towns. This seems difficult to explain unless it appealed to Jewish convenience. If Jerusalem and Gerizim were the only points where the populace was in the

habit of sacrificing, Antiochus did not need to control any others. That the Maccabean uprising was not because of the recognized exclusive pretensions of Jerusalem is illustrated by the recently-discovered Zadokite work emanating from a community at Damascus.[4b] These "New Covenant" people declare that 390 years after the city was delivered into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar, there was a revival.[5] Devout Israelites, priests, and Levites abandoned Judah because of its wickedness. They rejected Jerusalem and would not offer upon its altar. They declared that wicked Judah would be cut off utterly in its day of trial by fire. They established themselves at Damascus as "Saints of the Most High." A layman was head of the community, and a Priest-Messiah was expected. They had a sanctuary in which they maintained sacrificial worship and votive sacrifices. "No man shall bring upon the altar upon the Sabbath anything but the Sabbath-burnt-offerings, for so it is written, 'aside from your Sabbaths'." They had no synagogue; or more exactly, they avoided old terms, and called their place of worship *Beth-hishtahawath,* "house of bowing or prostrating." The community was anti-rabbinic in all details, and the village or quarter of their sanctuary was accounted a "most holy city."

We are keenly curious as to the ultimate fate of this community. Was it the one that proselyted nearly all the women of Damascus, and was finally massacred by the pagan populace in the time of Josephus, a hundred and fifty years later? How many similar sectarian communities were distributed through Syria by that time? How many such aided Titus in destroying the wicked and heretical Jerusalem? What connection may there be between their proclamation of a "New Covenant" and the like proclamation of the early church, a hundred and thirty-five years later? Certainly some Syrian and Phoenician communities cited by Josephus were familiar with Israelites of this type.

Turning next to Egypt, we are told that in the time of these Asmonean activities the ousted priest Onias built at Heliopolis a temple for the purpose of asserting the precedence of his own

[4b] Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries,* vol. 1, "Fragments of a Zadokite Work," Cambridge, 1910; Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha;* G. F. Moore, "Covenanters of Damascus," in *Harvard Theological Review,* October, 1911; E. Meyer, "Die Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes im Lande Damascus," in *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft,* 1919, Philosophische-Historische Klasse, No. 9.

[5] The date 390 years after 586 B.C. would put the revival in 196 B.C.: thirty years before the Maccabean outbreak. It is believed that 490 should read for 390, putting the schism about 96 B.C., after many years of Asmonean corruption.

claims to the priesthood. Such an action never could have succeeded had Jews and Samaritans been fully committed to the dogma that sacrifice was permissible at one sanctuary only. His action proves that there was a great body of Jews or Israelites in Egypt who did not accept such a dogma; and the story reads far more like the restoring of an old popular sanctuary than like originating a new sanctuary-dogma and a sanctuary to match, at the same time. The site does not suggest special appeal to the descendants of the Samaritan garrison in the Thebaid, placed there by Alexander two hundred years before; for the Thebaid was some four hundred and fifty miles south of the Oneion. The appeal of Onias is certainly to the immense body of Jews massed in the Delta: the temple must have been a restoration of the one which Isaiah asserted would be at the "city of the sun"—Heliopolis. Josephus says it was the same;[6] and as to Jews and Samaritans in Egypt, he says Alexander put many garrisons of both there; also that Persian monarchs had previously done so; and that there were disorders made by their descendants over the question of which temple should receive the collections they made.[7] That means that some Jews then lived in districts held by Samaritan garrisons, and some Samaritans in districts dominated by Jerusalem-preferring communities, and that each resented the arbitrary temple-tax imposed by the other. The older Yahwists of Nubia in Isaiah's time, would prefer Elephantiné or any other locally convenient temple.

Now an outstanding feature of Josephus's story of this Onias temple is that religious authority in the popular mind did not depend upon connection with the Jerusalem temple, nor with any other particular sanctuary. Precedence or superior authority in religious matters was popularly considered the attribute of a particular school, or religious clique, or line of succession. To that popular view Onias appealed, and he found many to support the superiority of his claim to the legal succession. That issue was of more importance in the mind of Egyptian Judaism than the question of any particular site. The issue was not a new one. When King Yekan-Yâ (Jehoiachin) and his scholarly party abandoned Jerusalem, they were certain, as we shall see presently, that all wisdom and divine inspiration and inerrancy were going with them. Babylonian Judaism never abated its assertions of its own supremacy and finality. The opposing majority faction in Jerusalem was perfectly certain that inerrancy and finality were

[6] *Wars,* VII, x, 3.

[7] *Antiquities,* XII, i.

vested in themselves (Ezekiel 11; Jeremiah 24). Jeremiah and Ezekiel approved neither faction, but insisted that the faction in Babylonia was far better than the one in Palestine. The Mishnah condemns the Onias temple; its liturgies were not in due form; its priests not competent to officiate at Jerusalem.[8] But a Yahwism that had been in Egypt for centuries before Babylonian Judaism began to direct the liturgy at Jerusalem had developed much in its own way, and could not be expected to please the doctors of the Mishnah, nor to yield them unquestioned precedence.

Of the origin of this Onias temple Josephus is really uninformed; but he lets his partisan prejudices be seen. Nor could he know how long the temple would outlive him and his prejudices and his "Jerusalem-only" sanctuary. In one of his accounts, he tells us that the temple was closed by the Roman authorities in Egypt, after functioning three hundred and forty-three years.[9] But the Romans did not destroy it. They feared that the Sicarian or Zealot faction would be able to make it a center of fanatical political agitation, as had been done at Jerusalem. But it was merely closed for a time, and even in the fanatical uprising in Cyrene forty-five years later we hear of no agitation from the Egyptian temple. (Its supporters were probably Christian by that time). R. Isaac, a contemporary of Rava, in the fourth century, stated that he heard that sacrifices at the Onias temple were still permissible.[10] Thus the temple must have actually functioned nearly a thousand years.

For Josephus has two stories of its origin, and neither fits the three hundred and forty-three years of its functioning, which he writes in *Wars*, VII, X, 4. In that account the temple was the work of Onias II, son of Simon, to spite the Jews of Jerusalem. His other story is that Onias IV built it; and the letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra means that there were many Jewish temples in Egypt of a type different from the one in Jerusalem, and Onias wished to introduce the Jerusalem pattern. The provision for priests and Levites for the temple was a double peace-measure. They were to be drawn from Ptolemy's own subjects; probably proselytes were to be accorded clerical positions. That assured the king that they would not be agents of the hostile Seleucids. And like Deuteronomy 18:6-8, it was an assurance to those already functioning at shrines which Onias recognized to be antagonizing each other with liturgical differences, that they would be given

[8] Menahot, XIII, 10. [9] *Wars*, VII, X, 4.

[10] Megilla 10a, cited by S. S. Cohon, "Palestine in Jewish Theology," in *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume*, p. 197.

kindly consideration at the Onias temple. The Mishnah's violent disapproval also shows that the Jerusalem temple-staff was not allowed to provide the ministry for the Onias temple, nor to dictate its liturgy. (Considering the monstrous oppression and avarice of the Jerusalem staff as portrayed by Josephus, is it not probable that its hostility to other sanctuaries was prompted by the diversion of temple revenues?) But since the three hundred and forty-three years of its functioning, as stated by Josephus,[11] means an activity about a hundred and twenty-five years earlier than the founding or restoration that he credits to Onias IV, and as the site is considered a holy place by Onias, ruined at the time, we are reminded that in considering the Falashas, Isaiah 19:18 ff. gave us good reason to believe that there was a Yahwist temple there in Isaiah's day. In that case, Onias was a restorer, not an originator.

Josephus says that this Onias-temple was like that at Jerusalem in all respects, only smaller. But in the "Wars" version, "it was not like to that at Jerusalem, but resembled a tower." Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, considering the statement of Josephus, reports of his excavations at Tell el-Yehûdiveh ("Jews' Hillock-Ruin") that the whole city of Onias was "as close a copy as could be arranged of the Temple-Hill at Jerusalem," only on a smaller scale.[12] But Professor Peet has pointed out the impossibility of Petrie's statement. For Onias could not have copied Solomon's temple, nor Herod's temple. The one known to him must have been Zerubbabel's temple, which Josephus did not know. We must consider that the actual site remains unidentified. Thus the evidence proves that there never was any popular feeling among Israelites of Egypt that sacrifice-worship was permissible at only one locality. From the days of Solomon's trade-colonies, there must have been little Israelite sanctuaries in Egypt, wherever there was an Israelite community strong enough to maintain one.

Maimonides, long resident at the border of the Oneion, and with excellent opportunities to learn something of any traditions or records still extant writes: "The sect called *Kbtsr* [Copts?] gathered around [Onias] and he drew them to the worship of God."[13] This tradition of the proselyting activity of the ancient Jewish sanctuary is worthy of all acceptation. As told by Maimonides, it suggests that the older "Copt" population of Egypt became the dominant ethnic element in Egyptian Judaism. Pro-

[11] Compare *Wars*, VII, x, 3, 4, with the truer statement in *Antiquities*, XII, ix, 7; XIII, iii, 1.
[12] *Israel and Egypt*, pp. 108 ff.
[13] *Commentary on the Mishnah*, Menahot XIII.

fessor S. S. Cohon shrewdly observes, "It would appear that the Coptic Church eventually absorbed the temple of Onias." The generally accepted opinion is that the church absorbed a far larger number of Jewish proselytes in Egypt than anywhere else west of Babylonia. The Oneion was but one of many proselyting centers.

Following up the practice of sacrifice, we have the best of evidence that sacrificing continued even after the establishing of the Christian church, and that the popular theory was that anyone might sacrifice for himself, at any place, upon occasion. This is strongly supported by one of the recently discovered Logia of Jesus, found at Oxyrynchus. "Jesus saith: 'Wheresoever they may be, they are not without God; and where there is one alone, even so I am with him. Raise the stone [for the altar] and there thou shalt find Me! Cleave the wood [for the sacrifice] and I am there.'" Begin worship, and you will find Me with you![14] The authenticity of the saying does not concern us. It tells us that early Christianity in Egypt was familiar with the offering of sacrifices wherever one felt the urgent need; and that the earlier Christians had not wholly abandoned the practice. The Alexandrian Liturgy of St. Mark was conducted by a priest who offered incense and the various sacrifices brought by the worshippers ("the worship of our holy fathers"); and in the anaphoral prayer the priest said, "In all places are incense, sacrifice and oblation offered to Thy holy name."[15] It is unequivocal testimony as to the sacrificial worship current among the Jews of Egypt who were the first Christians there. And this Egyptian liturgy contrasts sharply with the Mesopotamian liturgy of St. Maris, in which a priest solemnly offers a victim in behalf of the congregation. The respective Egyptian and Babylonian antecedents persist. And as to Egyptian Jewish custom in the first century, Philo of Alexandria is decisive. Strongly disapproving the offering of sacrifices in one's own house, and urging the one place Jerusalem, he yet acknowledges sacrifices to be offered for feasts, anywhere, which are satisfactory so long as the priest gets his perquisites of foreleg, jaw, and paunch; and he also writes of sacrifices offered at weddings.[16]

Turning to the old Elephantiné temple, six hundred miles south of the Oneion, we find quite a pretentious sanctuary, dating from

[14] W. A. Curtis, *Expositor,* June 1913, pp. 481 ff. David Smith, *Unwritten Sayings of Our Lord,* pp. 85 ff., has not recognized this point.

[15] *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* VII, 554 f.

[16] *Monarchy,* II, I: *Rewards of Priests,* IV; Yonge's Translation, III, 191, 208, 223.

pre-Persian times. The petitioners, writing to Darius, tell him that it was built in the days of the kings of Egypt; that Cambyses approved it and left it unharmed when he came there destroying Egyptian temples. It was built with pillars of stone (not *massebôt*); and as the Greek word *agora* is regularly used in speaking of it, with the Greek word for "doors," there was certainly Greek influence there, if not a Greek architect. It had five doorways of carved stonework, with swinging-doors strapped with bronze, and a roof made of cedar beams.[17] The writers speak of it as "the house of sacrifices of the God of the Heavens." Usually the God is "Yahu who is in Yeb"; occasionally, "Yahu the God of Heavens." In Chapter XI it was noticed that the notion of one god for all of the sky-domes was very widespread from this time on, and that this Elephantiné colony avoids the expression "Yahu of the Hosts" of Heaven which was so disliked by the Septuagint translators of Jeremiah that they everywhere eliminated it. As for sacrifices, the references to their desired and granted restoration are frequent.[18]

Three things stand forth here: that the community had been a relatively wealthy one; and, as shown in Chapter VI, that Israelite colonies in distant lands were not necessarily in an inferior position; and as stated in the beginning, that there was no notion that such a colony could have no worship save at Jerusalem. Its being erected "in the days of the kings of Egypt" makes it very probable that it was done when Psamtik II was attacking Nubia with Greeks,[19] 593-588 B.C. One of the recovered papyri, written by Pet-Isis in 512, tells of an expedition made to the Land of Khar (or Hurrû) in 590 B.C. He called for the priests of all the temples to accompany him with omen-equipment (?) of the gods. This incursion into Palestine is one of the many not recorded in the Old Testament.[20] It is certainly the same expedition accredited to Psamtik by Herodotus (II, 161), in which he leads an army

[17] Smend says that it had no roof, and was a heretical or pagan shrine, an exact reproduction of the type of *bamôt* Josiah destroyed (*Theologische Literatur-Zeitung,* 1907, pp. 708 f.) Smend's imagination is very brilliant, but unreliable. He does not seem to know that the typical *bamah* was a rude pre-historic gravestone: menhir, dolmen, or cromlech, of which there are still thousands in Palestine.

[18] Sachau, *Drei Aramäische Papyri aus Elephantiné,* 1907; Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri from Assuan,* 1906; Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantiné,* 1911.

[19] *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum,* 112.

[20] Alt, *Zeitschrift für die Alt-Testamentliche Wissenschaft,* 1910, pp. 290 ff., reviews the skeptical attitude of various critics, and decides that there is no ground for rejecting the account.

against Sidon and fights a naval battle with Tyre. This expedition would provide him with many Palestinians for garrison duty. Or the Elephantiné garrison could have been placed there by Necho when he deported Jehoahaz and exacted heavy tribute (2 Kings 23:31 ff.). Since Josephus has Jews in the army of Psamtik II when he invaded Nubia, they must have been ready to his hand: either brought with him from this Palestinian campaign, or already in a garrison established by Necho, or even earlier by Psamtik I, who had invaded Palestine, besieged Ashdod many years, beaten the Scythian marauders, and turned them back from that point, and had used Palestinians in his own campaigns in Upper Egypt. Some may have been refugees from Scythian raids. At any time between 660 and 590 B.C. new Palestinian colonies or garrisons in Egypt were both possible and probable.

But the existence of a sanctuary for the garrison at Elephantiné assures us that every Jewish or Samaritan garrison placed by either Psamtik or by Necho, Darius, Cambyses, or Alexander, or by the Ptolemies, probably had its own sanctuary. In Chapter X we saw that Judaism in North Africa still points out the sites of ancient Jewish garrisons that once patrolled the caravan road from the Delta to Cyrenaica; and the tradition of some ancient temples persists.

Of especial interest here is the evidence of proselyting activity that the Elephantiné papyri show. And with a like activity on the part of the long line of Jewish garrisons that patrolled the Libyan deserts, we may again visualize the immense body of Cyrenian Judaism and its semi-savage character. The Elephantiné correspondence is with the Persian governor Bagohi, in Palestine, and with the priestly authorities there. The papyri date from 494 to 400 B.C. They show the Persian government favoring the protesting Jewish or Israelite garrison, rather than the Egyptians who had been allowed by the Persian governor Waidrang to destroy their temple. As the raid by Egyptian priests did not displace the Israelite garrison, it must have been prompted by its successful propagandism, for we find that persons with Egyptian theophoric names were members of the garrison-colony. In fact, forty Hebrew names, twenty Persian, eleven Assyro-Babylonian, nine Egyptian, and two or three Aramaean names occur in the records published by Sayce and Cowley. Hardly half had Hebrew names. It seems clear evidence of some proselyting, especially when there is no insistence on being ethnically Israelites. On the contrary, we have Yedon-Yah, son of Hosea, "an Aramaean of Yeb the Fort-

ress." And we have As-Hor, "Servant of Horus," an Egyptian and royal architect, wedding Mibtah-Yah, daughter of Mahsê-Yah, son of Yedon-Yah, in the presence of the Jewish congregation. Neither may divorce the other save in the presence of the congregation. If the Egyptian As-Hor drive his wife from home he forfeits twenty *kebhes* of silver. He takes the Hebrew name of Nathan, and is certainly a member of the Jewish congregation. How many others of the some three hundred names in Sachau's lists are the names of such proselytes, or descendants of proselytes? Quite a number of them had parents of non-Hebrew names.

Again, this family of Yedon-Yah and relatives are regularly described as "Aramaeans of Syene,"—not Jews, Hebrews, or Israelites. And some others are also "Aramaeans of Syene" with Hebrew names. But in two or three places the whole community is summed up: "the Jews, all the citizens of Yeb say," etc. This shows us that as early as 500 B.C. "Jews" was used as a distinctly sectarian term instead of an ethnical one, and included Aramaeans, nearly all of whom have Hebrew names, as well as many others who must have been of Persian origin, since they bear Persian names; certainly some were Egyptians.

Then the few Assyro-Babylonian names thrust a question of provenance upon us. Assyrian political dominance had vanished from Egypt with the Sargonids. There is no present evidence that Nebuchadrezzar did more than raid the lower Delta. So these Jews with Assyro-Babylonian names a hundred years later had not adopted them to gain favor with the existing government. There is the further fact that the contracts left by this community are recognized by Jewish scholars as being of the familiar Babylonian type.[21] And from which of many Aramaean states or tribes did these Aramaeans come? Were they from Lower Babylonia where Aramaean Jews used either Hebrew or Aramaic or Babylonian names? Linfield[22] uses this fact as proof of the complete Babylonization of the Jews, not allowing for the great proselyting activity, which we have seen to be indisputable. But Professor Peet suggests that it means only that the Persian government had adopted Aramaic as the *lingua franca* for general diplomatic correspondence. But as a body all these mingled ethnic elements are spoken of as "the Jewish garrison in Yeb," or as "the Jews, all the citizens of Yeb." Was this sectarian use of the term "Jew" intended in the case of the prisoners in Jeremiah

[21] H. S. Linfield, "Jewish and Babylonian Law," in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature,* October, 1919, p. 51.
[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

32:12, the later Jeremiah 40:11 f., 15; 41:3, and the much later 2 Kings 25:25? Compare the Babylonian Talmud, Megilla 13a: "Every one purged of his false worship shall be called a Jew."

And we have to recognize that monotheism is not yet triumphant in this Jewish community. Besides personal names compounded from those of Egyptian gods, there are the names Herem-bethel, and Ashim-bethel, 'Ashima of the House of God.' Gressman has pointed out that this is probably the Ashima of Samaria in Amos 8:14. The men of Hamath in 2 Kings 17:30 were merely reviving the Ashima-cultus. But this multiplicity of gods means more sacrificing. And the instructions from Jerusalem have no passover lamb in the spring festival.

Then we have the names Anat-Yahu and Anat-Bethel. Are these Canaanite or Egyptian? For the name Anat-Yahu, "Anath is Yahu," puts before us "Anath, the Queen of Heaven," as an Egyptian worshipper of the Ramesside era calls her in a stele found at Beth-shean. She is the Anath whose devotee (?) Shamgar was: the Shamgar ben-Anath of Judges 3:31. Her statutes (?) named Anathoth, the home of Jeremiah (1:1), and the priests of Anathoth were Jeremiah's bitterest enemies.[23] Jeremiah denounced her worship to the refugees in Egypt, both in Lower Egypt and Thebaid (Jeremiah 44:15-30). Again the Onias temple is brought to our attention. For the letter of Onias to Ptolemy asks leave to restore a holy place in the "country Diana" —Greek, Athene;[24] and the holy place was known by the same name. It is not the Egyptian sanctuary of the name, for Temu or Atmu, the Lord of the Setting Sun was the god of On: hence the Greek name Heliopolis, the Hebrew Ir-Heres, of Isaiah 19:18. Josephus also has the name Leontopolis, "Lioness-City." In excavations, images of the lion-headed goddess Bastet were found by Petrie. But Bastet is identified with Artemis, in Oxyrynchus papyri, Nos. 4 and 5,[25] while Oxyrynchus No. 1380, essentially monotheistic, makes Isis the Supreme Power worshipped under different names in all lands. The papyrus specifically identifies her with each chief God known to the writer.

> "I am all that was, and is, and shall be!
> And my veil, it hath never been lifted by mortal."

[23] See Jeremiah 11:18, 12:6; 15:15-21. See "Anathoth," in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* and Albright, "The Evolution of the West-Semitic Divinity AN-ANAT-ATTA," in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature,* January, 925.

[24] *Antiquities,* III, iii, 1.

[25] Cf. Herodotus II, 156, and *British Museum Papyri,* 121, 496.

Isis is Anat; and the Palestinian Anat seems portrayed treading upon a lion. The declaration that each important god, however manifested, is but a form of Isis, parallels the identification of Yahu with all baalim that Hosea complains of. This long hymn to Isis was written by a Hellenist priest of Memphis, contemporary with Philo.[26] It illustrates the competitive struggle toward monotheism by syncretistic methods.[27] As for Athene in Josephus' account of the Onias temple, it is familiar that *Athene* is a regular Greek transliteration of the name of this Palestinian virgin-goddess Anath, the Queen of Heaven. The shrine that Onias restored may have been actually called Anath-Yahu in earlier days, as the Elephantiné papyri show to be possible. We should not expect Ramesside Egyptians to identify Anat and Yahu. The Elephantiné colony may have had direct traditions from the shrines of Isaiah's time, certainly from the refugees of Jeremiah's time, more than a hundred years before.

To sum up briefly: it seems indisputable that these Jews of Elephantiné are an aggregation from various peoples, bound together by their common worship of "the god Yahu who is in Yeb." Some may have been Greeks, for the Greek term *agora* is used for the temple-court in some passages. But it has a priestly organization, with altar, sacrifice, and extensive proselyting, that knows no such limitations as were attempted to be put in force by the revolution in Josiah's time. Neither the authorities at Jerusalem, nor those at Samaria make any objection to the Elephantiné temple. And further, they send directions for the proper date of the Passover. There seems no Pentateuch as yet.

Again, this community appears to be a center of authority for other Jewish settlements. There is a letter from a Jewish soldier, Ma'uz-Yâ, at Abydos, complaining to the priestly authorities that are in Yeb that he has been seized and punished upon a false charge of theft.[28] There is nothing to show that he was a member of the Yeb garrison. It rather suggests that he was a man whose influence at Abydos the persecutor Waidrang desired to destroy. Then there is a letter from a Jewish garrison in the Thebaid, near 410 B.C., reporting their feeble condition. The provincial governor has embraced the religion of the Persians; the local Egyptians assume that he will be more easily influenced

[26] *Oxyrynchus Papyri*, XI, 231.

[27] The infrequency of sacrifice in the Oxyrynchus papyri is illuminated by No. 1381: the composer says that votive offerings and sacrifices are but for a moment: but one who composes such a hymn causes the god to be remembered and praised by men forever.

[28] Staerk, *Aramäische Papyri*, pp. 17 f.

against the Jews. The writer claims that the Egyptians are bribing him liberally, and the Jewish garrison is financially weak. It is the old familiar story of the Oriental conditions of official protection. Any supposedly privileged community finds in the end that it must in some way pay more liberally for protection than its enemies can. It is notable that the high-priest and his associates at Yeb are recognized as the diplomatic authorities. There is no record of their directing any military movements.

Scholars are hoping for more papyri of this garrison's correspondence. All the facts suggest that there should be letters from other garrisons, some far up in Nubia. Egypt as a center of diffusion of Yahwism reminds us that the spread is to be expected in two directions only: into the Upper Nile regions, and westward among the northern Berber population. It will be remembered that the great Oasis of Jupiter Ammon lay about four hundred miles west of the Delta, and that Egypt politically extended along the Mediterranean coast about four hundred miles west of Alexandria. Taking the Upper Nile regions first, we have seen that sacrifice remains a regular institution among the modern Falashas. But there is no notion that such worship should be centralized at a single sanctuary.[29] Exodus 20:24 ff. represents the general practice. *Mesqids* with altars can be established wherever a Falasha community may settle. No reminiscence of some supremely revered ancestral Falasha sanctuary has been reported. Ability to maintain is a chief question. Whether Yahwism reached Abyssinia at the time when Isaiah spoke of the Yahwists in Lower Egypt and the Thebaid and Nubia, and of the Yahwist colony-towns in Upper Egypt (Isaiah 11:11; 19:18 ff.), or whether it came a little later does not matter for the present point. Whether it came from the garrison that was at Elephantiné in earliest Persian times or earlier, or from the Samaritan troops whom Alexander stationed in the Thebaid,[30] or even so late as the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, is not vital here. In reality, the later its entry into Abyssinia, the more would be emphasized the fact that restriction of sacrifice to one shrine was not in the mind of the Diaspora for centuries. But the Falasha belief that service cannot be held without a priest shows that the proselyting of these Agau peoples did not begin in such a stage as that portrayed in the Books of Judges and Samuel, where sacrifice is not definitely under priestly or Levitical control. Nor was

[29] Stern, *Wanderings among the Falashas,* pp. 188 ff.
[30] Josephus, *Antiquities,* XI, viii, 6.

the conversion of the Agaus begun by Israelites who had accepted Deuteronomic limitations.

Now in sharp contrast with this Falasha priestly supremacy is the situation presented by the remnant of Berber Judaism. Mixed with European Jews in some coast towns, the name Cohen or Levi is never found among these older families. Such ethnic family names as they bear have reference to ancient homes in the far interior. Any Cohanîm families are sure to be of foreign birth. It is even impossible for a Levite to live to-day among the Jews of Jerba. However superstitiously regarded and venerated a *shalîakh* from Jerusalem may be in general, no *shalîakh* who is a Levite would dare to land at Jerba; and the Jerba community would not dare to receive one in their midst. These conditions on the coast of Tunis are found also in Tripoli and Algiers. Nor are there any Cohanîm or Leviîm among all the nomad Jews scattered through the Sahara. This cannot be explained as a result of a war of the rabbins upon the Cohanîm, for the Talmud and leading features of rabbinism are unknown. It certainly presents us with the stage portrayed in the Book of Judges, when "there was no king in Israel, and every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (Judges 17:16; 21:25; 18:1; 19:1). It is emphasized by the fact that every man of means in some communities has a place for worship in his own home. There is no large sanctuary where the whole community may meet. There could hardly be better evidence that Yahwism began to spread among the Berbers from the Hebrew-Phoenician coast colonies, long before the dominance of priestly or Levitical orders. In some communities, before the arrival of European Cohanîm colonies, the Judaized Berbers prayed in the fields: which recalls the Old Testament worship on every high knoll, or under any evergreen tree,—the practice maintained still by the Kamants of Abyssinia. Then where Cohanîm clans from Europe have settled in Africa, they often detest and ostracize Levite clans. At Debdu in Morocco they will allow no Levite to set foot on the soil, even as the priest-clan at Jerba excludes them. This is not Deuteronomic, for that book undertakes to admit all Levites to a ministry in the priestly temple.[31] Slouschz observes that the organization of these priestly clans is essentially that of the Moslem Sherîfs, or descendants of

[31] Slouschz, *Travels in North Africa*, pp. 13, 53, 62, 66, 155, 158, 207, 254, 258 f., 263, 269, 290, 352, 358, 374, 393 ff., 405, 433. The author does not recognize that his evidence proves the very primitive stratum of migration or diffusion above indicated. He claims results for a rabbinism that never reached much of the interior.

Mohammed. The Arabian implications of this fact he does not seem to recognize.

The above-mentioned custom of having a sanctuary in one's own house should be compared with Micah's family-shrine in Judges 7; with Gideon's in his father's house (Judges 6:24 f.); with Jephthah's sacrifice, probably at the door of his house (Judges 11:30 ff.); with Samuel's altar at Ramah, probably in his own house (1 Samuel 7:17); with Manoah's on a rock in his field (Judges 13:14 f.); and with the altar found in an old Israelite house of the bronze age by the excavators of Kirjath-Sepher. The house-sanctuary of the African Jew must represent the same historic stage. We are better able to appreciate the ancient claim that some of their famous sanctuaries, like the one at Borion, dated from Solomon's time. But with this Berber survival compare also the letter of Pope Gregory I to Fortunatus, Bishop of Neapel. He complains that a certain Jewish miscreant has built an altar on his property, and forced or bribed his Christian slaves to worship upon it.[32] Such worship seemed common then in southern Italy, Sicily, and southern France.

Another feature of this nomad Berber Judaism is the Ghriba, or "Lonely" Shrine. It is often connected with a tribal cemetery. The nomads may come far to worship at such a priestless sanctuary.[33] Such Ghribas stand at some spot in the fields, outside the village of the community. They are to be correlated with the practice above mentioned, of meeting for worship at some point in the fields where there is no building. The average scholar will decide that a Ghriba is a building added to the older open-air sanctuaries, as houses were added to the ancient *bamôt* in 1 Kings 12:31; 13:31; 17:29—a development shown by excavations in Palestine at Gezer, Lachish, etc. The "Lonely" Shrine is often credited with miraculous powers. Since the "Lonely" sanctuaries are without priest or Levite, the nomad resorting thither worships according to his own tribal traditions. Such a sanctuary appears to be like all the untended sacred spots so familiar in all modern Islam. It is common to swear solemn oaths by the Ghriba, as Moslems swear by the tomb of a *welî,* or by the desert sanctuary where their nomad tribe may assemble. In general superstitions and customs, the Jewish Berbers are hardly distinguishable from the Moslem Berbers. The same practices of libations and offer-

[32] Milman, *History of the Jews,* III, 174.

[33] Slouschz, pp. 206, 263 ff., 288, 292, 300, 317. For his theory that these "Solitary Synagogues," as he calls them, were originally built and attended by priests he offers no evidence.

ings of various sorts upon occasion are found among both. An outstanding feature of North African life is the killing of a sheep or goat and laying it at the door of one whose protection is begged. This sacrifice is as familiar to the Jewish population as to the non-Jewish.[34] This institution has certainly determined the trilithon form of the megalithic tombs that abound in Tripoli. Stone-pillar doorways are erected for each, with an altar placed in front of "The Door."[35] In consequence, some important Jewish shrines are called simply "The Door" (*Delet;* Berber, *Deget*), and legends invented to explain the term whose origin is forgotten.[36] The popular one is that a door of Solomon's temple was set up there. The scholar will decide that the ancient sacrifices were made before the door of these Berber Jewish tomb-sanctuaries. That such sacrifices in ancient times or modern are not in the Levitical forms of the Old Testament is beside the mark. We should not expect such conformity among proselytes who never had any priests and Levites, and will not admit any.

That the trilithon with sacrifice-stone before it was the door of an ancestor-tomb is supported by Hamitic practice elsewhere. Among the Wachaga of East Africa, where the ancestor-cult is supreme, men and women are buried in their huts: the descendants bring offerings and pray for what they desire. A stone in the courtyard before the door receives all offerings and is called "the Stone of Repelling (evil)." Marvellous things are expected, even as miracles are expected of the Berber-Jewish Ghriba. As for those who die childless, they may be peculiarly dangerous, unless some one makes a shrine for them with offerings, where they will not disturb people. They are technically known as "Lost Ones."[37] "The Lost Ones" of the Wachaga seem identical with "The Lonely Ones" of Berber Judaism.[38]

[34] Slouschz, p. 477.

[35] Cowper, *The Hill of Graces,* pp. 172 ff. Slouschz does not notice these.

[36] Slouschz, p. 258.

[37] Missionar A. Guttmann: "Die Opferstätte der Wadschagga," in *Archiv für Religions-Wissenschaft,* 1909, pp. 83-100.

[38] The Wachaga are counted a Bantu people by ethnologists. But for centuries they have been nearly surrounded by the Hamitic Masai and Gallas; there is much intermarriage and fusion of customs. Reverend J. P. Farler wrote of those in the Usambara country that they are light colored, thin-lipped, certainly not negroid. He thought them of Semitic origin (see latter part of Chapter IX). As for offerings made "before the door," the custom actually survives all through Hamitic North Africa, especially in Morocco. One lays a slaughtered victim before the door of a person whose aid is desired. Excavations in Egypt have recovered stone tables with bowl-depressions for offerings, placed before the doors of certain houses. See C. L. Woolley's pictures from ancient Tell el Amarna in *Illustrated*

As for this attitude of opposition to trained religious leaders, it is found in all more primitive communities. Karaite opposition to rabbinical scholarship was one expression of it. The attitude emphasizes the fact that the stage of organization shown in the Book of Judges was that of the first Yahwism in North Africa. This primitive attitude appears to-day in the strong opposition in many places to the establishment of modern schools by the Israelite Alliance. "How much money does the Alliance want *not* to found a school at Jerba?" the rabbins have challenged.[39]

In China, where sacrifices were a leading feature of the worship of the ancient Kaifeng community, the practice contrasts sharply with the primitive stage apparent in nomad Berber Judaism. One of the large inscriptions placed upon the walls of the sanctuary emphasized this feature of their worship.

"In the Spring, sacrifice for the renewing of the life of [all] creatures. In the autumn sacrifice again in token of gratitude that the created things have reached maturity. For one must not forget Heaven and Earth, that produce and perfect all things. Honor the ancestors in the sanctuary: make their oblations in the great hall. For full satisfaction of desires one must arouse the ancestors to enjoy the oblations made."[40]

The inscriptional evidence suggests two strata of migration. As previously noticed, one inscription indicates the simple stage of Exodus 20:24 f. Such agricultural offerings as are specified above could be made upon a leveled spot of earth—probably in the worshipper's own field. It is probable that the offerings consisted in leaving a part or corner of the field for the baal of the field, who is universally considered to be "Father Abraham" in modern Moab.[41] The poor get the benefit of this offering. But the stately community quadrangle, with its complex of buildings and official staff, was plainly a reproduction of a highly specialized Semitic sanctuary, and had features that particularly suggested Solomon's temple. Especially noteworthy is the fact that while the modern inscriptions insist that The Religion originated in Chinese Turkestan or "India," it does not seem to have been influenced by the local institutions of that ancient region. Cairns heaped with skulls and horns of game, *chortens* or *chodhtens*, eventually developing into pagodas, are found all the way from

London News, May 6, 1922. "The Door-sanctuaries" of Judaized Berbers are certainly a survival from pagan times.

[39] Slouschz, p. 253 f. [40] Tobar, p. 25.

[41] Jaussen, *Coutumes Arabes*, pp. 252 f. "El-Khalil," (the friend) is the popular title for Abraham, familiar in the days of 2 Chronicles 20:7.

western Asia to Kamtschatka. At present there is no hint of this institution in Chinese Judaism. And we saw specific disapproval of the Turkoman nomad sanctuary of a raised earthen platform surrounded by a trench. The Judaism that endured so long in China seemed to have strongly established institutions not easily affected by the crude and less organized institutions of the nomad regions through which it came.

This chapter may close with a reminder of the previously mentioned maintenance of sacrifices in the temple of the Dahomey negroes, and the mingling of Jewish customs with negro paganism in the hinterland of Senegambia and the regions south. Too little information is accessible at present to permit critical consideration of the antiquity of their form. But as Senegambian Jewish customs are unquestionably derived from Berber Judaism, noted for its hatred of Cohanîm, and its independent sacrificing at ancient *degets,* it is probable that little evidence of Levitical influence can be found in Senegambian sacrifice. No notion of connection with Jerusalem exists. The same fact was noted in the case of the Nigerian negro Judaism, as told by Ibn Lo Bagola.[42] Their sacrifices seem such as the pagan negroes offer.

[42] Cf. pp. 244 ff. above.

CHAPTER XXIII

Exilic Propagandism

The popular conception of the status of Israelites in Babylonia before the advent of Cyrus is that they were peculiarly oppressed, and that the old familiar forms of worship were suspended; that there was no altar, temple, or sacrifice; that their temporal circumstances were such as to discourage any one from associating himself with them. In this chapter will be presented evidence that there was no suspension of familiar liturgical service and that active educational and other propagandist work went on from the beginning of residence in Babylonia.

The study in Chapter VI of the actual status of deportee colonies of any people all through the ancient world has shown the popular modern notion of such status to have no supporting facts. The term "captivity" for Israelite residence in Babylonia should be discarded. The Israelites there were about as captive as the throng sent from Rome to found the city of Naples, or as the Greek-Carian population sent from Miletus to found sixty trade and garrison cities on the Black Sea. They were as captive as the Pilgrim Fathers were in Holland and New England, or as the Acadian French are in Louisiana. Modern Jewish scholars recognize the fact. "They were free citizens in a free land," writes Daiches.

To what we have seen of the energetic propagandism of Yahwist and Jew in many lands, through many centuries, must be added important evidence from Jewish sources, bearing directly upon the question of the continuity of the Palestinian religious and social organization when transferred to Babylonia. We shall see that exilic Judaism claimed divine authority for active propagandism, and that it immortalized its assertion that an authorizing Divine Presence had never ceased to be with those deported. Its manifestations were declared to be as certain as in Palestine. The assertions of an inspiring and approving Shekînah come from this period. The term does not occur in the Old Testament.

This fact shows us another unique feature of the great singers of the Songs of the Servant. They announce no mystic visions as personal credentials. Amos, Hosea, Isaiah 6, Jeremiah, Ezekiel in lower Babylonia think it necessary to announce such personal authorization. Their commissions are authenticated by marvels. But the Servant announces no such. The weary exile or the

carping skeptic may say to him, "What sign showest thou?" But he gives none. The scholars are already asserting that the Shekînah confers authority. Ezekiel told how the *kabôd Yahu,* "glory of the Lord," commissioned him (Ezekiel 1, 10; note verses 1:28; 10:4, 18, 19). But with this exilic Israelite precedent, the Servant-Singer claims no such experience. No *kabôd Yahu* or Shekînah is known to him. It is another striking illustration of his entire independence of all Palestinian religious and literary traditions. But he is more certain that Yahu is with him than are any who depend upon such visions. Some weary exile, depending upon the religious conventions and some liturgical traditions of the past, may say, "How can we sing the songs of Zion in a strange land?" (Psalm 137:1-4). But he would answer: "Why sayest thou, O Jacob, why declarest thou, O Israel, 'My way is hid from Yahu! my vindication is neglected by my God?' " (Isaiah 40:27. Compare 1 Samuel 4:21 f.).

In observing the Servant's attitude toward sacrifice, in the preceding chapter, Isaiah 43:23 f. was translated in the present tense: "Not to me are you bringing the sheep of your burnt-offerings," etc. With this must be grouped Zechariah 7:4 ff.: "When you fasted and wailed in the fifth and seventh month all these seventy years, was it for Me, for Me, that you were fasting? When you did eat and drink, did you not eat for yourselves, and drink for yourselves?" (Moffatt). And in 8:16-19 Zechariah declares that these fasts ought to be made occasions of joy and delight; of cheerful festivals and the emphasizing love and honesty and peaceful behavior toward each other. Haggai at the same time secures a ruling from the priests on a point of ceremonial cleanliness, and immediately replies: "So with you and all your nation—all your offerings in the temple are unclean in the sight of Yahu" (Haggai 2:10-14). Our immediate interest is that these testify to the maintenance of priest-directed liturgical services and sacrifices through the whole seventy years since the destruction of Jerusalem. Its precise details do not here matter.

The data presented in the preceding chapter show that the real problem of intellectual and spiritual advance for the leaders of the Israelite colonies in Babylonia was not how to maintain a priest-controlled and sacrifice-centered worship, but how to get rid of it. Israel had only to drift with an immemorial pagan tide so sarcastically portrayed in the Epistle of Jeremy and a minutely and meticulously specialized sacrificial system would persist, as it had in the past. Josephus admits Babylonian influence in the Jewish

priestly organization of his time; he finds Babylonian terms in the Jerusalem ritual.[1]

We see priests active in the Babylonian Jewish life, and divided into two classes: those who officiated at public worship and those who stood guard,[2] a division already noticed in Palestine. These priests with trumpets sound responses as a minister reads service in the synagogue. The khazan may prompt them: "sound, priests, sound!" or he may address them as "sons of Aaron."[3] The Benê-Yeda'-Yah, Benê-Immer, Benê-Pashur, Benê-Harim of Ezra 2:36-39 are cited as such guard-priests, active in service in Babylonia.[4] Minute inquiry into ritual is not to the point here. We merely recognize that priestly functions were being maintained in Babylonia; and that means temples and priestly schools.

Scholars generally agree that the Yôm Kippûr, or "Day of Atonement," ceremonies did not exist in pre-exilic Israel, and are to be accounted an accretion from the residence in Babylonia. But this overlooks the possibility that solemn rituals at the autumnal equinox did exist in Palestine, but were disapproved by the prophetic reformers, and were remodelled in Babylonia. The Falashas of Abyssinia do hold a solemn mourning festival at that season. It is a time of reconciliation and forgiveness; it is an All Soul's Day; commemorating Jacob's mourning for his son Joseph, and praying "Peace to all souls of Israel!" But it is called Asterio, Isterio. Is not this "Ishtar's Day?" or Ashtart's? presenting such reforms as had been made in the ceremonies for the day when Ishtar began her descent to the world of the dead?[5]

But Jewish scholars admit that the Talmudic discussions concerning the Day of Reconciliation, Yôm Kippûr, refer only to the mode of observance in the time of the Second Temple.[6] As such, they describe what was actually done in Babylonia, at the Jewish academy-centers, and remind us that high-priests were still functioning there. The scapegoat ceremony came from Babylonia. In the Babylonian Talmud we read:

"When the conductor of the scapegoat returned, if he met the high-priest still in the street, he said to him, 'My lord the high-

[1] *Antiquities,* III, vii, 12.
[2] As in 2 Kings 11 and Josephus, *Wars,* VI, V, 3.
[3] Rodkinson, IV, Taanith, pp. 37 f., 42 f.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 82.
[5] Observe that the same unleavened dough which women were carrying in their kneading-bowls when they hurried out of Egypt makes cakes for the Queen of Heaven and remains as Matzos in the modern Jewish passover. The same word *batsek* occurs in Exodus 12:34, 39, and Jeremiah 7:18.
[6] Rodkinson, III, Introduction of "Yomah."

priest, we have done thy commission'; but if he came to his house on the next day, he used to say, 'We have done the commission of Him who gives His life to all living.' Rabba said, 'In Pumbeditha, when the rabbis took leave, they said, "He who giveth life to all the living should give thee long, good and orderly life" '."[7]

That the great annual ceremony was regularly observed at Pumbeditha, one of the Jewish scholastic centers in Babylonia, is enough to show its observance at all points within the influence of such centers. What evidence is there of priestly activity and Jewish centers of worship in Babylonia from the very beginning of the exile? Where were the temples located?

Jewish scholarly tradition insists that King Yekan-Yâ[8] and his associates were placed at Nehardea. They certainly constituted the Yahwist faction, the bone and sinew of the Yahwist element in Judah, just as Sargon's deportees probably consisted of the most fervent Yahwists in Israel. The extant prophets insist that Judah was always dominantly baalistic: Yahu was never the popular god. The contention is supported by the fact long ago pointed out by Gray: that the hundreds of names of the pre-kingdom period are non-Yahwist names, and that few Yahu-phoric personal names appear in the early kingdom. The great majority of such names appear in the last days of the kingdom, and they practically disappear with the beginning of the exile. The pagan populace who say "Yahu has now left the land" (in Ezekiel 8:12) certainly meant the troublesome Yahwist party. Compare Jeremiah 24. It was certainly an anti-Arabizing party. The difference between the faction deported and the pagans remaining was irreconcilable. The anti-Arab attitude of the Yahwist Gibborîm made them valuable to Nebuchadrezzar. From the narrative in 2 Kings 24:11-16 it is unquestionable that they made a powerful frontier-guard colony. They deliberately preferred a Babylonian residence to longer contentions with the pagan factions in Jerusalem. They had ideals which Nebuchadrezzar gave them more freedom to express than Jerusalem had ever done. As

[7] Rodkinson, iv, Tract Yomah, p. 104. Cf. p. 92 for a reference to the way Babylonian Jews acted when at the Jerusalem scapegoat ceremony.

[8] The name is variously written in the Hebrew text, and in the authorized version. It is *Jehoiachin* in 2 Kings 24:8, 12, 15; *Yoyachin* in Ezekiel 1:2; *Jechoniah,* five times, as in Jeremiah 24:1, and *Coniah,* Jeremiah 22:24, 28, 37:1; *Joakim* in 1 Esdras 1:43; *Jechonias* in Baruch 1:3, 9; *Jechoniah* in Matthew 1:11 f. All these variations confuse, and all fail to give the English reader the pronunciation. Modern Jewish scholars write Yekan-Yâ, for the sake of clarity: "Yâ will establish."

an administrative military garrison, they were masters of religious activities in their own colony-community. Nebuchadrezzar held out to them prospects of great distinction and honor. Josephus complains that he was slow in fulfillment, and that only Amêl-Marduk fulfilled them. But Josephus thought it quite a humiliation to the Samaritans to be Alexander's garrisons for the whole Thebaid.[9] Service as an independent and important frontier garrison was thought a humiliation by one for whom genuine distinction consisted in sharing the idle luxury of royal palaces. Josephus represents the action of Yekan-Yâ and company as voluntary: as self-sacrifice to save the temple. It was voluntary: but it was rather like captain and officers abandoning to its fate a ship swarming with desperate mutineers.[10] There were Yahu-worshippers in Babylonia with whom they had more in common than with the pagan mutineers of Jerusalem. No exilic tradition admits that Yekan-Yâ did evil in the sight of Yahu.[11] Every such factional criticism meets an opposing claim. And the verdict of subsequent Jewish religious history is against those who recorded their condemnation of the boy-king of three months.

With reference to this action of the pro-Babylonian or Yekan-Yâ faction, Professor Genung considers Jeremiah 22:28: "Is this man Coniah a despised, common vessel, an article esteemed by none? Why then are he and his family hurled out and cast off into a land they know not?" Yet Jeremiah soon strenuously urges Zedekiah to do the very thing Yekan-Yâ did, and denounces certain prophet-agitators in the Yekan-Yâ colony as enemies of the colony's interests (Jeremiah 29). It seems that the oracle in 22:24 ff. must have come from the opposing faction; not from Jeremiah. The despised and deposed Yekan-Yâ is still king in the eyes of his colony, and after thirty-seven years is accorded pre-eminence among the kings in Babylonia (2 Kings 25:27-30: Jeremiah 52:31-34): while the king of the Jerusalem faction ends in shame, captivity, and blindness. Professor Genung wonders if Yekan-Yâ were the original hero of the "Suffering Servant" songs of the Babylonian Isaiah.

The Nehardea claimed by Jewish scholars as the residence of Yekan-Yâ is identifiable with the great fortress-city that stood where the Median wall met the Euphrates.[12] The exilarchs maintained their lineal succession from Yekan-Yâ, and never admitted

[9] *Antiquities,* XI, viii, 6, "Sour grapes!" said the fox.
[10] Compare *Antiquities,* X, xi, 2 with *Wars* VI, ii, 1.
[11] 2 Chronicles 36:9 f.; 2 Kings 24:8 f.; Jeremiah 22:24-30.
[12] See Chapter XXV.

that only from Palestine could there come a revelation of truth. The later Gaonim, or Academy Heads, also asserted an unbroken chain of scholarship, reaching back to Yekan-Yâ.[13] At Nehardea was founded the famous synagogue Shaf Yatîb, more exactly Shaf weYatîb, "Slipped away and settled."[14] The name asserts the exiles' contention that the Divine Presence left Jerusalem at the departure of the Yekan-Yâ faction, and went with them to Babylon. This claim must be compared with Ezekiel 8:12, "Yahu has now left the land!" The report of Ezekiel's own visions on the Grand Canal in Babylonia would produce that conviction amongst the petty provincial vision-mongers of Palestine (cf. Jeremiah 23:25-32). It was a fundamental contention of the Sanhedrin that no authoritative teaching could come from any place save where the Shekînah was visible.[15] And no countries outside of Palestine, where the Shekînah did not appear, could give forth authoritative teaching. Yet Babylonia, from the beginning of the exile, takes precedence over Jerusalem as a center of religious authority. The priest Ezekiel illustrates the fact. And the rabbins claimed that authority to have been centered from the beginning in the royalist colony of which King Yekan-Yâ was the head.

Not only was the Shekînah there, but the hereditary priesthood was there. Pashur was the priestly enemy of Jeremiah in Jeremiah 20:1-6, and descendants of Pashur are the trained priests reported in Ezra 2:36 ff. as restoring liturgy at Jerusalem nearly two hundred years later. It goes without saying that such priests had much actual practice during the two hundred years in Babylonia. But the Talmud adds that the Aaronic priesthood of the second temple was descended from the slaves of Pashur ben-Immer, who were located with Yekan-Yâ at Nehardea.[16] This is certainly a factional depreciation of the pretensions of Palestinian Judaism. Its priesthood was of slave ancestry!

Again, Ezra 8:17 tells that a technically trained staff for the new temple at Jerusalem was secured from Casiph-Yâ the Makôm. One of the selecting commissioners was Joiarib; of whose line came, perhaps, the Zealot Mattathias of Modîn, who began the Maccabean uprising. Casiph-Yâ, not hitherto identified,[17] is rec-

[13] *Jewish Encyclopedia,* I, 148, IX, 208; Jacob Mann, "Gaonic Studies" in *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume,* p. 257.

[14] Megilla 29a; Rosh Hashhanah, 24b. The *shaf* was not the Hebrew of the exiles. It seems a later cognate of *asaph,* "to remove" (whence "Joseph," in Genesis 30:23). "Remove" is either transitive or intransitive.

[15] Mishnah, Sanh. 11b, 87a.

[16] Kiddushin, 70b; cf. 2 Kings 24:11-16.

[17] See Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible,* I, 357.

ognized as connected with "silver," but no silver-producing district near Ahava-Hit is known. The name seems simply "Silver of Yahu," or "Money of Yahu," implying the place which was the treasury of the sacred money. Now Josephus tells us that Nehardea was the great treasury for Babylonian Judaism. And it was only forty miles below Ahava, which meets the requirements of the Ezra narrative. This addition to the trained temple-staff came from Nehardea. Casp-Yâ was the name of the sanctuary-treasury there. 1 Esdras 1:45 has "The place of The Treasury" instead of "place Casp-Yâ."[18]

The maintenance of an organized priestly Judaism in exilic and post-exilic Babylonia is still further evidenced by the Old Testament. Jeremiah 29:1-7 advises Yekan-Yâ and his associates, the priests, carpenters, smiths, and officials to buy property, build houses, and plant vineyards, and to make themselves a factor in the peace and prosperity of their city. His language implies only one city. There is a man of visions, Shemaiah the Dreamer, with them (v. 24), whose influence is mischievous; various prophets and diviners (vv. 8, 25); and one of the priests, Zedekiah ben-Maaseiah, seems a brother of the priest Zephaniah ben-Maaseiah at Jerusalem (vv. 21, 25, 29). The letter proves that the colony had financial means and much freedom of action: a condition that we have repeatedly seen in the case of guard-colonies. Nebuchadrezzar will burn a proved traitor; active supporters will be honored as Jeremiah was (Jeremiah 39:11; 40:5). The faction opposing Yekan-Yâ at Jerusalem we saw in Chapter V to be an alliance with the neighboring Ammonite and Arab elements. At Nehardea the royal colony with its seven thousand Gibborîm or "mighty men" of the royal guard (2 Kings 24:14, 16), the technical term used in describing David's picked warriors in 2 Samuel 23:8 ff., had the task of guarding the frontier against the desert-Arabs just north, as well as from occasional forays from those west of the Euphrates. This task utilized the antipathies of the cultured gentlemen of the Yekan-Yâ colony. Nebuchadrezzar later added to their line of defense the Median Wall, which

[18] The use of the word *keseph,* "silver," without any unit of value is familiar in both ancient and modern Hebrew. Genesis 20:16 has a "thousand of silver." Isaiah 7:23 has vines valued at "a thousand of silver"; cf. Genesis 37:28, Jeremiah 32:9. Schechter in *Studies in Judaism,* p. 230, quotes a Jewish letter of 1536 A.D. which mentions wool valued at 100,000 of *keseph,* i.e., money amounting to 100,000 pieces of *keseph.* The *Jewish Encyclopedia,* in articles on "Money" and "Numismatics," does not notice the point.

Xenophon credited to Semiramis.[19] Yekan-Yâ's administration of this post resulted in his being pensioned off (?) at the age of fifty-five. Amêl-Marduk awarded him the privilege of being chief of all the kings who sat at the empire-table.[20] There seems nothing to support the idea that Yekan-Yâ was ever an inmate of the garrison-prison. Everything points the other way. When pensioned off he exchanged his guardsman's attire for royal robes and seat.

The royalist party at Jerusalem had long made the royal chapel and its courtly staff the final religious authority. The Deuteronomist politicians had not destroyed all the *bamôt*. They destroyed only those that seriously conflicted with their own pretensions. Micah 1:5 had said that the *bamôt* of Jerusalem were the worst in Judah; and Ezekiel, born near the time Josiah's iconoclasm began, says that the royal *bamôt* in the temple were the outstanding offense (Ezekiel 43:7-9). Jeremiah had heralded the coming desecration of the previously unmolested *bamôt* of kings and of all the Jerusalem courtly circle (Jeremiah 8:1-3; 19:1-3). It was not intended by the Deuteronomists to assert the singularity of the place Jerusalem. The finality of the royal priest-court, including all who would voluntarily associate themselves with it (Deuteronomy 18:6-8), was their goal. So when the Yekan-Yâ colony goes to Babylonia, it assumes from the first that religious authority in Judah has gone with them. There seems no trace of any notion that Jerusalem only is the oracle center for royalists in Babylonia. Baruch 1 has a curious story that after Jerusalem was destroyed the temple-equipment of Zedekiah was sent back to the priests and people at Jerusalem (!) to conduct all regular priestly service "for the life of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon, and for the life of Balthasar his son." But the letter on the subject is read

"in the hearing of Yekan-Yâ ben-Yeho-Yakim, king of Judah, and in the hearing of the nobles, and of the kings' sons, and in the hearing of the elders, and of all the people, from the lowest unto the highest, even of all them that dwelt at Babylon by the river Sud . . . at the same time when he received the vessels of the House of Yahu that were carried out of the temple . . . the tenth day of Sivan: the silver vessels which Zidki-Yahu ben-Yosha-Yahu king of Judah had made after Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon had carried away Yekan-Yâ and the princes and the captives and the mighty men and the people of the land to bring

[19] Anabasis, II, 4; Strabo, II, 1, 26.

[20] 2 Kings 25:27. "Bound" in Josephus *Antiquities* x, vii, 1 has no warrant. Perhaps influenced by Assir in 1 Chronicles 3:17.

them to Babylon. And they said: Behold we have sent you money to buy you burnt-offerings, and sin-offerings, and incense. And prepare ye a *minkha,* and offer it upon the altar of Yahu our God, and pray for the life of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon [and for the life of Balthasar his son], that his days may be upon earth as the days of heaven. And Yahu will give us strength, and light in our eyes, and we shall live under the shadow of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon [and under the shadow of Balthasar his son] and we shall serve him [them] many days, and find favor in his [their] sight. Pray for us also unto Yahu our God, for we have sinned against Yahu our God, and unto this day the fury of Yahu and his wrath is not turned from us. And ye shall read this book which we have sent unto you, to make confession in the house of Yahu, upon the festival days and appointed days. . . ."

Now this is perfectly natural; it expresses exactly the pretensions of the Yekan-Yâ colony to represent Yahwist orthodoxy and authority, and the claim that the opposing faction in Jerusalem was totally wrong. The humbled and deported (Jeremiah 52:28 ff.) remnant of this faction now begs the favor and intercession of the Yekan-Yâ party at their Yahu-shrine in Nehardea. But this does not at all please the later "Jerusalem-only" faction, which claimed that authority had always been vested in the local priesthood. So a very bungling interpolation was made (the words in brackets above), representing Yekan-Yâ and his comrades as presenting this confession and request for intercession to the priesthood of the temple still standing in Jerusalem! The fanatic partisans of the "Jerusalem-only" faction were as clumsy as the Romish forgers of the Donations of Constantine, or of the Isidorean Decretals. They did not know that "Balthasar" (Belit-shar-utsur) was not the son of Nebuchadrezzar; and their stupid insertion of his name indicated by the brackets, convicts them of altering an ancient document of the Yekan-Yâ tradition.

In the above translation, after the word "Sud" the three verses that humble Yekan-Yâ and his party before the Jerusalem priesthood are omitted, to show more clearly the simple direct connection. The construction shows plainly that verse 8 follows directly after verse 4. Verses 5-7 appear to be an interpolation to assert the superiority of Jerusalem over Babylon, as a source of authority. But Baruch as it stands shows neither poverty nor restraint of movement. The deportees are free to go and come, and to send important delegations to Jerusalem, if they wish. There is nothing like what we mean by "captivity" in their status. That agrees with the great volume of evidence that the Yekan-Yâ col-

ony had an outstanding religious and cultural leadership from the first.

Then the priest Ezekiel, with a colony on the Grand Canal[21] perhaps a hundred miles southeast of Nehardea, shows clearly that there was no difficulty there in his day about the elders of the colony meeting with him at any time. They are free to discuss religious opinions in the streets and at the house-doors. They heed him about as well as Jeremiah's auditors heeded him. But he is a priest, whom they regard as the proper official for answering their various inquiries. He charges their inquiries with being dominated by gross pagan ideals.[22] But "enquiries" meant gifts or fees.[23] Such fees to a priest appear in the Levitical "sins of ignorance" of our AV; the Hebrew is *asham*. A person in distress brings an offering to the priest to find out what is the matter. So Ezekiel compels us to recognize the continuation in the exile of some of his accustomed priestly activities, and his continued struggle in his local colony with the old familiar popular paganism that imagined that any indulgence could be secured from Yahu if the sacrifice or incense was ample and soothing.

But the Babylonian Talmud specifically connects inquiry of the priest with the presence of the Shekînah, and the use of Urim and Thummim which the high-priest Ezra asserts to be essential in unknown or unproved matters (Ezra 2:61-63). "The rabbis taught: How was the ceremony of inquiring of the Urim and Thummim? The inquirer turns his face to the priest who inquires, but the priest's face is turned toward the Shekînah. The inquirer asks (e.g. as in 1 Samuel 30:8), Shall I pursue after this troop? And the priest answers, So has said the Lord."[24] We see then that those who brought knotty questions to Ezekiel assume his use of Urim and Thummim: and that they would not come to him unless he were accredited to them by the familiar Shekînah.[25] More specifically, the Babylonian Talmud declares that a priest on whom the Shekînah does not rest and who is not inspired by the Holy Spirit need not be inquired through.[26]

Again, the Shekînah of the Talmud is specifically connected by Josephus with priestly incense, the clouds of which he identifies

[21] The river Chebar, Ezekiel 1:1-3; 1:15, 24.

[22] Ezekiel 1:3; 8:1; 12:1; 14:1-11; 20:1-4; 33-2 f., 30-33.

[23] Cf. 1 Kings 14:1-5; 1 Samuel 10:1-3; 2 Kings 5:5 f.; and "Thou shalt not call upon the name of Yahu empty-handed," as some think the third commandment to mean.

[24] Rodkinson, vol. III, Tract Yomah, p. 109.

[25] Cf. Numbers 27:21, Judges 20:28.

[26] Rodkinson, III, Yomah, p. 110.

with the *kabod Yahu,* or "glory of the Lord" of our AV.[27] The Talmud also identifies the Shekînah with the *kabod Yahu* in the tabernacle cloud of the wilderness stories.[28] It is an authentication of any priestly claim or prescription. The claim of a Shekînah associated with the priestly clan deported to Nehardea must be collated with these. And Ezekiel's assertion that the *kabod Yahu* of Palestinian priest-lore is appearing regularly at the Grand Canal in Babylonia[29] to authenticate his own priestly oracles, fully supports the Talmudic and Gaonic claims for Nehardea. That is, any other exiled priestly group in Babylonia would have made claims like Ezekiel's. For all the deported priests and scholars the presence of the Shekînah in the very beginning of the residence in Babylonia is as certain, in their opinion, as was its presence in Jerusalem in the time of Isaiah 6. Not one admits that Jerusalem is the One Sanctuary of Yahu. None of these will admit that there has been any interruption of Yahu-worship or of Yahu's self-manifestations. Psalm 137:1-4 would have no place in the thought of such men. They recognize no ethnic nor geographic limitations. They feel no lack of authority for an active propagandism; for the preceding work in the dominantly pagan Palestine was always a matter of propagandism among mingled races.

It should be added that the Talmudists eventually invent a Shekînah for any event or passage which they wish to declare decisive or authoritative; and the Shekînah is eventually present with good men anywhere.[30] To support his proposition that good men in the world receive the Shekînah every day, R. Abayi appealed to Isaiah 30:18, last clause. Since *lo,* "for Him," in Hebrew letters stands for thirty-six, the rabbi said that there were thirty-six such men. Aside from the amusing numerical quip, we may recognize that Shekînah by that time meant something like the Methodist "witness of the spirit" or Brother Lawrence's "Practice of the Presence of God."

But the Talmud's insistence that Nehardea is the seat of the Shekînah and of the exiled Yekan-Yâ and his priests, and of the royal line of succession, stands in sharp contrast with Ezekiel's claim of the Shekînah in southern Babylonia, or "Shinar," and with his dream of a restored Israel in which there is no king

[27] Compare *Antiquities,* VIII, iv, 1 with 1 Kings 8:10 f.

[28] In Exodus 16:10; 24:16 f.; 33:9; 40:34; Leviticus 9:23; Numbers 14:10, 22; 16:19. So claimed in Bereshith Rabbah, III, 9: Shabbath 87b; Sanh. 103b; Num. Rabbah, XIII, 6.

[29] Ezekiel 1:28; 10:4, 18 f.; 3:12, 23; 8:4, 11:22 f.

[30] See *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* XI, 450 f.

(Ezekiel 40-48). It is in like contrast with the Singer of the Servant, who has promised neither king nor priest nor temple, but has seen in the advent of Cyrus the opportunity for the true servants of Yahu. Now the accession of Cyrus did not bring a restoration of the old order in Palestine. Sixteen years later, in the second year of Darius, we read of an effort at such restoration by one faction of the royalists among the exiles. Haggai and Zechariah bring it before us. There is a proper royalist priestly staff. Sixty-six years of exile have not impaired its functions nor suspended its activity. Joshua ben-Josedek as legitimate high-priest for Jerusalem and Zerubbabel ben-Shealtiel as anointed king, of the line of David, are sources of an oil of bliss that is to flow forth over all the land. In a single day the misery of the whole land is to be removed (AV "iniquity"; Zechariah 3:9 f.; 4:13 f.). Linked with this is a picture of the departure of a cursed scroll and leaden Doom that have been tormenting the land.

This needs a little explanation. Jeremiah 51:59 f. pictures the writing of a long scroll of curses against Babylon, and throwing it into the Euphrates by the Sar Menukhah, or "Chief Quieter" (of evils? AV "quiet prince"). The curses are popularly supposed to spread through all the Euphratean streams and work ruin to all Babylonia. Such magic is still resorted to. Especially common through all the ancient world was the writing of curses upon tablets of lead, whose mysterious dull heaviness added to the effectiveness of the curse. Such devices are still known among superstitious Jews. These tablets are commonly dropped into the tomb of some one whose mighty shade is invoked to execute the inscribed curses. Or a leaden figure of the accused one is made, with such bonds, distortions, or mutilations as are expressed in the imprecations. These figurines may then be buried upon the premises of the hated person, or presented to the powers of the underworld, who are invoked to make the portrayed injuries a reality. Many such leaden figurines have been recovered by excavations in Palestine. And in some later Phoenician leaden doom-tablets we find a special appeal addressed to the mighty Queen of the Underworld, Mistress of Death and Sheol: "To the Mistress, Serpent-Lady, Goddess, Queen," begins one.[31]

Now we can understand Zechariah's picture of the curses leaving Jerusalem and returning to vex the one who sent them upon the land. It is in Zechariah 5.

[31] Lidzbarski, *Altsemitische Texte,* No. 61.

"Once more I raised my eyes and looked—there was a scroll, flying away. He asked me, What do you see? I said, I see a scroll flying away: thirty feet long and fifteen feet broad. And he said to me, This is the Curse that has been going forth over the face of the whole land. For every one that stole [the land's prosperity] with this shall be punished like this [specifies]: and every one that was adjured by this shall be punished like this [specifies].[32] I am making it depart, says Yahu of Hosts, and it shall come to the House of The Thief, and into the house of him that swore in my name for false things. And it shall abide in the midst of his house, and shall consume it—both its timbers and its stonework.

"Then came forward the angel who talked to me, and said, Raise your eyes now and see what is this departing. And I said, 'What is it?' And he said, This is a bushel-measure departing. And he said, This is [the cause of] their misery all over the land. Then a leaden lid was raised, and there sat a woman within the bushel. This, he said, is The Lady of Evil! And he pushed her down into the midst of the measure: and he pressed the leaden weight upon its mouth. And I raised my eyes, and looked, and there were two women coming forth [from the wind chambers of the sky] with a [favoring] wind in their wings. They had wings like the wings of the Kindly Lady.[33] And they lifted the measure high, between the earth and sky. And I said to the angel talking with me, Whither are they carrying the bushel? And he said, To build for it a temple in the land of Shinar. And it will be permanent: and they will make the bushel stay there, in its permanent abode."

Now whether Zechariah means that the curses resting upon Jerusalem have been the work of Babylon, or whether he regards the curses as the work of an opposing exilic party will be a matter of debate. But it is difficult to understand why he should charge Babylon with having sworn false promises in the name of Yahu, especially after nearly twenty years of disappointment under Persian rule, and why he should name Shinar, the extreme south

[32] The LXX has "punished with death" instead of "punished like this," which is the usual *lex talionis* expectation. The use of magic scrolls, amulets, etc., for success in thieving is still known in Palestine. That by a magic scroll or word a thief could call the fruits out of a field to himself is believed by the rabbins, and punishable by *death.* Rabbi Eliezer is credited with displaying this power to Rabbi Aqiba. See Rodkinson, VIII, Sanh. pp. 196, 199. Belief in such power I have found among superstitious Americans.

[33] Or "Stork." The name *Khasidah* involves a play upon ideas not expressible by one English word. The stork was widely thought the embodiment of a kindly genius or goddess, guarding the house where it nested. The same adjective *khasid* in late post-exilic times furnished the title for the Khasidim, the "Puritan" element in the Judaism of the time.

of the Euphratean alluvium, when he elsewhere in his prophecies speaks of Babylon. He certainly associates the false promises in the name of Yahu with the great scroll that is flying away. These considerations suggest that he is making a savage attack upon an opposing Yahu-party in the south, whose scroll has been a disappointment to the royalists.

In any case, for our present purpose we have vivid portrayal of the fact that the exile did not suspend priestly activities nor lessen priestly arrogance. We see the narrowness of the sympathies of the Zerubbabel party, its superstitions, and its pretensions to the power to doom with irremediable curses. We again see vivid contrast with the ideals of the Suffering Servant.

"Here is My Servant, whose hand I clasp.
My chosen one, My heart's delight!
I have put My own spirit upon him.
He shall make [right] judgements go forth unto the nations.
He will never wail [liturgies] : he will never cantillate,
He will never make his voice heard in the streets.[34]
He will not break a shattered reed,
And will not quench a flickering wick!"

The various translators have failed to recognize this. But the cuneiform priestly liturgies known as the Shurpu texts show the performer peeling onions, stripping date-spathes, or breaking reeds, burning chaff, or extinguishing torches, with imprecations: "As this object is burned, broken, annihilated, etc., etc., so may NN be cut off, burned, extinguished, etc., etc." Such mummery played an enormous part in ancient Hebrew life.[35] It has come on down through the ages in the mediaeval church's curses with bell, book, and candle. "Fiat! fiat! fiat! Amen!" It is in Paul's mind when he says that "the Servant of Yahu ought not to battle, but be gentle to all, a skilful teacher, not resenting injuries, gentle in admonishing those who oppose" (2 Timothy 2:24 f.). But again we see how far the great "Servant-Singers" are from the literary traditions, liturgical forms, and superstitions and fanatic polemical spirit of those Palestinian Israelites who thought to win through priest-controlled royal militarists.

But these grosser and baser elements in the Babylonian Diaspora also throw into stronger relief those nobler spirits whom we have clearly seen to have recognized the limitations of their

[34] Contrast Jonah 3:4, and compare Jeremiah 23.
[35] See Godbey, "The Hebrew Mashal," in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature,* January, 1923.

ritualistic lore, as the great protestant prophets did. We have seen them rise above the *'am haarets* prejudices characteristic of the ignorant and provincial of all mankind. They held out a hand to the seeker after God in every land, and bade him welcome to their company, ceremony or no ceremony. They fought a battle for the *gêr tôshab,* the *yirê Adonai,* and their voices of protest in their behalf are immortal. Their names are written only in the Book of the Ever-Living. The early missionary translators of the old Hebrew literature will never be known. But we may be sure that the earlier Babylonian Jewish era was one of the world's greatest missionary epochs.

CHAPTER XXIV

Ancient Jewish Translations of Their Scriptures

The success of the nobler elements in the Israelite Diaspora in fraternizing with many of the nobler spirits among their non-Israelite contemporaries in different lands raises directly the question, Could this success have been achieved without the agency of a literature in Gentile vernaculars? For this fusion was accomplished in lands with immemorial and powerfully organized literary traditions. Some of these lands were laden with tons of tablets prescribing rituals and sacrifices and incantations such as Israel's reformer-prophets in Palestine had uncompromisingly repudiated. The liturgical tablets claimed the authority of an immemorial antiquity: "Copied according to an original" asserted to be thousands of years old, and specifically dated in the reign of some ancient king. Similar to these were tablets of legends of a local flood, and imaginative pictures of creation. But an outstanding fact is that those who clung to such transmissions by the ancient Sumerians also thought it essential to translate them into the colloquial speech of their own time. Ancient interlinear translations are familiar to the modern Orientalist. It does not matter for the present point whether we think of the deported Israelites as being won by a nobler type of Yahu-worship in the Sea-Land; or whether we think of Palestinian Yahwists as the nobler and as winning the Sea-Landers. The literary standards and traditions of the region demanded vernacular religious texts in either case. Or we may think that an Aramaic influence in shaping old Hebrew tradition into later Judaism dates from the settlement of some of Nebuchadrezzar's deportees in the Sea-Land. For in the Sargonid days we are shown that a host of Aramaean pastoral tribes had long occupied the whole region from "Ur of the coastlands" to the high-lands of Elam. They regularly sided with Elam and the Kaldi against the Assyrian. They became in time the majority element in the land of Kaldi, so that for two thousand years their Aramaic speech has been miscalled "Chaldean." If we suppose that the Aramaeans, adopting Kaldi culture, became a chief agency in blending the lore of Hebrew Palestine with that of the Sea-Land, the fact of propagandism through vernacular agencies is more strongly thrust upon us; for the Aramaeans discarded alike the Sumerian, the Akkadian, and the Hebrew. The Aramaic vernacular served them for colloquial purposes, for liturgy, or for legend and magic, as recovered tablets prove.

It is clear, then, in any case, that a Yahwism at work in the Sea-Land, or in the Babylon that was linguistically "twenty lands in one," would be impelled by the whole cultural tradition of ages to put its message into the language of those it would reach. The proselyte needed such fortification against the ancient pagan lore everywhere offered to "each one in his own tongue wherein he was born." No intelligent proselyte of the literary Persians, Medes, Elamites, Armenians, Assyrians, Iberians, etc., would have been satisfied to remain without the books of the new learning in his own vernacular. A simple parallel is shown by the Armenians, as we call them, who near 1000 B.C. came into the land south of Ararat, where the Assyrian culture and script prevailed. When they finally established an independent kingdom, the royal inscriptions for a time were in the Assyrian language. But these Khaldians soon learned to use the cuneiform characters to write their own language, and they translated Assyrian and Sea-Land lore into their Khaldian speech.

The published Elephantiné correspondence shows Israelite and Aramaean and Greek and Egyptian grouping themselves in the worship of Yahu before 500 B.C. There was certainly some literature for their worship. Some Hebrew liturgy may have been translated into Egyptian as early as Isaiah's time, but a western Aramaic is the *lingua franca* of this community. Contemporary with the last of this published Elephantiné correspondence is the arrival of Ezra in Palestine, which Talmudic data put about 398 B.C.[1] We see him exercising all the authority of a high-priest in Palestine, announcing that he is of Aaronic line (Ezra 7:1-6), and representing that his cult and its priests are well known to the Persian king and especially favored at the Persian capital. His official rank in the priesthood, as already suggested, was probably Grand Scribe, comparable to a Rabban among later rabbis. Yahwism must have been well established at the Persian capital. Ezra's coadjutor Nehemiah was a prominent Persian official (Nehemiah 2:1; 5:14; 7:65; 8:9; 10:1). The destruction of Jerusalem mentioned in Nehemiah 1:2-4, appears to have been very recent, but does not appear to have been with a Persian authority (2:1-6). Such favorable impression upon the Persians must have meant some Persian familiarity with Hebrew literature and institutions as well as a general knowledge of Israelite life and character. There had been ample time for this. Sargon had

[1] See Englander, "The Men of the Great Synagogue," in *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume,* p. 157.

placed Israelite colonies in the cities of the Medes, south of the Caspian, three hundred years before Ezra's time. They had made a strong impression upon the Medes. We have seen the repeated taunt of Josephus that the Samaritan opponents of Jerusalem pretensions were only a colony of Medes and Persians.[2] And the modern Samaritan claim that the proselytes who came up with Israel from Persia in the days of Cyrus were ten times the number of the Israelites agrees with Josephus.

Then the fact that Sargon placed one Israelite colony in Halah is of special interest here. Assyria's policy of using valiant foreigners in frontier garrisons gives reason to suspect that Halah was an important garrison post. Speculative identifications of Halah have found irreconcilable references in the classic writers because of their assumption that there could be but one place of the name.[3] There were several such places. In the cuneiform records there is a country Halah or Khalakh "toward the sunrise" from Assyria, in the mountains. Its extent is not clearly defined. As with most ancient Oriental states, it probably varied much. "Toward the sunrise" means anywhere from northeast to southeast, our astronomical cardinal points being unknown in the cuneiform literature.[4] Then there are two cities named Halwan or Halman. The modern Aleppo is well known as one. The other was somewhere to the north of Nineveh.[5] This is the Kalakhene of Strabo VII, 36, and of Bochart, along the east bank of the Tigris. Being in Assyria proper, it was not the Chalachena of the early church. Assemani speaks of the spread of Christianity in the apostolic age in the regions of Assyria, Adiabene, Germea, and Chalachenæ,[6] which puts the Chalachena of the early church outside of the upper Assyria, outside of the lower region between the two Zab rivers, and apparently somewhere in the eastern mountains. What region was well known by that name Khala or Khalôn in the first century A.C.? Pliny and Strabo and Isidore of Charax know well a Khalônitis southeast of Assyria in the Zagros mountains.[7] This is reconcilable with the country Khalakh,

[2] *Antiquities*, X, ix, 7.

[3] See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, article "Halah."

[4] See Prof. E. Unger, in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, Nov. 20, 1928, pp. 343 f.; reviewing Knut Tallqvist, "Himmelsgegenden und Winde," Societas Orientalis Fennica, 1928.

[5] I am indebted to Drs. Edward Chiera and F. W. Geers, of the University of Chicago, for the latest information upon the point.

[6] *Bibliotheca Orientale*, IV, 3, 419.

[7] Pliny VI, 30; I, 27, 31, etc.; Strabo V, 29, VII, 36; Dionysius Periegetes X, 15. Since Dionysius is over two centuries later, the persistence of the name is important. Polybius V, 54, about 167 B.C., knows the same region.

"toward the sunrise" from Nineveh. The persistence of the name through more than five hundred years in classical literature means a certain continuity of the community. The caravan route of Isidore of Charax follows the Euphrates to Seleucia on the Tigris. From there it turned toward lower Media 36 schoeni (3 1/4 miles) to Khalônitis, in which was a Greek city Khala. Five schoeni further it reached (crossed?) the Zagros mountains. Khalôn has been recognized as Holwan.[8]

With the long continuity of the province of this name, the decisive consideration as to the Halah of 2 Kings 17:6 should be the fact that the compilers of Kings, some two hundred years after the Sargonid deportation, seem to know where the colonies are. The Khalah on the Tigris, north of Nineveh, should have disappeared when the Medes swept Assyria and destroyed its great cities. It seems out of the question as the location of a persistent Israelite colony. With the continuity of the Khalôn in classic authors must be grouped the continuity of the Israelite community, and the fact of a well-known Talmudic community at this place that claimed to be the original Halah colony. No good reason has ever been given for discrediting its tradition.

If we accept then the original suggestion of Layard[9] that the Halah of 2 Kings 17:6 is the well-known later Jewish Holwân, its strategic significance puts before us the inevitable relations with Medo-Persian politics of any colony that might be placed there. It was the great frontier post that guarded the long mountain defile of the *Zagri Pylae* or Median Gates, that led from Media into the Assyrian lowlands. The foot of the pass is about one hundred miles north of the modern Bagdad. From the head of this pass caravans follow river valleys and go southeast, then northeast, four stages, 90 miles, to Kermanshah; then five stages northward, 105 miles, to Hamdhan; thence to Teheran. Or continuing southeast from the pass, about 160 miles reaches Khurrumabad; still changing from one valley to another, about 300 miles brings the caravan to the Chahar Mahal or Four Regions, control of which is boasted by old Elamite kings. Trade through the mountain pass east to Ispahan, south toward Shiraz (300 miles further), or west to Susa in Elam is impossible if the tenants of the Four Regions forbid. The masters of Holwan and of the Four

[8] Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* I, 596, has it on the Holwân river; probably Ser-i-pol on the Elvan River of Southgate II, 145. The ruins of Zohab were six miles north.

[9] *Nineveh and Its Remains,* I, 214.

Regions are bound to agree, if any trade goes from Holwan southward.

It is familiar that Holwan is the Arman—Alman—Halman of the cuneiform inscriptions, and that Cyrus was king of Anzan or Anshan. Now Anzan in a Manishtushu inscription is east of the Persian Gulf, apparently the Shiraz region. In the time of Sargon of Akkad, it seems the commanding Four Regions district, east of Elam. Again it is spoken of as east of Subartu, the Hurrian people east of the Tigris, who were between the Diyaleh and the Upper Zab. This extends Anzan north of Holwan.[10] Thus there is a range of over six hundred miles from northwest to southeast, in the references to Anshan at different periods. Probably the Chahar Mahal was the nucleus of this trade-controlling state, which varied in its geographical extent. The principal city at the Median Gates might be Zohab at one period or Ser-i-pol in the lowlands, at another. But any ruler who controlled its trade had to hold both ends of the pass: and he had no trade to the southward unless in accord with the tenants of the Four Districts. So Israelite colonists placed at Halah—Holwan were inevitably concerned with Anshan politics from the beginning. The confident predictions in Isaiah 40-55 that Cyrus would reverse Babylonian policies came from men who were intimate with the ideals of the Anshan court. The Medes rallied to Cyrus of Anshan, when his ability and policy were known. They seized their king Istuvigu, the Astyages of the Greeks, in 549 B.C., and turned him over to Cyrus of Anshan. And their capital at that time was Ecbatana, of the Book of Tobit, the modern Hamdhan. For one hundred and seventy years the Israelites had been colonized at a principal garrison among these Medes whose choice of Cyrus made the Medo-Persian empire. It is impossible that they should have had no part in it. Their influence at the Persian court began with the Median leaders.

In marked contrast with the prejudices of Josephus against the Medo-Persian proselytes at Samaria is the Talmud's recognition of Holwan as the Halah of 2 Kings 17:6. It was a powerful contemporary colony, and the continuity of its existence and tradition should be considered. The Talmud incorporates the claim of these ancient Holwan Jews that they were the most pure-blooded of all

[10] Albright, *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* September, 1925, pp. 198, 212 f., 233, 235. Pliny and Strabo locate Khalonitis ("Holwan district") southeast of Assyria in the Zagros mountains. Isidore of Charax explains that Khalonitis was named from the Greek city Khala. The Assyrian Halwan is Khalakh in the Syriac.

the Israelites. They do not admit that Sargon's deportees there have been lost by merging with pagan cults. Later Talmud passages also made it one of the richest of the Diaspora colonies, paying one-fifth the salary of the Exilarch.[11] Such wealth is what should be expected of a colony long maintained at the eastern commercial gateway of Babylonia. The preëminence in the purity of blood is of course a local boast; one of the various conflicting claims collected in the Talmud.

This Talmudic assertion that the preëminent sanctity of the Halah colony persisted through many centuries certainly underlies the curious legend given by Yosippon, that when Alexander overthrew the Persian empire at Arbela, and would have crossed the Zagros mountains behind which Israel lay, a voice cried to him, "Take care that you enter not into the House of God!"[12] As a reminiscence that Israel had a mountain sanctuary-tract there which Alexander did not disturb, the legend has some value. It is important that the Ali-Ilâhî still in this mountain district claim Jewish religious ancestry and maintain some customs of the Oriental Jews, such as the cock-sacrifice on the eve of Yôm Kippûr. Independently of their traditions, both Jewish and non-Jewish writers have recognized the survival of Jewish customs among them, and suggested their Jewish ancestry.[13] The cock-sacrifice, or "beating the kapporeth," does not belong to early Judaism. There is no mention of it in the first three centuries of Talmudic literature. But in the Gaonic responsa, 750-1038 A.D., it has won a permanent place. The Karaites, whose beginnings we saw in Persia, practiced it in early times, and claimed that the cock was regularly offered in the Jerusalem temple rituals, though Anan, of the Babylonian school, denied this, and pronounced the cock an unclean bird, not fit for food.[14] The cock is a familiar sacred bird in the Zoroastrian literature; and the figures of cocks are placed upon the tombs of all holy men among these Persian Ali Ilâhî. The cock-sacrifice came into late Babylonian Judaism with a multitude of Persian proselytes. The Holwan community, with its prestige, may have been a chief agent in the introduction.

Further evidence of the persistence of the Yahwism planted at Halah, and in the cities of the Medes, and of its missionary

[11] Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, pp. 373 f.

[12] For the curious romancing of this ninth-century Italian Jew, see "Josephus Ben Gorion," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII, 259.

[13] See Ashers' *Benjamin of Tudela*, I, 121; II, 158; De Bode's *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, II, 179-85; *Geographical Journal*, IX, 36; A. McCaul, *Old Paths*, No. 36, p. 143.

[14] A. Büchler, in *Expositor*, 1911, II, 239 ff.

activity is afforded by modern Persian Judaism, and by all the Oriental Judaism that seems originally derived from Persia. The Talmud has no preëminent educational centers in Persia. The modern Persian Jew insists upon his ecclesiastical descent from the Sargonid deportation; not from those of Nebuchadrezzar. Benjamin II found this everywhere in Persia, and observed their independence of Babylonian rabbinism. The Talmud was unknown, save for a few modern copies imported from Bagdad. Wolff, a little earlier, found the same claim and found the Talmud wholly unknown from eastern Persia on through Turkestan, save where introduced by modern European Jews. He found both the Talmud and the Apocrypha unknown at important points like Sarakhs, Merv, Maimona, and Ankhov. The Talmud was scarce at Meshed and Torbad, but frequent at Bokhara since Joseph Maghrebî's time. The copies were modern printing from Leghorn, Poland, Wilna, and Sklov.[15] At Meshed the Jews were a sort of Judaized Sufîs, with translations of the Koran, Hafiz, Saadi, Mullah Rumî, into Hebrew.[16] So these Judaized modern Persians, Turkomans, Tajiks, Ephtalites, and Uzbecks seem to have pre-exilic antecedents; and the Jewish influence in the Persian Court in Nehemiah's time must have come originally from "the cities of the Medes."

The certainty of active propagandism by a pre-Nebuchadrezzar type of Yahwism, that did not depend upon a Jerusalem priesthood, nor upon the scholarship and later rabbinism of Babylonia, brings before us directly the question of methods. The synagogues of different peoples in Jerusalem, and the various languages in Acts 2:8 ff.; 6:9 assure us of different liturgies and languages of worship. There is no insistence then upon one language only as the sacred language. In the Babylonian Talmud is approval of the use of the Holy Books in Assyrian, Greek, Coptic, Old Hebrew, Median, Iberian, Elamite, Aramaic, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic and Persian, with the inference that any other language necessary for popular comprehension was permissible. The insistence that particular languages were necessary in particular regions is repeated, and specific reasons for the prejudice that developed against certain languages are recorded.

The term *targum* is so regularly restricted in modern times as the title of certain post-Christian western Aramaic paraphrases of the Old Testament that the average reader would be surprised to

[15] *Researches and Missionary Labors*, p. 115.
[16] *Travels and Adventures*, I, 311.

learn that the word originally meant any translation whatever, and that such translations existed from early exilic times. Jewish scholarship has recognized these facts. "In Mishnaic phraseology (500 B.C.-200 A.D.) the verb *targam* (borrowed from the Assyrian) denotes a translation from Hebrew into any other language, as into Greek.[17] And the noun *targum* may likewise refer to the translation of the Biblical text into any language."[18] As for the antiquity of such targums, "their inception is as early as the time of the second Temple."[19]

"The targum as an institution reaches back to the earliest centuries of the Second Temple. . . . The Tannaitic Halakah speaks of the targum as an institution closely connected with the public Bible reading, and one of long established standing. . . . All addresses and homilies hinging upon the Scripture had to be in the same (popular) language. Thus Jesus and his nearest disciples spoke Aramaic and taught in it, because such official or liturgical interpretation had been for centuries the synagogue usage."[20]

The targum in any land then was a local popular translation, whether Aramaic or Greek, Persian or Elamite. The reason that the targum in later times has meant the Aramaic only is that the other ancient versions have disappeared.

Since the statement sometimes appears that translations were used in the homes, but not allowed in public worship, Dr. Bacher may be heard again.

"As an interpretation of the Hebrew text of the Bible, the targum had its place both in the synagogal liturgy and in Biblical instruction, while the reading of the Bible text combined with the targum in the presence of the congregation assembled for public worship was an ancient institution which dated from the time of the Second Temple and was traced back to Ezra by Rab[21] when he interpreted the word *meforash* in Nehemiah 8:8 as referring to the targum."[22]

[17] See Jerus. Talmud, Kiddushin 59a, 10: Megilla 71c, 11; both passages refer to the Greek version of Aquila.

[18] Megilla 11-1; Shabbath 115a.

[19] Dr. Wilhelm Bacher, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, XII, 57.

[20] Bacher, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, 69. The Tannaitic period began about 300 B.C.; targums were then long in use. As above remarked, the word *targum* is from Assyrian, and suggests that an Assyrian translation was first.

[21] Rabbi Abba Arecha, of Babylonia, 175-247 A.D., founder of the Academy at Sura and the foremost Jewish authority of his time.

[22] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, XII, 57. Citations are from Megilla 3a, Nedarim 37b; Jerusalem Megilla 74d, 48; Genesis Rabbah XXXVI end.

The AV has "distinctly." Moffat wisely accepts the Jewish scholars and reads "translating as they went." Synagogue custom suggests that Ezra read the original, and assistants read its translations to the mixed groups assembled.

To this may be added citations made by Dr. Blau.[23] Ancient rabbis said that Genesis 10 showed seventy languages and seventy nations in the world, and the divine revelation was divided among the seventy languages (Mekilta Yithro). Again, it was asserted that Moses enunciated the Torah in seventy languages.[24] This is of especial importance. It seems a reply to any who claimed that their own version was the only authorized one. All versions were equally necessary. It was the rule of ancient Judaism to translate its scriptures, not into the literary language of any people, but into the simple colloquial speech of the common people.[25] Again, a Tanna of the school of R. Ishmael says, "Like a hammer that breaketh the rock to pieces, as the hammer breaks up into many sparks, so every utterance of God was made in seventy languages."[26] An especial value of this assertion that the scriptures were familiar in all languages is in the fact that it comes from the Tannaitic period, near 300 B.C. Dr. Blau groups with these citations a story of R. Tanhuma:

"It happened once that a boat which contained pagans and one Jew reached an island. And the travellers said to the Jew, Take money, go into the island, and buy us something. Whereupon the Jew answered, Am I not a stranger? do I know where to go? Thereupon they said to him, Is there a Jew who might be a stranger? [=there are Jews in all lands]. Wherever thou goest thy God accompanieth thee."[27]

With abundant testimony that many translations existed before the beginning of the Greek period, we may recognize that the failure to maintain systematic historical records inevitably resulted in a lack of historic sense and anachronistic confusions in many Talmudic references. Thus there is a familiar *tosephta* (postscript, late addition) to Megilla 11:4 that Rabbi Meir, the Asia Minor scholar whose activity began with the death of R. Akiba,

[23] Reviewing D. S. Blondheim, "Les Parlers Judeo-Romans et la Vetus Latina," in *Jewish Quarterly Review,* October 1928.

[24] Bereshith Rabba 49, fol. 199b; Shemot Rabba 5, fol. 28b.

[25] Blau, *loc. cit.,* p. 178. But the Mandarin version and the "easy Wen-li" in modern China shows that two rival versions were possible in some ancient nations.

[26] Shabbath 88b; Midrash on Deut. Rabba 2, par. 203a.

[27] Blau, *loc. cit.,* 161 f. Deut. 4:7 is the Gentile's quotation.

139 A.D., could not find any Hebrew version upon his return to Asia Minor. This interpretation may be fairly questioned. The term *'Ibrîth* may be translated either "Hebrew" or "Iberian" (i.e., old Karthli or Georgian). Modern Jewish scholars like Krauss and Bacher have recognized this fact, which many readers of the Talmud had entirely lost. In Chapter XI it was shown that Israelite colonies were in western Asia Minor as early as Solomon's day, and in Armenia and the Pontus and the southern Caucasus peoples before the exile. Some Israelite literature in the local dialects of the Georgian was essential to the survival of Judaism. Acts 2:9 f. recognizes proselytes from Phrygia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, and Pontus. A Phrygian version and one in the mongrel mixture called Pamphylian ("all peoples") is considered certain, and eastern Pontus, which was Iranic, certainly included also speakers of Iberian or Georgian. But it is hard to believe that all Palestinian Jews in Asia Minor had abandoned the use of Hebrew. The tradition about R. Meir may be a misunderstanding of the fact that there was no Iberian version in Asia Minor, though an Iberian version of the Old Testament was certainly in use in Georgia in the second Christian century.[28] Rabbi Meir's attitude toward the retention of Hebrew as the vernacular is indicated by his reported saying, "Anyone who dwells in Judea and still uses Hebrew colloquially is sure of his portion in the world to come" (Sotah 49b). Rabbi Jehudah ha-Nasî found it hard to retain colloquial Hebrew at all. But R. Meir is certainly understood as approving the use of translations in public worship. Megilla 1:8 authorizes the writing of biblical books in any languge, and the public reading of them in any language is allowed in Sotah 33a, Megilla 17b.

A little expansion may please the general reader. Referring to the reading of the Book of Esther, a Megilla Mishnah says that the public reading is not properly done if in a language the reader does not understand. "It is lawful, however, to read to those who know no Hebrew in a foreign language which they understand; if they have heard it in Assyrian characters, they have even done their duty." Such Megilla should not be a cheap, carelessly made copy on poor material, "but it must be written in Assyrian characters, in a book, on good parchment, and with ink."[29] With this various rabbis compared Esther 8:9: any writ-

[28] Krauss, "Zur Zahl der Biblischen Völkerschaften," in *Zeitschrift für die Alt-testamentlische Wissenschaft,* 1906, pp. 43-45.

[29] Rodkinson, IV, Megilla, p. 45.

ing for Jews in any Persian province had to be according to their local writing and according to their language.

In the Gemara discussion of this Mishnah, Rab Abba Arecha and Rab Samuel, of the third century in Babylonia, are quoted as saying that Greek was the permitted foreign language: a concession the more important because by that time through the agency of the Septuagint, the great body of Hellenist proselytes had been won by the Christian church. To this concession

"An objection was raised: 'If one hear the Megilla in Coptic, in old Hebrew, Elamic, Median, or Greek, one has not fulfilled his duty.' What is said above, that Greek is lawful, is like another Boraitha which says that if one has read in Coptic to Coptic. Hebrew to Hebrews, Elamic to Elamite, or Greek to Greek Israelites, they have done their duty. . . . Rab and Samuel mean that even to those who do not comprehend it, it may be read in Greek . . . and are in accordance with Rabban Simeon ben-Gamaliel, who says that even the Pentateuch was allowed to be written only in Greek, not in another tongue."[30]

The declaration that old Hebrew is not permitted must be a mistake. It is probably another case of mistaking *'Iberîth,* or "Iberian," for *'Ibrîth,* "Hebrew." The grouping with Median and Elamic, the vernaculars east of Iberia and of Babylonia respectively, points that way. Another passage declaring that the scriptures "may not be written in Hebrew, Aramaean, Median, or Greek" is certainly wrong. Bacher suggests that *'Ibrîth,* "Hebrew," is a transposition of *Arabîth,* "Arabian," while Krauss suggests that it is simply a case of forgetting that the characters *'Ibrîth* also stood for "Iberian." And Aramaean, *Aramîth,* is a blunder produced by dropping *n* out of *Armenîth,* "Armenian." A Talmudic copyist has seen that "Aramaean" was certainly wrong and has substituted "Elamite" in his copy.[31] The localizing the Sea-Lands flood-story in northern Armenia in Genesis 8:4 shows the Armenian residence of the compilers.

It will be recognized that the objection to Coptic, Iberian or Armenian or Arabian, Elamite or Median is simply a local objection. These versions are not suitable for public service in Palestine or Babylonia. Protestant communities do not wish liturgy in Latin. Ancient Judaism likewise insisted upon the local vernacular. But the specifications show that in either Palestine or Babylonia any Jewish community might have some families from a foreign land, each with its homeland version. This in-

[30] Rodkinson, IV, Megilla, p. 49.

[31] Krauss, *op. cit.,* p. 45.

sistence that liturgy be in the vernacular made any little group of foreign Jews feel that they must have their separate synagogue that they also might have service in their own vernacular: a situation familiar in Jerusalem in apostolic times. But when each stubbornly contended for an ancient vernacular, the final result was that no Jewish congregations actually used the real vernacular of their place of residence: a situation which we have noticed in all lands.

This result was promoted by the unhistoric methods of the compilers of the Talmud. The grouping together of passages from widely separated lands, each objecting to foreign liturgies in local service, left the impression upon the poorly-informed that such liturgies in a foreign tongue were not to be permitted even in their native land. Thus the very end that intelligent local rabbins sought to preserve was frustrated by blundering compilers, and modern rabbins have been known to cite the above passages as a prohibition of all vernaculars. Rodkinson's unsatisfactory summary concerning Rabban Simeon ben-Gamaliel's approval of Greek may be compared with Blau. In Megilla 71 c, 10 the Rabban is reported as saying that only Greek was permitted, "because after investigation it was found that the Torah could be adequately translated only into Greek. A soldier invented the Aramaic version for them, out of the Greek. Then R. Jeremiah says that Aquila the proselyte translated the Torah (into Greek) at the mouth of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua." Blau points out the impossibility of deriving the Aramaic from the Greek. And the fact that a soldier is credited with it gives the key. Some blundering copyist has turned *Romîth,* "Roman," or Latin, into *Aramîth,* "Aramaic." As a matter of fact, the Romans found Greek the *lingua franca* all over the east, and were compelled to recognize it in the courts. Only in military matters could they rigidly adhere to Latin. In the Talmud are some thrusts at the Romans for having no script of their own, and being compelled to use the Greek. Since Rabban Simeon ben-Gamaliel then is really credited with saying that a soldier had made a Latin version by translating from the Greek, it puts the making of the *Vetus Latina* version somewhere from 150-250 A.D. Blondheim has shown that this Jewish Latin version underlies later Jewish versions in the Romance languages. Blau also points out a specification of Latin in a second-century Midrash (Sifre Deut. 343, p. 142b) which says that God revealed the Torah on Sinai in four languages: Hebrew, Latin, Arabic, and Aramaic. So the *Romîth* appears with the *Aramîth* here,[32] and

[32] Blau, *op. cit.,* pp. 163 ff.

Greek does not appear to be the *lingua franca* of the region of this Midrash. For the need of the Latin and Arabic versions approved here compare the "visitors from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians" in Acts 2:10 f., more than a hundred years before. Blau also observes that Latin-speaking Jews in North Africa were a small minority. It was noticed in Chapter X that the local "Canaanitish" (Berberized?) long remained the language for religious instruction.

Perhaps the especially bitter hatred of the Romans following Bar Cocheba's defeat and the destruction of half a million of the populace by Hadrian explains two other rabbinical sayings from the period immediately following. One is attributed to Rabbi Jochanan of Palestine (199-279 A.D.) in a Sabbath Gemara: "The angels of service do not listen to one's prayers in the Aramaic tongue, for they do not know that language!"; while the authority of Rabbi Jehudah (139-200? A.D.) is claimed for the dictum, "One should never pray for what he needs in the Aramaic language!": but Rabbi Eliezer, of the preceding generation, prayed for the sick in either Hebrew or Aramaic.[33] As Aramaic was certainly the language of the peasantry of Palestine who had suffered so terribly, this opposition to their vernacular is inexplicable. The sayings attributed to Jochanan and Jehudah must have originally read *Romîth* instead of *Aramîth,* while Rabbi Eliezer is correctly reported as following the current Palestinian rabbinical practice. It seems another good case of blundering by compilers.

Recurring to Rabban Simeon ben-Gamaliel's insistence upon Greek (for his local congregation?) there is a Mishna which says that there is no difference between the Holy Books, and The Prayers and door-post amulets, except that the first may be written in any language, but the latter in Assyrian characters only. But Rabban Simeon ben-Gamaliel says, "The permission to write the Holy Books in another language was limited to the Greek language only." In a following Gemara, it is asserted that any targum must be written in its own proper characters. A translation written in Hebrew characters is not holy. An Assyrian targum must be written in Assyrian characters, in a book, and with ink, to constitute a holy book.[34] With Rabban Simeon's championship of Greek may be compared the saying attributed to the Tannaite Bar-Kappara, who considered Greek the natural and proper vernacular for Judea, and declared that the blessing on

[33] Rodkinson, I, Sabbath, p. 21. [34] Rodkinson, IV, Megilla, pp. 18 ff.

Japhet in Genesis 9:27 meant that all of those of the tents of Shem would one day speak the Japhetic language, i.e., Greek.[35]

The above peculiar emphasis upon the Assyrian must be taken with what we have seen of Jewish propagandism in ancient times. No one of Nahum's prejudices would have approved the Assyrian; no one of the temper attributed to Jonah would have taught the Torah to Nineveh or to any other Assyrian town. Yet by Josephus' time we have seen Assyrian Adiabene Judaized, and the last pagan shrine, that of Ishtar of Arbela, "surrendered to Moses." Judaism had spread mightily, and the nobler Jews were eagerly welcoming cultured proselytes and associating them with themselves in the work of instruction. That Shemaiah and Abtalion were claimed as descendants of Sennacherib will be remembered. Yet the great body of Judaized Assyrians was early absorbed by the Christian Church. Thus one may be permitted to repeat the remark that Judaism once dominated many lands, great and small, that it later totally lost.

Now was there any change in the language and script once current in Assyria? The above "Assyrian targum in Assyrian characters" certainly means something not Hebrew, and just as certainly means something not Aramaic, whatever later commentators upon the Talmud may have inferred. For the Aramaeans never applied the terms Syrian or Assyrian to themselves. Shemaiah and Abtalion knew that the "Assyrian characters" of Sennacherib's time were not yet obsolete, and could not have used the term to describe the Samaritan characters current in Palestine in their time. It inevitably meant cuneiform during the earlier centuries of the Diaspora. After the eastern Aramaic, which we now call Syriac, became the colloquial language in the former Assyro-Babylonian domains, "Assyrian" meant the peculiar type of Aramaic characters that was developed in Assyria, i.e., the "square Hebrew" as contrasted with the cursive that became the Syriac script. This was introduced into Palestine from Babylonia, and displaced the Palestinian characters still used by the Samaritan community. A passage in Sanhedrin says the square Hebrew was called *Ashshurîth* by the Jews, "because brought with them from Assyria." Abraham de Balmis in his Hebrew grammar explains its "square" character by its being composed of straight lines: "Quia est recta in suis literis et exivit nobiscum ex

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 21 and Jerusalem Megilla, 71b. We may recognize that this Genesis source welcomed the aid of the Iranic and Indo-Aryan peoples of Asia Minor in enslaving the older population of Canaan.

Assyria." It was not in general use in Palestine before the destruction of Jerusalem, since the coinage shows more of the Samaritan type. The early Aramaic targums, approved in the Babylonian Talmud, must in general refer to an early Syriac version; but the cursive Syriac script was confusing to non-experts and was discarded at last in the west; but there is reason to believe that targums in the Syriac script were in general use from Edessa eastward till Christian times.

With *Surîth* or *Ashshurîth* meaning two very different things at different epochs, and with *Aramîth* certainly meaning a third form of writing in many instances, confusion appears in the Talmud where the facts of past history were clouded or lost. The perplexity of the later Talmudists is shown by the fact that *Assyrian* is later explained by comparison with the Hebrew *ashûr,* "blessed, praiseworthy"; again it is conjectured that it means "even writing"; again, that it is a corruption of "Syrian": *Ketab Ashshûrî* put for *Ketab Sûri,* a reversal of the facts. *Sûrî* or *Sûrayi* is a term which the modern Assyrian Christian mountaineers often apply to themselves; it is an abbreviation of *Ashshurai* of the cuneiform, and emphasizes the fact that they are not Aramaeans but Assyrians, even though they now speak Aramaic dialects; just as the Aramaeans on the other hand never called themselves Assyrians. But these Talmudic guesses simply emphasize the fact that the Talmudists had forgotten what the Assyrian of their earlier traditions really was, and that they were using the term "Assyrian" for a current script which was not that of their forebears a thousand years before. The student of the cuneiform must be heard here.

The ancient Orient had for a very long period the art of writing upon skins (parchment) side by side with writing upon clay tablets. Stocks of white or whitened (?), bleached (?) skins are in Sumerian and Akkadian lists of temple property earlier than 2000 B.C. The earliest relief showing a scribe with clay tablets side by side with one using reed and ink and scroll of some sort comes from the time of Tiglath-pileser III (2 Kings 15:29; 16:7 ff.) in the eighth century B.C. Several more come from the time of Sennacherib.

Secondly, the need of scribes for several languages appears. In the thousands of tablets of this period the scribe *Ashur-a-a.* and the scribe *Ar-ma-a* are frequent: a scribe for the Assyrian language, and one for the Aramaic. A tablet is known where both appear in the case recorded. Also another mentions "six

female Aramaean scribes"; and a *Mu-tsu-ra-a* or "Egyptian scribe" is also known. With this oft-repeated and decisive phraseology, "Assyrian language and characters" at that time meant only one thing. And "Aramaic scribes" may have used cuneiform characters; for tablets of Aramaic language in cuneiform characters occur in the Greek period.

Turning to Babylonia, we have two different terms for scribe. There is the *dupsharru* (*tiphsar,* Jeremiah 51:27; Nahum 3:17), or "tablet-writer," and the *sipiru,* or "skin-writer." This *sipiru* has aided the Hebrew to make *sopher,* a "scribe," out of an old root meaning "to count or enumerate." Both scribes may be employed in the same case, in Babylonian records. The *sipiru* is often an officer of a royal or princely household. Ten such cases are already known. The *sipiru* is not the scribe of a foreign language; he writes the Assyro-Babylonian (or Akkadian) in cuneiform characters upon parchments or scrolls. Forty occurrences of the term are known from the time of Nebuchadrezzar II to Darius II. About ten more are reported from the Seleucid period, between 183 and 157 B.C.: from Seleucus IV to Demetrius I. Thus we have continuous record of such "Assyrian language in Assyrian characters" on scrolls from Tiglath-pileser III, 745 B.C. for six hundred years. Any rabbinical traditions about the "Assyrian" of that era could have originally meant nothing else.

The *sipiru,* or "skin-writer," is not to be confused with the *shipru* or *shapiru,* "envoy, agent, commissioner," whence the modern Jewish name of Shapiro. A man could be both *shipru* and *sipiru;* but both functions in a case are often performed by different men.[36] Now were any of these scribes or commissioners Jews? The question is answered by the fact that Shapiro is an ancient and widely-distributed Jewish family-name, suggesting a hereditary profession. The form indicates an Akkadian or Syriac original. Saphir and Sophir are also known. A friend tells me of Bagdad Jews whom he knew in Rangoon, Burmah, whose name was Sophir, which suggests a Hebrew-Assyrian original. While "scribe" and "envoy" or "missionary" are originally distinct, the terms were certainly confused in the process of time. Apart from the confusion of the sibilants, it has been recognized that Issur is an ancient Jewish pronunciation of Ashshûr: there was a tendency to confuse *a* and *i* vowels. Assyrian *gamlu* is Hebrew

[36] See R. P. Dougherty, "Writing upon Parchment and Papyrus among the Babylonians and Assyrians," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* June 1928.

gimel, "camel." Consider *apal-iddin* turned into *bal-addan;* and *Nabu-zir-iddin* into *Nebu-zar-adan*. So *Shapiro* certainly may represent both *sipiru* and *shapiru*. Recent Jewish scholars, considering the records of the Persian period, have announced that Jews were found in every sort of business or profession, save that of scribe: apparently not being masters of the Babylonian language and the difficult cuneiform script.[37] The verdict is baseless, since the writers acknowledge that the Babylonian Jews used either Hebrew, Aramaic, or Babylonian or Persian names. A personal name then does not assure us of the man's race or his creed. Further, the writers acknowledge that Persian and Jewish and other Semitic cults dwelt side by side peacefully. Intolerance and persecution began with the Sassanids, 226 A.D. The assumption of a segregate Jewish race with no proselytes has all of the records against it. Combined with the foregoing data of Professor Dougherty concerning scribes, the conclusion is clear that many of those scribes may have been of the Jewish religion, and that there were two scripts in popular use, the cuneiform and the Aramaic. A square *Ashurîth* script seems not known to the Jewish scribes of the period.

Aramaic-script dockets on later cuneiform tablets show that the eastern scribes were then beginning to turn the old angular Phoenician characters into a cursive form. But they do not approximate the square Hebrew called "Assyrian" by Talmud expositors, nor are they near the Estrangelo Syriac. The first step in modifying Phoenician characters was the opening of the loops of all looped letters. A small loop meant a blot if attempted with a blunt reed-pen. This step toward the later Hebrew-Aramaic script appears in northern Syria about 650 B.C. Sargon's deportees had been in cities of the Medes and in the Holwân garrison for nearly a hundred years before such modification began. It took centuries for a perfected script and eastern Aramaic language to displace the Assyrian and cuneiform characters. We have seen that it had not done so by the end of the Seleucid period. The Persian and Elamite influence aided the persistence of cuneiform writing, since both languages were written in it. The Talmudic explanation that "Assyrian script" meant the late square Hebrew cannot possibly apply for centuries after Sargon's deportations.

In above-cited Talmudic passages there is special emphasis upon the importance of the Persian targum. This is clarified by

[37] H. S. Linfield, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, October, 1919, pp. 46 ff.

the "First Gate" passage: "Rabbi Jose said, In Babylon there is no use for the Aramaean language, for the Holy language and the Persian are there."[38] This gains in significance when we remember that Rabbi Jose (320-359 A.D.) was a Palestinian authority and familiar with the West Aramaic targums then used there, but not suited to Babylonia. It should be remembered that this was at least eight hundred years after targums began to appear in Palestine, Syria, and Babylonia and Persia. Rabbi Jose's remark cannot have those ancient dialects in mind. It is possible that his "Holy language" means the eastern Aramaic dialect which Judaism in Babylonia had used from the beginning: "Eastern Aramaic in vocabulary and grammar, and seemingly Assyro-Babylonian in its phonetics."[39] The Sassanid Persian Empire had ruled Babylonia for more than one hundred years. Rabbi Jose knew that the later Persian or Pahlawi had become the *lingua franca* in Babylonia, and that the Holy Books were in use in a Pahlawi translation. Archaeology may yet recover some of this lost version. This statement by Rabbi Jose must be collated with the fact already noticed, in Chapter XIII, that Iranic peoples were the ancient commercial folk or city-dwellers of the oases clear across western and central Asia. We saw that the surprisingly rapid spread of Nestorianism was through the agency of Pahlawi-speaking missionaries, appealing to Pahlawi-speaking communities that had a large Judaized element. Rabbi Jose, speaking some seventy-five years before Nestorianism began to spread, probably recognized that Pahlawi had become the *lingua franca* for all Jewish culture spreading from Babylonia through central Asia. Judaized Persians were certainly as familiar in Babylonia as Judaized Assyrians once had been further north.

It may be questioned if there was a version in the Old Persian script of the Achaemenians. Professor E. H. Sturtevant[40] finds

[38] Rodkinson v. Baba Kama, p. 180.

[39] H. S. Linfield, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, October, 1919, p. 48. The Targum attributed to Onkelos, of the first century of our era, originated in Palestine, probably in the second or third century. It was very unpopular there, and may be in Rabbi Jose's mind. Naturally, the West Aramaic targums of the days of Jesus were not suited for Babylonians speaking eastern Aramaic three hundred years later, as Rabbi Jose well knows. The Targum of Onkelos was radically revised later in Babylonia, and is sometimes referred to in the Babylonian Talmud as "Our Targum." The Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan is not in question here, as it originated three centuries after Rabbi Jose's time. See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, IV, article "Targum."

[40] "Case-Forms in the Achaemenian Inscriptions," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, March 1928, pp. 66 ff.

that the many blunders in the case-forms in the royal inscriptions correspond to the long-established indifference to case-forms that the Akkadian versions of the inscriptions show. But these Akkadian versions are clumsy literals of the Persian royal. It follows that the royal colloquial was the original and was translated into Akkadian or Elamite by scribes who regularly used the Babylonian. But the startling (Akkadian) misuse of Old Persian cases (in the Persian original) proves that these same scribes wrote the Persian version. It was not done by Persians accustomed to the royal Persian script and to precise and elegant Persian speech. It is plain that this Old Persian royal script was invented by Babylonian scholars, and that the writing of it remained in their hands to the end. It is doubtful if the Persians read and wrote their own language in that script.

But this fact that Babylonians remained the scribal class explains the rapid breaking down of Old Persian case-forms, following the Akkadian usage. And the early appearance of Aramaic as the script for Persian use points to the intimate association of the Israelite deportees with the early Medo-Persian court, and to the prominence of a Jewish scribal class. There survives the curious fact that the viceroy or governor-general or vizier of a Persian province to-day is commonly known as the Asaph-ud-Dowlah, or "Asaph of the government." The modern Persian explains that Asaph was a very wise vizier of King Solomon.[41] This is not general Moslem tradition. Nor has Asaph in the Old Testament any such position. It must be that the Benî-Asaph of Ezra 2:41 and Nehemiah 7:44 were an important scholarly guild in the Persian administration. The keeper of the king's forest in Palestine in Nehemiah 2:8 is Asaph. That would not explain the Persian calling each provincial head an Asaph. If we think of "collector," it would still mean that the collectorship was once generally controlled by Jews. In any case, it means the prominence of an ancient Israelite family or guild in Persian administration.

With Rabbi Jose's statement that in the fourth century the Holy language and the Sassanid Persian met all religious necessities in Babylonia, the Talmud groups the declaration of Rabbi Jehudah ha-Nasî, two centuries earlier: "In Palestine there is no use for the Syriac language, which is not clear, when there are the holy language and the Greek language, both of which are very clear."[42] Aquila's new Greek translation for the Jews had been

[41] Wolff, *Bokhara,* p. 181.

[42] Rodkinson v, Baba Kama, 180.

made in the rabbi's boyhood. It adds to the long-continued emphasis of Jewish leaders that Holy Books and liturgies ought to be in the language locally popular. But the Talmudic grouping of two assertions coming from men two hundred years apart and dealing with the local needs of peoples in lands separated by hundreds of miles illustrates the unhistorical methods of exposition and attempted harmonization that so often appear in the Talmud.

In a Sanhedrin discussion we begin to hear of the prejudice against certain versions because they were the favorites of an opposing sect. The Mishnah on the subject expects the king to use the Torah for all secular judicial necessities. He must also write the Holy Scrolls for himself: when he goes to war, he must bear them with him; when he enters the city they must be with him, and the same when he sits judging the people; and when he takes his meals, they must be placed opposite him. As it is written, (Deuteronomy 17:19), "And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life." The Gemara upon this passage recognizes the practical necessity of different versions, and incorporates the following:

"Mar Zutra,[43] according to others Mar Ukba,[44] said—'Originally the Torah was given to Israel in Hebrew characters and in the Hebrew language; the second time it was given to Israel in Ezra's time, but in Assyrian characters and in the Aramaic language; finally the Assyrian characters and the Hebrew language were selected for Israel, and the Hebrew characters and the Aramaic language were left to the Hediotin (Idiots).' Who are meant by 'Idiots'? Rab Hisda of Sura (third century) said, 'The Samaritans.' What is meant by Hebrew characters? Said R. Hisda, 'The Libnuah characters.' "[45]

But in addition to what has been said about the impossibility of square Hebrew characters in pre-Christian times, the impossible use of the expression "Hebrew language" must be noticed. The phrase does not occur in the Old Testament. It could have meant any one of several languages spoken among the "other-siders" ('Ibrî) of earlier times: Phoenician, Hittite, Philistine, etc. Not till the prologue of Ecclesiasticus do we have "Hebrew language" mentioned. And then it is not the Israelite language, traditionally of Aramaean origin. "The language of Canaan" (Isaiah 19:18) has triumphed over the ancestral Aramaic of Israel.

[43] Rector of the Pumbedita Academy 411-414 A.D.

[44] Bagdad 900-950 A.D.

[45] Sanhedrin 21b-22a: Rodkinson, VIII, pp. 56, 58 f. Rabbi Hananel in Tosafot says the Libnuah script means that used in Lebonah, Judges, 21:19; now Lubbân, four hours south of Nablous.

In the above passage the hatred of the Samaritan "idiots" and their West Aramaic version and archaic characters is clear. As Mar Ukba of the tenth century is cited, the passage stands chronologically very far from those previously considered. In this period the modern square Hebrew has come to be known as "Assyrian": *ketab Ashshûri,* perhaps a confusion for *ketab Sûri,* "Syriac characters." That Ezra had the square Hebrew characters in an anachronism. And whether we read *ketab Asshurî* or *ketab Suri,* the common assumption of Jewish scholars that the later western Aramaic characters are meant does not stand the test of fact. Nor should Rabbi Jehudah ha-Nasî's assertion that the "obscure Syriac" was not needed in Palestine be understood to refer to the West Aramaic, in which the extant targums were written later. Recent Jewish scholars are satisfied that the Babylonian Aramaic became the language of Babylonian Judaism very early. In Chapter XXII its influence was apparent at Elephantiné in Egypt, evidently before the Persian period. The Jews in Babylonia considered it "the language of their fathers," clinging to it long after the dominance of Arabic. So early and so extensive was this spread of Jewish Aramaic in Babylonia that philologists like Brockelman have recognized the conversion to Judaism of vast numbers of the Aramaean population of Babylonia, which were massed in lowlands at the head of the Persian Gulf, as noticed in Chapter XXI. A recent Jewish writer has pronounced this unwarranted, while showing at some length that a considerable body of Babylonian law has been incorporated into the Talmud.[46] His concession is fatal to his objection. The tacit assumption that Judaism was adopting much from all contiguous peoples, while none of them were adopting Judaism has no warrant. The Cappadocian tablets have shown us the Assyrian and the Akkadian insisting upon the internal autonomy of their colonies, not recognizing local law till dealings with natives compel them to accept the decisions of native courts. We have seen the Jew in modern North Africa persisting in the same attitude. If a large body of Berber custom is dominant in the Jewish community, it is because that community is the result of proselyting Berbers. So the dominance of much Babylonian law in the Talmud means the incorporation of peoples of Babylonia into the Jewish colonies till this proselyte element was the dominant one in many places that produced material for the Talmud. The dominance of Aramaic in Jewish communities means the same process.

[46] Linfield, *loc. cit.*

For the present point, this early Jewish Aramaic was the predecessor of what is later called Syriac. The targums acknowledged by Bacher, Krauss, and others as existent before Ezra's time were steps toward the modern Syriac. Script and dialect were still far from the Peshitta version. Aramaean tribes were on the Lower Euphrates as early as 3,000 B.C. In Chapter XXI it was shown that in the time of Sennacherib the whole region at the head of the Persian Gulf between the Euphrates and Elam was held by Aramaean pastoral tribes. Any rabbi of the second century of our era there had perhaps three thousand years of ancestral Aramaean traditions. It is from this standpoint that we must understand a saying attributed to Rabbi of Babylonia (175-247 A.D.), a pupil of Rabbi Jehudah ha-Nasî: "Adam the first spoke with the Aramaic language." He knew he was in the land of the early Genesis legends, and he supposed that the ancient local Aramaean traditions reached back to those beginnings pictured in old Sumerian legends. The compilation that endeavored to derive the Aramaeans from the prediluvian kings originated in Babylonia.

But while a distinct branch of the Aramaic speech was inevitable from very early times in southern Babylonia, the script that we call Aramaic did not originate there. If those Sea-Land tribes wrote Aramaic at all, they must have used the cuneiform script. The evidence cited by Dougherty for scribes of the Aramaic character as early as the Sargonid times and on down through the Seleucid period must mean the use of the new north Syrian characters in writing the current Babylonian Aramaic. Aramaic characters appear as dockets on cuneiform tablets as early as the time of Tiglath-pileser III's deportations of Israelites and Phoenicians (2 Kings 15:29). The old Hebrew-Phoenician characters were being adapted to Assyrian official needs. Was it through Phoenician commerce? Then why not a thousand years earlier? or why not the contemporary Phoenician form? The introduction must have been through scribes recently deported from regions where the adaptation had begun. Then by 660 B.C. the characters were assuming a cursive form. Potsherds have been found at Ashshur by the German explorers, some written with a stylus in the clay, some with ink on a glazed surface. They are in an eastern Aramaic: the distinction from the West Aramaic of Palestine is already wide. Some persistent Canaanite or Hebrew elements show that the scribes must have been from Palestine; a native, purely East Aramaean scribe-class does not appear. One

prominent local Phoenician official is named Gêr-Saphon. The Aramaic scribes of the earlier Sargonids, cited by Dougherty, must have been of north Palestinian origin. These potsherd letters are from the time of the last great Sargonid, Ashshur-banipal. They deal with political matters, and come from the extreme south, where thirty-nine Aramaean tribes were raided by Sennacherib, as noticed in Chapter XXI. Not only is the language far toward the Syriac of the Christian centuries, but the script is definitely cursive.[47] An early Syriac dialect and script was then in use by Palestinian scribes in southern Babylonia in the century following the Sargonid deportation, and any targums of Israelite religious literature must have been in the same dialect and script.

By the first century of our era Syriac was the vernacular for large areas of Mesopotamia, and local Judaism anywhere necessarily used it. Rabbis have emphasized a special field for it. "Four languages there are, which the world very properly uses: the Greek for song, the Roman for war, the Syrian [Sursi] for lamentation (elegies?), the Hebrew for conversation."[48] Thus Hebrew-speakers had a special liturgical use for Syriac. We find that the early Christian church sprang up with a Syriac literature and liturgy that extended from Edessa to the Kurdish mountains and the Persian Gulf in the first apostolic generation. St. Maris was patriarch of Nisibis and Adiabene or Assyria, with residence at Seleucia as early as 82 A.D. This cannot mean that the church suddenly spread a new language over all that region. It means that Syriac was everywhere the language of liturgy and worship, and that the early church simply adopted and adapted.[49] The fact of Jewish use of the Syriac is proved by some of the varying verbal forms of the Talmud. Also, the inclusion in the Talmud of material from regions speaking different dialects is plain. The ordinary Aramaic imperfect *yektol* receives in some localities a liquid *l,* making *lyektol,* which in turn becomes *nyektol* (*ñektol*). In Mandaean and mediaeval Syriac this became *nektol.* The verb *hewa,* "to be," has the liquid *l*-preformative in some verses of Daniel and Ezra. This phonetic change to the distinctive Syriac form was in progress before Ezra's time, and would inevitably appear in eastern targums of the period. Both the original and the *n*-forms appear in the Talmud.[50] A few small Syriac epi-

[47] Lidzbarski, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft,* August, 1917, pp. 50 ff.

[48] *Lehnwörter,* p. XIX: cited by Krauss, *op. cit.*

[49] Pognon, *Inscriptions Semitiques,* p. 21 n.

[50] Pognon, *loc. cit.* Cf. Bauer, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* LXIX, 563.

graphs from tombs of the first Christian century are known, and one possibly two centuries earlier. A sarcophagus found at Jerusalem has the name *Sadan Malketha,* "Sadan the queen," in rude square Hebrew (?) characters and also in Syriac characters. It is considered the sarcophagus of Queen Helena of Adiabene, whose conversion to Judaism was told in Chapter VIII. It proves that Syriac was the popular language and script in Adiabene of the time.[51] Targums in that land would be in Syriac script, with many of the grammatical peculiarities familiar in the much later Peshitta (?) version. The documents quoted in Ezra have some, as above stated, yet purport to be five centuries earlier.

Moreover, other epigraphic evidence in recent years proves the dominance of the cursive or Syriac script in Assyria during the Arsacid or Parthian period. The German excavations at Ashur recovered over forty Aramaic inscriptions from different parts of the town-site, the majority being from the quarter of the temple of Ashshur. A few were recovered from Hatra. They are chiefly memorial or petition-inscriptions in the style of Nehemiah 5:19; 13:14, 22, 31, asking that the author be remembered by the gods for good. Ashshur is still the great god, and names of Assyrian form but Aramaic phonetics occur. The dates of several are still legible, extending from 511 to 538 of the Seleucid era (199-228 A.D.). The oldest seem a century earlier, while those from Hatra are without dates, but are of the period 100 B.C.-100 A.D.[52] But these fifty inscriptions from Assyria in a period of three hundred years have nothing of the square Hebrew; these "paving-stone" inscriptions are in cursive characters. Writing with a pen has altered the forms long before, and "Assyrian" Aramaic characters of the time are approximately Syriac. All present evidence is against the assumption that the square Hebrew had yet been formed in Assyria.

Thus it is certain that any contemporary Jewish references to "Assyrian" characters from Sargon's time to Cyrus' meant cuneiform characters. By Ezra's time it may be uncertain whether a contemporary Babylonian Jew would have meant cuneiform or the Assyrian fashion of writing the Syriac character. For Elamites, their own cuneiform script was certain. For the Old Persians and Medes, their own language in Babylonian cuneiform by Babylonian Jewish scribes seems clear. The later Parthian versions were to be expected in the early Pahlawi script. From

[51] Pognon, pp. 19, 21. The epigraph is in *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum,* part II, vol. 1, No. 156, plate XXII.

[52] Jensen, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft,* July 1920.

Alexander's time onward, the Syriac is probably meant by Jewish *Sûri* or *Ashshûri* in Babylonia. But later Jewish writers lost all knowledge of the historic changes in language and script in ancient Assyro-Babylonian domains. How often the term "Aramaic" in the Babylonian Talmud really means the Syriac needs more serious examination.

Very interesting is the additional explanation that the Torah was originally in "Assyrian," was lost by Israel when it had sinned, and was returned to them when they repented: a fiction to excuse the abandoning of the archaic script.[53] "And why is it [the square Hebrew] named Assyrian? Because the characters are praised above all others"; another fiction: as previously noticed, comparing the noun *Ashshur* with the Hebrew participle *ashûr,* "blessed or praise-worthy."[54] Another explanation is that *ketab ashûri* means "even writing" as contrasted with archaic irregular characters.[55] Both explanations prove loss of consciousness of the historic origin of the phrase "Assyrian writing."

The conflicting traditions in the early church and its contemporary Judaism over the origin of the Peshitta or "simple" Syriac version are worth noting here. Dr. Martin Sprengling, of the University of Chicago, calls my attention to the traditions reported by Bar-Hebraeus, as considered by Cardinal Nicolas Wiseman.[56] Bar-Hebraeus records the claims (1) that the Peshitta of the Old Testament was translated in the days of Solomon and Hiram of Tyre; (2) that it was translated by a priest in Assyria, named Asa, who was sent back to Samaria (2 Kings 17:27 f.); (3) that it was translated at Edessa in the days of Addai the apostle. Wiseman (pp. 92 ff.) also cites a passage from Abul-Faraj, quoted by Pococke (1603), which seems to indicate three versions, an eastern Syriac, agreeing closely with the Jewish version (Hebrew?); and two western versions: an older one of the time of Hiram and a more ornate (?) one, made from the Septuagint in the time of Addai. Not having our recent epigraphical evidence,

[53] Rodkinson, VIII, 58 f. [54] Rodkinson, IV, Megilla, p. 59.

[55] Jerusalem Megilla I, 71b.

[56] *Horae Syriacae,* Rome, 1828, pp. 84-106. Dr. Sprengling is studying all the codices of Bar-Hebraeus with a view to determining more accurately the original Syriac Text. Cf. Swete's *Introduction to the Septuagint,* section on the Syriac. For a summary of views concerning the origin of the present Syriac text, see Joshua Bloch, "The Authorship of the Peshitta," and "The Influence of the Greek Bible on the Peshitta," in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature,* July 1919, and Jan. 1920, pp. 161 ff. Such questions are outside the present study, which is concerned only with the fact of early versions. We hope for a substantial advance in our knowledge from the studies of Dr. Sprengling.

Wiseman discredits the earlier claims. But it is not necessary to discard *in toto* the story of a translation made by a priest Asa in Assyria. To reject the identification of him with the priest returned to Samaria is enough. We have seen that local necessities resulted in different local versions, and that official blundering resulted in time in these versions being arrayed against each other. The final appeal in such cases was made to the authority of antiquity. The champions of respective versions who endeavored to outboast each other's claim of antiquity for their targums were not so shrewd as those who settled such rivalries by announcing that all versions were made by Moses. The general claim of an old Assyrian Pěshitta and an Edessene version with a later revision would accord with our present evidence and may prove true.

Another interesting discussion of translations results from a Sabbath Mishna:

"All sacred scriptures may be saved from a conflagration (on the Sabbath), be such scriptures allowed or not allowed to be read on the Sabbath. The scriptures written in any language whatsoever must be considered sacred, and brought to a safe place, even on a week-day. Why are some (sacred scriptures) not allowed to be read (on Sabbath)? In order that one might not miss the sermons at the school-house. One may save the case of the book with the book: the case of the Tephillîn with the Tephillîn, even if money is contained therein."[57]

In the resulting Gemara, we hear of Rab Huna's opinion that translations, whether Aramaic or any other version, need not be saved, and Rab Hisda's assertion—"They must be saved!" And we are told of the Tana that all of the Scripture versions may be read upon the Sabbath, so all must be saved. Another Tana is cited that some scriptures written in Coptic, Median, Old Hebrew, Elamite, or Greek, although not permitted to be read, must be saved from a conflagration (Sabbat, 115a). Here again we may recognize that "Old Hebrew" is a mistranslation of the word intended for "Iberian."[58]

This discussion is from the New Persian or Sassanid period in Babylonia. It will be noticed that Persian versions are not included in this debate. Persian is in general use; the Persian capital is but a few miles from these schoolmen. Some versions once needed by various little Jewish congregations are no longer of practical service. The conclusion cites the example of "Rabban Gamaliel of Jerusalem, who was standing on the steps of the corri-

[57] Rodkinson, I, 239.

[58] Krauss, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

dor of the temple when a Book of Job in Aramaic was brought to him. He told the mason to take the book and immure it underneath the stairway."[59] So versions no longer serviceable must be put in a *genizah* or sanctuary closet of some sort. But, "Come and hear! Blank pieces of the scroll and the Sadducean books must not be saved from a conflagration!"[60] Whence it is clear that the persecution of the Samaritans by the Roman government, and their overtures to Persia had resulted in many Samaritan or Sadducean congregations being settled in the sphere of influence of the Babylonian academies; and their Holy Books were repudiated.

It was inevitable that each Jewish people should insist upon the merits of its own local version. Alexandrian Judaism went so far as to say that the Septuagint translation was inspired, even as the original Hebrew had been. This attitude can hardly be dissociated from the fact that the early church seems to have won a much larger body of Jewish proselytes in Egypt than anywhere else, and the fact of the establishment of a day of mourning by Judaism elsewhere, because the Septuagint translation had been made. The final recognition that the Septuagint was peculiarly the weapon of the Christian church could not bring instant repudiation of it, for such action would tend to drive Hellenist synagogues into the growing church. The Aramaic, as the one dependence of the Sadducee-Samaritan party, we have seen emphatically repudiated where Greek was still allowed. But the protest did not include Aramaic versions written in "Assyrian" or square Hebrew characters. The Targums of Onkelos and of Jonathan may be considered anti-Samaritan in their inception, and have always held a strong following. Wolff found at Gibraltar that the Targum of Onkelos was "inspired by the Holy Ghost." Elsewhere, it was the Targum of Jonathan that was so inspired. The proof of the claim was "the traditions of their Rabbis." Wolff also cites the claim that Onkelos raised Jesus of Nazareth from the dead, that he might order the Jews to be well-treated.[61] This Spanish Jew's claim may be related to the claim of mediaeval Spanish Jews that they had nothing to do with the crucifixion of Jesus; the whole may mean that they were of Josephite or Samaritan origin, and by such the Aramaic versions would be preferred.[62]

Thus we have an overwhelming body of testimony to the existence of versions of the Hebrew scriptures in various languages

[59] Rodkinson, I, 240. [60] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

[61] *Travels and Adventures,* I, 5, 148 f.

[62] For the use of the Aramaic Targums after the Sassanid period, see Bacher, *Jewish Encyclopedia,* XII, article "Targum."

of the ancient orient, and a clear statement of the reason for the disappearance of some of them. The languages ceased to be spoken: the archaic cuneiform script of earlier Medes and Persians and Elamites was totally abandoned. Versions in such inevitably disappeared; most of them were perhaps immured in synagogue walls. The existence of these ancient versions is testimony to the winning of a great body of proselytes in each of the more notable adjacent peoples. For generally speaking, it was the proselyte who translated, since he desired to have the new religious books in his own language.

How, then, shall we account for the assertion, "It cannot be proved that the scriptures of the Old Testament were translated into any other language except the Greek, before the Christian era? This applies even to Syriac."[63] There is a failure to recognize the antecedent literary conditions that made any translations possible. In consequence the great volume of Talmudic evidence is ignored. The literary traditions and ethnic commingling in Babylonia and Egypt for four thousand years before Judaism made it certain that there would be translations. The total absence of writing and native Berber literature in North Africa made it equally certain that there would be no Berber version. For the lack of such version in the language of the people, the militaristic Judaism spread by the Israelite frontier-garrisons from the time of Psamtik I was doomed to final failure. The ancient Orient shows us commercial and religious centers abounding in bilingual texts, interlinear translations, dictionaries, phrase-tablets, grammatical treatises, and so on. We can not yet read them all; we do not know how many languages and varied literatures are represented by such tablets, that reach back to the earliest days of Kish, near 5,000 B.C. But this literary atmosphere and tradition persists down to the days of the last Sargonid Assyrian kings, who are reminded, "Babylon is a gathering out of all lands: it is twenty lands in one." It is certain that proselytes in such an atmosphere and with such immemorial literary traditions would promptly provide themselves with such translations as they wished. It is equally certain that the illiterate Berber proselyte would content himself with the language and books of the Hebrew-Phoenician or Greek or Roman colonies to which he attached himself. The mass of inscriptions shows us that the Phoenician in North Africa adopted many Berber words; so many, in fact, that some inscriptions cannot yet be satisfactorily translated. This Hebrew-Phoe-

[63] Harnack, *Bible-Reading in the Early Church,* pp. 45 f.

nician-Berber mixture was the medium for religious instruction and worship. The Greek writers refer to the colloquial speech as "Canaanitish" *(chananaiôs)*. It is known to have persisted as late as the fifth century, or more than a thousand years after the placing of Israelite garrisons upon Cyrenian frontiers; while Solomon's commercial adventures with Tyre were nearly four centuries earlier. A great body of Christian literature developed in this mongrel "Coast-land" dialect and a translation of the Scriptures existed. This was the "Hebrew version" of North Africa, but all has totally vanished.[64] In fifteen hundred years of earlier Semitic activity neither Jew nor Christian invented a Berber alphabet and undertook to create a literature in the Berber language. Hence the intellectual and ethical failure which modern Jewish scholars recognize in Berber Judaism.

In like manner the lack of a simple alphabet was probably all that eliminated the Median versions referred to in the Talmud. At least two Median dialects are believed to be still in use among Persian and Bactrian Jews. The Jewish dialects in the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara are fundamentally the ancient Tajik-Iranic. In the northwest of Persia and among the mountain Jews of the Caucasus, the surviving Tât vernacular represents that spoken in Sargon's time in "the cities of the Medes." It is Persian Tât or "settled" vernacular, in contrast with the nomad speech, for those who use it; it contains Hebrew technical cultus-terms.[65] Judaism used the ancient Median folk-speech, and planted that among these non-Iranic mountaineers, and made it serve religion; but no cuneiform Median version survives.

The failure of Persian-speaking Judaism to create native alphabets and literature as it pressed through Central Asia seems the reason that there remains a mass of legend about Judaism's ancient conquests in those regions, which are evidenced to-day only by some Jewish observances among certain of the nomad peoples who have no books and are mentally and ethically far removed from the Judaism of modern Europe. The Judaism which still counts in the modern world is that which relies upon using the vernacular in any land.

But Rome stands in sharp contrast with the ancient Euphratean Orient's antecedent literary traditions of four thousand years of mingled writing-peoples, with their cuneiform dictionaries and interlinear liturgies, and parallel-column official announcements. When Rome found it necessary to use the Greek language she did

[64] H. Löwe, *Die Sprăche der Juden,* Cologne, 1911, p. 15.
[65] Löwe, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 f.

not translate an immense body of Greek literature into Latin for the Roman masses. Judaism planted in Rome had a large Greek-speaking populace within reach, as well as Oriental; for "the Syrian Orontes was emptying into the Tiber." Thus there is no historic reason for expecting early Latin translations of the Old Testament, and none for denying that ancient Oriental translations were being made before Rome got rid of her kings. Israel had been for two hundred years in the cities of the Medes and had gained influence with Cyrus of Anshan before Rome tried the experiment of a republic.

It will be recognized that no picture of ancient synagogue worship can portray ecumenical Judaism in any age. It cannot accurately show us more than the liturgical usages and preferences of a particular region or rabbinical school.

CHAPTER XXV

The Babylonian Academies

The great religious propagandism that began with deportations to the cities of the Medes and the later removal of the Yekan-Yâ colony to Nehardea in Babylonia, brings directly before us the question of educational methods that made later Judaism famous. Why were there no such academies in Palestine?

There certainly was liturgical training in pre-exilic Palestine. The ancient Levitical city in the nature of the case was a training-school for such as aspired to a religious vocation. But a fundamental feature of each ancient asylum-city was that it had to assert the finality of its own decisions and authority, or perish. It would have no protégés, if the fugitive knew that a strong arm would seize him despite the asylum-protest. But as various races mingled in Palestine from time immemorial, different racial baalim were authorities in different ancient Levitical cities. Semitic features might become generally dominant. But even then there would be wide variation in details, while the fact that some old Levitical cities were long under Philistine or Hittite or other non-Semitic control meant larger differences in liturgy and training. The complaint of Jeremiah and Ezekiel that there were as many authoritative gods as there were cities and even a different baal in each prominent street or quarter of a city, will be remembered. The different sect-quarters in a modern Oriental city illustrate the situation.

From our modern American educational point of view, old Palestinian scholastic training lacked correlation and unification. We may still denounce a competing institution as a hot-bed of heresy or atheism, but the conventions do not approve of our gathering our following into a mob to destroy the heretic institution and massacre the students. Cyril of Alexandria and the Nitrian monks are not invoked against modern American Hypatias. But the "Associated Priests" ("the priests the Levites") of Deuteronomy could agree upon the murder of all heretics, as in chapter 13. Who was to be accounted a heretic was another matter. They agreed later that any one solemnly devoted, made *haram* to Yahu, should be put to death (Leviticus 27:29). It is still possible among wild Arabs. The Chronicler announces approvingly an oath of fervid reformers of Asa's time that they will murder all who do not worship Yahu as they do.[1] Some approximation to agree-

[1] 2 Chronicles 15:12 f. Cf. the Sicarian attitude in Acts 23:12 ff.

ment was made when the Deuteronomist politicians allowed all the ministers of Levitical cities to officiate at Jerusalem (Deuteronomy 18:6-8), "everyone according to his liturgy." That they never did agree among themselves we have seen to be history. That the priests of the royal chapel at Jerusalem thought that they could unify and guarantee orthodoxy has been vividly before us. That the reformer-prophets felt the Levitical cities and their precedents to be hopeless is evident from their establishing no schools in them. Samuel had not discovered the necessity of breaking away from the old popular *bamôt,* or high-places. But the protest headed by Elijah and Elisha made that a main issue; and when Elisha would establish a school of prophets, he went down to the Jordan and established his little community where no precedents of local asylum-Levites could dictate the instruction.[2]

It is clear then that the Yekan-Yâ colony in Nehardea had an immense advantage in the matter of correlating and unifying liturgical and juridical instruction. It went there certain of its own authority and exegetical and didactical ability. It was certain that the Shekînah came with the colony to Babylonia. It was freed from the opposing contentions of asylum-cities in Palestine. And it had none to oppose in Babylonia. Assyria through centuries had realized that asylum-pretensions made stable centralized government impossible. Again and again some had been destroyed. Sennacherib destroyed many, if not all, that his father Sargon had restored. Esarhaddon thought that he could handle the problem by having only three great sacred cities, Babylon, Ashur, and Harran.[3] But the Medes destroyed Ashur, and the king of Akkad solved the Babylon question by making it his political capital. The Yahwist gentlemen at Nehardea then had such an opportunity to organize and control academic instruction in Yahwism as Palestine had never afforded. They surely knew that it would be so.

One result of this change in situation was the ultimate democratization of instruction. While academic training in Babylonia began with some cultured Levitical gentlemen, they could not cite the authority of other Levitical centers, nor of the royal court, nor use the magic spell of the prestige of "One Only" sanctuary at Jerusalem. However aristocratic their theories or aspirations might be, practical daily life compelled instruction to become more

[2] 2 Kings 2:5 f., 16 f., 6:1-6; 4:38 ff.; 5:9 ff.; 2:18 ff.: all near Jericho, but at no known sanctuary.

[3] See Godbey, "The Esarhaddon Succession," in *Notes upon Some Officials of the Sargonid Period;* and "The Semitic City of Refuge," in *Monist,* October, 1905.

democratic. Proselyting forced the same result. However much impressed with the new Jewish ethics and theology, tens of thousands of Parthians and Medes and Elamites had no mind to forget that they were such; and certain institutions that had tried to be authoritative in Semitic Palestine counted for nothing with Iranic and Dravidian and Ural-Altaic folk. The academies could not live without some popular approval and patronage. The net result was the final dominance of the lay scholar and of the lay verdict in religious discussions. Men who might have had no Levitical or aristocratic or literary ancestry became popular authorities: Rabbins. If they did not get rid of all that was cumbrous in their heritage from the past, they at least ceased to quote kings or priests or ancient Palestine schools as authority.

Jewish academy instruction in Babylonia had a checkered career of nearly two thousand years. It cannot be even sketched here. But some notes upon location and vicissitude are reasonably related to the mighty propagandist period evidenced in the preceding chapters. In addition to the original academy at Nehardea, one was founded at Sura upon the Euphrates in 219 A.D. and achieved permanent fame as the place where the compilation of the Babylonian Talmud began. Another, at Pumbedita, "mouth of the Bedit (?) canal," had the longest career. Cyclopaedia articles do not locate Sura and Pumbedita certainly for the reason that courses of rivers and canals have changed many times in the last twenty-five hundred years. Thus in the time of Sura's founding the main stream of the Euphrates did not pass Babylon. The modern Hindîyeh canal was the main stream, running south past Kufa, and flanked on the west now by vast marsh and lagoon tracts. Birs Nimrûd, the ancient Borsippa, was on its east bank. Fifteen miles above Babylon the Sura branch left the main stream and flowed past Babylon, dividing some distance below into numerous small canals that ended in the marsh-lagoon that received also the Tigris.[4] The original Sura was somewhere upon this eastern branch below Babylon. But the network of canals and marshes that protected the Judah colony from Arab raiders on the west may explain the Servant-Singer's address in Isaiah 48:1 to "ye that are come forth out of the waters of Judah."

Moreover, the academies suffered the many vicissitudes of war. Relatively few sites of ancient Euphratean towns have been identified. Academies moved or perished with them. From Yekan-Yâ's

[4] Bury, Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, II, 570, note 24. Cf. Guy Le Strange, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, January, 1895, pp. 75 f.

time to the final closing of the Pumbedita academy was nearly two thousand years. From Yekan-Yâ's time to the end of the Nehardea academy was about one thousand years. The schools were re-opened, under the old cherished names, at new sites, more than once. Thus in Baba Metzia, Sura is on the river Euphrates.[5] Again, in Erubîn, it has entries facing the "Sea" and partitions were made by "fish nets" (reed-weirs) to prevent its being left dry by the receding sea.[6] This may mean Haswa, at the head of the modern Bahr Nejef, some distance south of Kufa. So the references to Nehardea confuse one writer into conjecturing that Nehardea meant the whole kingdom of Persia.[7] For the general reader, the one fact clearly recognized by modern Jewish scholars is that the Babylon of the Talmud, or of the Jewish communities, is the region between the Euphrates and Tigris, where they are nearest together. This would mean that from the junction of the Tigris and Adhaim rivers it reached an indefinite distance southward. The Sea-Land of the cuneiform is spoken of in the Talmud as rather remote. Thus in the discussion of land-titles: a prisoner does not lose title to his land; his relatives may not appropriate it. Rabha taught that a captive might transfer his title to a relative, but the relative must not sell, for the captive might be able to re-occupy it (cf. Jeremiah 32:7 ff.). Others differed. "If one went to the Sea-country, and no rumor of his death was heard, he was considered to have abandoned the property." But if a report of his death came, any seizor was compelled to surrender it to the heirs.[8] The Sea-country is more remote from such debaters than from the singer of the Servant, who so often represents the Sea-Lands as listening to him. So when a woman had a report that her husband died in the Sea-Land, Hillel ruled that she could not marry again; Shammai, that she could.[9] The difference is probably in the fact that the Hillel ruling has Babylonia in mind. The distance to its Sea-Land was not great; the missing man might return. But "Sea-Land" in Palestine would mean any regions beyond the mouth of the Red Sea from East Africa to India. Rodkinson conjectures that some distant part of Arabia is meant in one passage by "countries of the Sea."[10] The net result is that the Babylonia of Jewish activity is not considered by scholars to reach very near the Persian Gulf, and the locations of the

[5] Rodkinson, VI, 282.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, 238.

[7] *Ibid.*, III, Pesachim, 101 n.

[8] Rodkinson, VI, Baba Metzia, p. 93.

[9] *Ibid.*, IX, Eduôth, p. 7.

[10] *Ibid.*, VIII, 363; cf. IX, Aboda Zara, p. 28.

great academies of Sura, Nehardea, and Pumbedita were in the narrower region between the rivers.

Some definite Talmudic references to Nehardea are important. Babylon is identified with Nehardea: two names for the same district; and it is a frontier city.[11] It is accessible by boat.[12] It is surrounded on one side by "Gentiles" and on the other by Israelites; and again "Babylon" is made to mean "Neherdai"; it is "near the boundary."[13] It is also claimed to be a place destroyed by Odenatus of Palmyra, in his war with Sapor I of Persia, 259 A.D.[14] These references put Nehardea on that northern frontier where Odenatus would find it in his way as he came down the Euphrates. The "Gentiles" on one side are the Arabian nomads north of it; while the Israelites are to the south, it being the frontier of the rich district called Babylon. As Babylon means "Gate of the Gods," Nehardea actually was the "Gate City" of this garden-land. It is to be observed that Guy Le Strange considers the canal called Ridhwânîyeh by modern Arabs to be the one encircling Nehardea. But Ridhwân in Moslem lore is either Paradise, or the angel that guards the entrance of Paradise. So over and over we hear of the marvellous garden or park-possibilities of this ancient land. A "paradise river" was its northern frontier. The term may refer to orchards and palm-groves, or specifically to some royal parks, called *pardesh,* "paradise," by the Persians.

Turning to Josephus[15] we have much information. Because of its great strength Nehardea was the treasure-city for the Jews of Babylonia. This agrees with what was pointed out in noticing Ezra's muster in Chapter XXIII: it was "the place of the Treasury," or "Treasury of Yâ," five centuries before Josephus wrote; and the later Arab recognition of it as Anbar, city of "the granaries," emphasized its character as a royal store-city. Josephus says that the river Euphrates "encompassed it all around," and that it was strongly walled and was full of men. It had a large rich territory; hence the half-shekel temple tax and other treasures were deposited there. This was in the time of the Roman Emperor Caligula. It is considered that the "Babylon" inhabited by the Jews who welcomed Hyrcanus as their high-priest and king one hundred years before[16] was this same city. When the outlaws Asinai and Anilai began to blackmail the cattle-feeders

[11] Rodkinson v. Baba Kama, p. 180.
[12] *Ibid.,* VII, 66.
[13] *Ibid.,* II, 101.
[14] *Ibid.,* X, History, p. 30.
[15] *Antiquities,* XVIII, IX.
[16] *Antiquities,* XV, ii, 2.

of the district, they operated in the lake-country: which means anywhere south of this frontier-fortress. Again we are reminded of Isaiah 48:1, "ye that are come forth out of the waters of Judah." These outlaws had ample marsh-protection. The Parthian king Artaban made Asinai the guardian of all "Babylonia" against robbers, and all the Mesopotamia district flourished under his guardianship for fifteen years. When after his death his brother Anilai became a pest, the Babylonians and Parthians demanded that the Jews of Nehardea surrender Anilai. This shows that Anilai was considered to be in their jurisdiction. The Jews had a compact district, and were internally autonomous, dwelling apart from the Babylonians of the time. The two elements often came to blows over matters of religion: each party attempting to subdue (proselyte?) the other. With Anilai slain, the Babylonians turned upon the Jews who had bullied them so long, and the Jews of the open country fled to the Greek-Syrian city of Seleucia, near by, where they allied themselves with the Syrian element; but both Greeks and Syrians combined later against the Jews and massacred fifty thousand of them. A few escaped to Ctesiphon, where there was no definite Jewish quarter. So the Jews concentrated in Nehardea, because it was of great strength and its numerous population were all men of war. Jews in the upper Euphrates country concentrated at Nasibina-Nisibis, three hundred and twenty miles northwest. As previously noticed, Nisibis would be the natural stronghold for Israelites colonized in the Khabûr and Tur-Abdin mountains, seven hundred and fifty years before.

Thus the narrative of Josephus seems to make Nehardea a great Jewish frontier-garrison-town, defended by the Euphrates branches, and not very far from Seleucia on the Tigris. This harmonizes with the statement in 2 Kings 24:11-16, that Yekan-Yâ's colony consisted mainly of the Gibborîm of his army, pointing to garrison-duty. These would proselyte with the sword upon occasion, and the narrative of Josephus shows the tendency to the same sword-propagandism that has made the Asmoneans infamous.

The name Nehardea again brings before us the ancient "sacred park" traditions of the district. The form is familiar; there are several such names in the Talmud: the Aramaic "river" coupled with a proper name.[17] Nehar Paukud, Nahar Pekod, for both a river and a Jewish town upon it, is occasional in the Talmud.[18]

[17] Some fantastic speculations have been prompted by Nehardea's fame as an educational center. Comparison with *nehorah*, "light," and *neherai* "enlightener" have been made; cf. Rodkinson, II, p. 27.

[18] Rodkinson, VIII, 203; IX, Aboda Zara, p. 130.

The Aramaean Pukudu of the cuneiform, Pekod of the Old Testament, lived in the marsh-lands or Sea-Land, at the head of the Persian Gulf, some distance east of the lower Tigris. The Surappu river of the cuneiform seems to be this "Pekod River." Such town-names are familiar in America: Fall River, Grand River, Haw River, etc. Then there is Nehar Anak, which with "of" inserted is also written Nehar d'Anak. So the variously transcribed Nehardea, -daa, -dai, -daia, simply asks us what is meant by Ai or Aia, or Aa; nehar being "river."

And here the cuneiform makes clear what has remained obscure to later Jewish scholars, and again asserts the river-boundary of an ancient divine garden-land, just as the Arabic Ridhwânîyeh, "Paradise River" does. For it is well known that Nehardea lay where the Nahr Malka or Nahr Malik (as some write it) left the Euphrates and ran southeast to the Tigris, about three miles below Ctesiphon. But this is the stream that supplied one of the Sipparas. (The Old Testament *Sepharvaim* is a dual form meaning "two Sipparas.") Hammurabi and later kings record their clearing or diverting this stream to Sippara, the modern Abu Ḣabbah ruin. In allusion to its irrigation function, Hammurabi called it *Nukhush nishê,* "abundance for mankind." Sometimes it was simply "River of Sippara." But the great gods of Sippara were Shamash, the sungod, whose Code Hammurabi represents himself as humbly accepting, and his wife Aya, commonly spoken of as *Malkat,* "the Queen" (of heaven). So Nehar d'Aya and Nehar Malka(t) mean the same thing: river of Aya, goddess-queen of Sippara. And the name Nahr Malka remains still. The ancient kings tell how they "clothed the shrines of Aya with green," referring to the restoration of irrigation. And Hammurabi says he refounded Sippara; and he uses the word *gigunê,* "coffins" or "tombs," for "shrines" in Harper's translation. He evidently means that the Queen's garden-land was dead till he dug or repaired this great canal,—perhaps an ancient main channel of the Euphrates. Sfeira or Sifeyra still marks the site of the ancient fortress-granaries-city and of the Sippara that guarded the head of the great canal. The great boundary-canal from the Euphrates to Bagdad lies north of Anbar, and the Nahr Malka south of it. The two canals are six miles apart at their present junction with the Euphrates. Sfeira is five miles from Anbar, north of the boundary canal or Paradise River, guarding its connection with the Euphrates. The Median wall began at that junction and ran north 25° east to Sittakê on the Tigris: 200 stadia in Xenophon's re-

port: 45 miles on present maps.[19] Thus Anbar's position answers Josephus' description of Nehardea as encircled by the Euphrates, and answers to the statement that when the Roman Emperor Julian came down the Euphrates against the Persian Sapor II, he found the Median wall at Makepracta ("division of waters"), between him and the fortress-city.[20] A range of pebble-hills runs eastward from Anbar for about twenty miles. This range is about six miles wide, and leaves only a mile at the west end between the hills and the present Euphrates for the fortress-store-city of Anbar. This emphasizes the peculiar strategic importance of the ancient Nehardea as a frontier defence, while reminding us that the "divine" garden-land stored its agricultural surplus there.

But the fact that the Arabs for two thousand years or more have called the Nehardea site "the granaries" or "the grain-market" gives us the reason for storing agricultural produce there, at the northwest corner of the garden-land, instead of taking it to Babylon, some eighty miles southeast. It gives us a further light upon the actual contacts of the Jewish colony with the Euphratean world and upon its opportunities for propagandism. And it probably explains some perplexing names for the town and province. All trade with the nomads west of the Euphrates and north of the Paradise River would naturally be concentrated at Anbar-Nehardea. For such pastoral nomads the boundary stream would be their "market river"; the rich district their market land.

Isidore of Charax, in "Parthian Stations" listed about the time of Augustus, says that twelve *schoeni* below Aipolis (Ahav-polis? see Ezra 8:15) "is the town Besechana in which is a temple of Atargatis."[21] This distance, forty miles from Ahava-Hit, reaches Anbar, and makes it a reasonable distance for "Kasiph-Yâ the Makôm," the sanctuary-treasury from which Ezra secured his picked Levites for service at Jerusalem. The Hellenized name Atargatis is intelligible. Any great river-goddess was an Atargatis —Aramaean Athtar-'Atha—for a Greek who wrote of Aramaean regions. So Nehar d'Aya, "river of the sky-goddess," is really corroborated by Isidore's account. But what is the name "Besechana"? It is "Besouchis which is the province of Maoza-Malcha" in Zosimus' account of Julian's war with Sapor II. We are told that Maoza-Malcha was a "Royal Fortress" (Malkat's Fortress?) on the Nahr Malka, about eleven miles from Ctesiphon. Now Talmudic place-names beginning with *be* are familiar. The *be* is

[19] Xenophon has Opis for Sittakê. [20] Milman's Gibbon, II, 479.
[21] See Schoff, *The Parthian Stations of Isidore of Charax.*

usually explained as the preposition, "in," or "within." But there are clear cases of its being a remnant of *beth,* "house" or "place." Thus Beth-Zabdai on the bank of the Tigris at Jezirat appears in Greek and Roman writers as Bezabdê, capital of the district Zabdikênê. So Besouchis of Zosimus seems "place of market": Besechana, "the market-place district," which agrees with its being El-Anbar, "the granaries," very convenient to the nomad peoples. "The river Sûd" in Baruch 1:4, where King Yekan-Yâ and his colony dwelt, may be a scribal error for "Sûk." But *sûk* is a common Hebrew and Arabic term for market or market-town. Sûk-es-Sheyûkh, near the ancient Ur, is simply "Sheikh's Market"—as Ur was six thousand years ago. So Besüchis, Besechana, and Massikê of Pliny may simply tell us that the ancient nomads merely spoke of their "marketing river" and the "marketing district."[22]

A brief statement of some vicissitudes of Nehardea will emphasize the tremendous convictions of Babylonian Judaism. Nothing is further from the psychological fact than the portrayal of the colonists as broken-hearted and despairing. No such people can have any message for a world that is filled with doubts and despairs of its own. "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed unto Him against that day" (2 Timothy 1:12), was the conviction with which the great emigrants went from Jerusalem to Babylonia; and they announced that conviction in two words—*Shaf Yatîb*—"He that removed [us] will abide [with us!]." Through a thousand years of the vicissitudes of Nehardea that pennon of faith was never hauled down. The Palmyrene Odenatus destroyed Nehardea in 259 A.D., but Rabbi Nachman ben Jacob went on teaching in Shekanzib till the day of his death.[23] There are no

[22] The local worship of Malkat or Aya, Queen of Heaven, leaves us wondering how much the worshippers of the Palestinian Queen of Heaven found in common with the devotees of the Euphratean goddess. Unleavened dough, *batsek,* was used in making cakes for the Queen of Heaven (Jeremiah 7:18) as well as in the spring-festival of Egypt that the Israelites were observing when they had to hurry out of Egypt in Exodus 12:34. The Judean devotees of the Queen of Heaven in Jeremiah 44:15-19 would find a point of contact in Aya's domain. To-day some Ghetto Jews on Yôm Kippûr resort early to the river and throw cakes or crumbs from their pockets into the water. They call it now "throwing their sins into the water." See article "Tashlik," in *Jewish Encyclopedia.* The ceremony is not one of ecumenical Judaism, but is prominent in southern Europe; it is probably of Babylonian provenance.

[23] Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash,* p. 179. Citations are made in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* to represent R. Nachman as remaining at Nehardea. The interpretation does not harmonize with important later references.

Minîm (doubters or dissenters) in Nehardea! is one Talmudic boast. It is a center of orthodoxy.[24]

The Jews seem to have restored their academy at another site, and their *Shaf Yatîb* synagogue also. Christian Syriac writers tell us that Sapor gave to their Anbar the name Firûz-Shapûr, "Sapor's victory." Anbar, or Pirûz-Shapûr, was a desert, a granary of ascetics and solitaires, from the beginning of the fourth century of our era.[25] The pebble-hills for miles to the east were their haunts; the ruins sheltered many who were drawn by the ancient sanctity of the site. Palmyrene Arabs held the land till the Roman emperor in 283 undertook to reconquer the whole region, swept across the Euphrates, and captured both Seleucia and Ctesiphon. The Nehardea site was repeatedly swept by warring armies. An academy community could not exist there. It had to retire southward, to the marsh and lagoon districts.

Then the succeeding Persian rulers were feeble. Arab raiders from the Persian Gulf coasts harried the land repeatedly, disputing Persia's title. Sapor II, born 309, found the Sassanid empire a wreck. The Arabs plundered everywhere. Sweeping north past the marshlands, they made the ancient Nehardea crossing theirs. They stormed Ctesiphon, the capital, again, and captured Sapor's sister. They pushed their raids far across the Tigris, and eastward into Khuzistan, the ancient Susiana. Again it is clear that no academy could exist in the ancient track of plundering armies, at the point where Arabian nomads from time immemorial undertook to cross the Euphrates. The lake and swamp country was safer.

Sapor II, at the age of sixteen, in 325 took the offensive, crossed the Persian gulf with a fleet, and assailed the Arab marauders at their home base. Beating the Arabs, he restored the fortifications at Anbar, and his victory inspired the revival of the name Pirûz-Shapûr, "Shapur's Victory." He placed a powerful Assyrian garrison there, meanwhile furiously persecuting both Christians and Jews. So bitter was Jewish memory of the time that a passage in Berakôt retorts upon Rabban Gamaliel's commendation of the Persian as "consecrated." "These Persians are consecrated and destined for Gehinnom!"[26] With Judaism har-

[24] Babylonian Talmud, Pesachîm 56b.

[25] A. Mingana, "Early Spread of Christianity," in *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, July 1926, p. 5. "Shapur" is the Persian name: "Sapor" the form transmitted by Greek and Roman historians. They have also transmitted Pirûz-Shapûr as "Perisabor." Arabs turn every *p* into *f*: hence "Firûz."

[26] Cohen, Tract. Berakot, 49.

assed and the strong fortress restored, Sapor began his twenty-seven years' war with the Romans. Then came the Emperor Julian. The populace by opening canal-gates and reservoirs and cutting levees flooded the country. But in spite of all efforts, the double-walled fortress of Perisabor-Anbar-Nehardea was stormed, burned, and totally destroyed by Julian within two days. Only twenty-five hundred of the wretched Assyrian garrison were allowed to escape. This was in the spring of 363. At no time since Odenatus destroyed Nehardea had an academy community been possible there.

Sapor II died in 379; and we hear of a Nehardea again: a new one, if we may trust Benjamin of Tudela and his informers. Yezdegerd I, 399-420, married the daughter of the Exilarch, and she established a Jewish quarter, the Gai, at Ispahan. Their son, Bahram V, was born 407. A younger son, Narses, refounded Khwarezm (Chorasmia), the modern Khiva, and many Judaized folk were welcomed there, as noticed in Chapter XIII. It is this period of favor to the Jews, from the death of Sapor II to the death of Yezdegerd I, that is the time when an academy called Nehardea again flourished. Rab Dimê from Nehardea came to Pumbedita, 385-388. After him Amemar was rector at Nehardea 390-422; it then disappeared from history.[27] Emigration to Persia in this favorable period probably reduced the Jewish population in Babylonia, as Sapor's persecutions had done earlier.

From the destruction of Nehardea by Odenatus to the death of Sapor II was a hundred and twenty years of war, persecution, and ruin in northern Jewish Babylonia. It throws into stronger light the dauntless Jewish faith of that age. God had never forsaken His people. When the Yekan-Yâ colony came in 597 B.C., it was with the slogan, *Shaf Yatîb,* "He that removeth us abideth with us!" All peoples about them heard it. Ere a century passed, "ten men from nations of every language were clutching the skirts of each Jew, saying, Let us go with you, for we have heard that God is with you."—*Shaf Yatîb!* (Zechariah 8:23). Jerusalem long lay desolate; but in Babylonia, *Shaf Yatîb!* Samaria and Jerusalem might quarrel about the Real Presence; but with Babylonia, *Shaf Yatîb!* The madness of the Asmonean times might ravage Palestine; but in Babylonia, *Shaf Yatîb!* The Zealots' madness brought Titus to destroy their Jerusalem, but Judaism in Babylonia answered, *Shaf Yatîb!* "He abideth with us!" This was the conviction that made effective the mighty propagandism we have

[27] Rodkinson, x, History 30, 36.

seen. The long-cherished Nehardea home might in turn pass away; yet still in Babylonia, *Shaf Yatîb!* Evidence of the persistence of the conviction and of the clinging to the name at new community-sanctuaries comes from mediaeval Jewish writers.

Benjamin of Tudela, about 1171 A.D., journeying southward along the Euphrates, came to "Karkisiya which is Carchemish on the Euphrates. Here there are about five hundred Jews, at their head being R. Isaac and R. Elhanan." Benjamin was mistaken in thinking Karkisiya (Circesium) was the ancient Carchemish. "Thence it is two days to El-Anbar, which is Pumbedita in Nehardea." Benjamin has suffered at the hands of copyists, for it is nearly three hundred miles down the winding river from Kirkisiyeh, at the mouth of the Khabûr, to Anbar. Important stations between are not mentioned. Important pages of Benjamin's manuscript must have been lost. The particular point here is that Nehardea for him was merely the name of an ancient province. It was seven hundred and fifty years after the academy called Nehardea had ceased to be, and over nine hundred years after Odenatus destroyed the town of that name. But the learned Jews there knew it as the site of an ancient academy, which they supposed was Pumbedita. Dr. Jacob Mann, however, writes that Pumbedita was at Bagdad during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

"With regard to Pumbedita-Bagdad, there is now reason to assume that it continued in some way or another for a considerable time even after 1038, and that by the middle of the twelfth century it entered upon a new and flourishing period of activity that continued for another hundred and fifty years until about the end of the thirteenth century."[28]

So when Benjamin of Tudela was at Bagdad, the academy there was flourishing, and his Pumbedita at Anbar only means that an ancient academy had been there. Perhaps Pumbedita, in its migrations, actually had been placed there once, in the centuries after Nehardea ceased to be.

Benjamin continues, of Anbar, "Here reside three thousand Jews, and amongst them are learned men, at their head being the chief rabbi R. Chen, R. Moses, and R. Jehoiakim. Here are the graves of Rab, Jehudah, and Samuel, and in front of the graves of each of them are the synagogues which they built in their lifetime." Rab or Abba Areca, is known as living 175-247, and founding the academy at Sura about 219. Adler says that Benjamin here means Rabbi Jehuda, not Rab. Rabbi Samuel, head of the

[28] "Gaonic Studies," in *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume,* p. 234. Rodkinson makes it close in 1040 A.D.

Nehardea academy after Shela, lived 180-254, dying five years before Odenatus destroyed Nehardea.

Continuing with Benjamin into southern Babylonia, more than a hundred miles travel from Anbar, we learn that the great mausoleum or memorial shrine of King Yekan-Yâ was at Kufa. There was also a big synagogue there, with seven thousand Jews. But as Kufa first became a city in the days of the Bagdad Caliphate, this Yekan-Yâ shrine was founded more than thirteen hundred years after the establishment of the royal colony at Nehardea. Benjamin continues from Kufa, "thence it is a day and a half to Sura, which is Mata Mehasya, where the Heads of the Captivity and the heads of the academies dwelt at first" (Adler's translation). Thus Benjamin does not remember that Nehardea was the first residence. A day and a half from Kufa would not reach the old Sura branch of the Euphrates. Mehasya has been conjectured to be the modern Haswa, at the north end of the Bahr Nejef, and to be a point to which the Sura academy was moved.[29]

From his supposed Sura, Benjamin continues: "Thence it is two days to Shaf Yathîb. Here is a synagogue which the Israelites built from the earth of Jerusalem, and its stones, and they called it Shaf Yathîb, which is by Nehardea. Thence it is a day and a half's journey to El-Anbar which was Pumbedita in Nehardea." Here again the famous traditional synagogue is not at Anbar, the ancient Nehardea. But it is "by" another Nehardea, a considerable distance from Anbar. And again Nehardea is for Benjamin the name also of an ancient district. We may compare the fact that Nachman ben Jacob, some fifty years after Odenatus' time, calls Nehardea "Babel."[30] Benjamin's two days from Haswa to Shaf Yatîb would put this Nehardea twenty or thirty miles south of Babylon. His statement suggests the simple solution that after Odenatus destroyed Nehardea, the Jews took material from their precious sanctuary and built at a new site, holding to the cherished name. When this was destroyed later, a memorial shrine for Yekan-Yâ was built at Kufa where Benjamin saw it. But the old academy-name of Nehardea was not revived there; Pumbedita was.

Benjamin's figures have suffered again in copying. From Anbar he goes five days to Hillah, at the ruins of Babylon: about eighty miles. Yet his figures from Anbar to Haswa, fifty miles further, are only three and a half days. Kufa is more than one

[29] Grünhut's text of Benjamin, cited by Bacher in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, puts a Pumbedita at the modern Kufa.

[30] Baba Kama, 83a; Baba Bathra 145a.

hundred miles' travel from Anbar, and is in the Lake district, which we have seen was safest for Jews in the hundred and twenty years of Arab raids and Sapor wars and persecutions. The Shaf Yatîb-Nehardea of the period should have been somewhere there. But the marring of Benjamin's figures in copying makes it difficult to locate. The point of value is that he was shown a traditional site of the shrine in that region. His tradition that the shrine of Ezekiel at Kifil was a donation by King Yekan-Yâ is another item showing that the Yekan-Yâ traditions and academic activities centered in that district for a time. Whatever the vicissitudes of time and place, Babylonian Judaism declared, "He that removeth us will abide with us."

CHAPTER XXVI

No Lost Tribes in the Prophets

This examination of the historical assumptions and presuppositions of the lost tribes hunter has proved them all to be contrary to the records. Instead of particular Israelite tribes having been lost, an immense volume of their history has been lost. Is the little preserved all that was worth while for the didactic and spiritual needs of the world? Would a full record of it have been crammed with superstitions that render human progress impossible, and with stories of hates and horrors that should be forgotten? Whether the obliteration of volumes of ancient history has meant net loss or gain for the world will remain a matter of debate. But modern critical and constructive historians cannot think that all that was worth while has been preserved. They count all knowledge of humanity useful. To a complaint that a study of the ancient cuneiform liver-omen literature was a waste of time Dr. Morris Jastrow replied: "It is never a waste of time to prove that other people wasted theirs." The historian may decide that a people spent some generations without getting anywhere culturally; but the fact itself is worth knowing; and to know why they did not may teach us a lesson. And all with a keen sympathy for the gleam-following individual human life, in every age, and in any stage of culture, will ever regret that so little record remains of those aspiring souls who spread so widely the ancient worship of Yahu.

Though extant fragments of history have never warranted a search for the lost tribes, inquiry can not be considered complete until examination has been made of those portions of the Old Testament that are popularly considered predictive rather than historical. Is there anything in the so-called prophetical books that predicts, fears, or acknowledges that any tribes will be or have been lost? Without wasting time upon volumes of fantastic exegesis, we may examine directly the extant prophetic hopes and dreams of the future of Israel and Judah.

It should be remembered that past ages have been somewhat befogged in their conceptions of history. Immense volumes of ancient lore have been lost because of a provincial and unhistorical stage of the western mind. The lost tribes hunter is a relatively modern phenomenon who is intellectually "lost," through his lack of the historical records. The Dark Ages of western Europe, with their loss of intimate contact with the east, made him possible.

This long period was the victim of mistaken methods of literary interpretation. Some dust-heaps of rabbinism came into the early church with the proselytes from Judaism. Neo-Platonic allegorizations of classic literature paralleled fantastic methods of exegesis of Hebrew literature. Certain fooleries of mediaeval Christian schoolmen we now smile at as we do at certain fooleries of Jewish schoolmen.

The point of confusion in all mediaeval exegesis of the prophets was the mistaken conception of the historical relation of the Hebrew prophet to his time. But this was an inheritance from paganism. For ages fortune-tellers or oracles of the gods had swayed the destinies of nations with equivocations and enigmatical expressions. Interpretation of such was esteemed as important as the gift of the original "tongue." Such social-intellectual atmosphere could not be changed in a night. The result in literary interpretation was that all confused or obscure passages were likely to be viewed as enigmatical predictions. The obscurity in general was due to the reader's lack of information. But in consequence there was a large school of expositors that could make any obscure passage an enigmatical prediction of almost anything. It was assumed that inerrant specific prediction was the chief business of Hebrew reformers. The extant fragments of their sayings did not show their ancient struggles to better their own age, but constituted a species of almanac forecasting the political weather of mysterious and enigmatically-named future nations.

In interpreting the prophetic Hebrew books according to this assumption mediaeval expositors were further controlled by their own ignorance of the history of Judaism. All its varied peoples and sects were simply Jews to them. They did not know any as Danites, Asherites, Gadites, and so on, however many Jews might have claimed to be such. So, finding no specific mention of each tribe in this way in the prophetic literature, mediaeval expositors generally assumed that they were lost. In dealing then with assurances that exiles would one day return to Palestine, a bipartite scheme of restoration was set up. People of Judah and Benjamin were all restored following the triumph of Cyrus. Descendants of other tribes were not included in the recorded return. They were to be restored at some time in the far future. How they were to be known then as the lost tribes, when they themselves did not know it, was a question that did not disturb the ancient expositor.

But is there any bipartite scheme of restoration mentioned in the Old Testament? Is there any post-exilic prediction of re-

storation? Is any contemplated at all save that made possible by the advent of Cyrus? Is there any complaint or record, in post-exilic times, that this hope or expectation was not realized? Is there any evidence in the Old Testament that men of Judah returned, while men of "Israel" did not?

Again, consider this mediaeval exegesis from the standpoint of its value as apologetics. How was the asserted inerrancy of the Hebrew records established by making an exception to their own assertions in the case of the Israelites of the northern tribes? Was such exposition intellectually and morally honest? Was it not a vicious and arbitrary subterfuge? Did it not overthrow the very apologetic structure that it desired to rear? What is the apologetic value of the book that virtually informs the reader that prophecies concerning the fall of Tyre, Egypt, Babylon, and Nineveh, have been remarkably fulfilled, but that the prophets were mistaken in their utterances regarding their own people: that these were not restored, and can never be, because wholly lost among the nations? May not the thoughtful reader conclude that the champion of mediaeval methods of interpretation, whose supreme argument has been miraculous prevision and fulfilled prediction, is himself guilty of a more arbitrary handling of the scriptures than that which he so strenuously charges upon his opponents?

It is necessary in the first place to examine the utterances of the prophets themselves to know if they make any distinction between Judah and Josephite Israel in the matter of restoration. Questions of date or authenticity of the various oracles need not here be discussed. What remains, in any case, is a declaration from some Hebrew reformer, expressing his hope that certain things will take place. Should it be shown that certain oracles announcing the restoration of the Josephites were really post-exilic, the case against the popular view might really be strengthened. We would have the possibility of a *vaticinium post eventum* before us.

Amos during the reign of Jeroboam II invades the northern kingdom and announces its coming dissolution. But eight verses are appended at the close of the book, declaring that a restoration of Israel from the captivity shall follow upon the overthrow of Edom. Whether spoken by Amos or not, their position here shows the view held by the editor of the prophet. If not authentic, then they must have been made to fit an actual partial restoration at the fall of Edom. In Hosea, in the latter part of the first chapter, and throughout the last chapter, we find the same view, but more

pronounced. In the former passage emphasis is laid upon the reunion of Judah and Israel. In the latter Israel alone is considered and its future reformation and return and prosperity avowed. The marvellously tender eleventh chapter points in the same direction.

Foreign oppression and internal disorder produced in Israel a longing for a military "Day of Yahu," when Israel should go forth to tread down her enemies.[1] Such a "day of the Lord" commentators have been known to connect with a final judgment of the world. But Amos 5:18 ff. declares that it is the day of punitive reckoning with northern Israel, a day they will not wish to see. Zephaniah 1:7 ff. declares that the Day of Yahu for Judah is near, and hasting greatly. The Scythian invasion was probably in mind; but Christian mediaeval expositors turned it into a prediction of the end of the world; and Thomas of Celano wrote his famous "Dies Irae" under its inspiration. After this great and terrible day, the time of better things is at hand for the kingdom. In the next generation, Ezekiel declares that the Day of Yahu is past, with the fall of Jerusalem.[2] If so, the restoration of which Zephaniah spoke would then be nigh, involving a gathering of scattered Israel from the remotest regions.

Obadiah, threatening Edom, after the fall of Jerusalem, with destruction for its cruelty to fallen Israel, repeats the thought of the last verses of Amos, connecting the fall of Edom with the renewed ascendency of Joseph. "The house of Joseph shall be a flame" to devour "the stubble of the house of Esau." The recovery of Josephite prestige is seemingly near at hand. It was beclouded two hundred and eighty (?) years before by the deportations of Sargon (2 Kings 17:6).

Zechariah, in the later section of the book, does not know any distinction between Judah and Joseph in the matter of restoration. We find them regularly linked as sharers in it, in Zechariah 8:13; 9:10, 13; 10:6-12. These passages deal with the struggle of Judah and Ephraim against Greece (9:13). We know of no such conflict before Maccabean times, unless Ptolemy Soter's raid from Egypt be in view. In either case, Judah and Joseph, in post-exilic times, are in Palestine, and pictured as combined against a foreign invader. There is no jealousy of Ephraim or Samaria in the fragments as they stand.

Isaiah, in preaching his doctrine of the remnant (or the "Repentant") does not use the limiting term "Judah." In the

[1] See J. M. P. Smith, *Origin of the Day of Yahweh.*
[2] Compare 7:19 and 12:22 ff. and 22:31 with 36:24 ff., 37.

tenth chapter he describes how both kingdoms are to fall before the Assyrian. Then the Assyrian shall be swept away. In verses 20-23, "the remnant of Israel," "the house of Jacob," "the house of Israel," "the remnant of Jacob," are those that shall return. In the eleventh chapter the emphasis is upon the reunion of the two branches: "the remnant of the people," "the outcasts of Israel" in all lands, "the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth," shall be restored; "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." In Isaiah 14:1-3, and in Chapter 27, the emphasis upon the restoration of the north is equally pronounced. The general term "Israel" is used; and those "ready to perish in the land of Assyria" shall come again. This last phrase cannot apply to Judah, whose captivity Isaiah declares should be in Babylonia after the fall of Assyria. It means those deported by Tiglath-pileser III (Assyrian, Tukulti-apal-Esharra), Adad-nirâri III, and Sargon.

The Singer of the Servant of Yahu, Isaiah of Babylon, as we have seen does not identify himself with the exiles he comforts. But those exiles are not the few colonies of deportees brought from Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar. Zion and Jerusalem are specially reassured several times. But Judah is mentioned but twice. The people known to the Singer are "Jacob," "thou worm Jacob," "all the tribes of Jacob," "my servant Jacob," "of Israel," "all the seed of Israel," all the "preserved of Israel," those whom "the Assyrian oppressed without cause." Such return is continually linked with the approaching overthrow of Babylon.

In Jeremiah we have the same ideas concerning the specific restoration of Israel, with some peculiar plays upon the verb *shûb*. The translation of these will be influenced by prepossessions. Those who imagine that Israel never returned from captivity will not translate any of these as acknowledging that a return had already begun. But the record is that Josiah was slain when opposing Pharaoh's expedition against the Medes; that is, that he was an ally of the Medes and Scythians against Egypt and Assyria, and that this meant a large opportunity for the return of expatriated peoples where Scythians had shattered Assyrian lordship. Or, such came with the later armies of the Medes. There certainly were returning Israelites, and Jeremiah's *meshûbah* is legitimately translatable "returned," or "returning," instead of "backsliding," as our AV has it in Jeremiah 3:6, 8, 11 f., 22. The early chapters of Jeremiah are considered to be fragments of what was rewritten after the destruction of Jeremiah's first volume (Jeremiah

36:22-32). That volume had begun with the approach of the Scythians from the north (1:11 ff.). Jeremiah 3:6 means "Yahu said unto me in the days of Josiah the king, Hast thou seen what returning Israel hath done?" etc. "I said, Return also to me!" "But she returned not."—"Go proclaim these words toward the north; return (to Me) ye children of returning (?) and I will take you one of a city and two of a family and bring you to Zion! (v. 14). "The house of Judah shall walk with the house of Israel" (v. 19), both here being in "the northland" (Hittite country?). "Return [to Me] ye children of the returning again, and I will heal your returnings" (v. 22).[3] "Behold, we are coming!" they respond. But "If thou wouldst return [to thy land] O Israel, saith Yahu, return unto Me!" (4:1). The voice of affliction from Dan and Mount Ephraim (in 4:15) again means an Israel resident in Palestine, swept by a new invader from the north; vividly sketched in verses 19-31.

If we do not recognize Jeremiah thus addressing Israelites who have already returned, and admit his playing upon the verb *shûb,* we have him addressing an Israel that was never expatriated, an Israel still resident in Palestine a hundred years after the deportation in 2 Kings 17:6. Either construction is irreconcilable with a total deportation and loss of ten tribes. And with this language of Jeremiah should be collated that of the post-exilic compiler of Chronicles. Josiah, Jeremiah's contemporary, is pictured as holding a great passover at Jerusalem, and inviting "all Israel"; and "all Judah and Israel." The Chronicler had never heard that "all Israel" had been deported and lost. He supposed that the mingled peoples whom he knew in central northern Palestine were "Israel" (2 Chronicles 35). Still more emphatic is his claim that Hezekiah held such a passover some years after the fall of Samaria, and that crowds from Ephraim, Manasseh, Asher, Issachar, and Zebulun attended. As already noticed, the Chronicler makes the northern Levites take the lead of the Jerusalem priests. He does not admit any lost tribes, nor any peculiar depravity of northern Israelites.

In Jeremiah 12; 14-17 Israel and Judah are mentioned as avenged. In 16:15 the return from the exile will one day outrank the escape from Egypt in importance; men shall swear by the Lord "that brought up the children of Israel from the Land of the North, and from all the lands where he had driven them." In 17:26 the promises of gathering at Jerusalem are made by geographical ex-

[3] AV "backslidings." But are those already "returned" or "repentant" still "backslidden"?

pressions to include people from all parts of Palestine. In 23:1-8 the restoration is again treated explicitly; in the 8th verse the form of oath is expressed, which is quoted above from 16:15. The restored are "the seed of the house of Israel." In Chapters 30, 31, we have matter that is strikingly like the Deutero-Isaiah. "There is hope in thine end that thy children [Rachel's] shall come again to their border" (Jeremiah 31:17). This assurance, a hundred and thirty years after the Sargonid deportation, has no notion of lost tribes. There is repeated playing upon the verb "return." "If thou [Yahu] return unto me, I shall be returned [into my land]." Then Ephraim is pictured as setting up facing-cairns as he returns, at points where the ancestral cities are first sighted (31:21). Jeremiah certainly has in mind an immediate returning of tribes that are not lost; he describes a movement that has already begun, to some extent, just as in Chapter 29 he asserts that any premature attempt in Babylonia will fail. Both Judah and Israel are to be saved and shall return from captivity; the mountains of Samaria are to be planted again; the watchmen of Ephraim shall announce the approach of the hour of worship or festival on Mount Zion. "All the families of Israel" shall be represented in this restoration, "for I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my firstborn." Rachel must not weep for her lost children, for they shall come again from the land of the enemy. "Ephraim is bemoaning himself" in his distress; but he is "my dear son; a pleasant child; since I spake against him I do earnestly remember him still; I will surely have mercy upon him." "Turn again, O virgin of Israel, turn again to these thy cities." "I will sow the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of man and the seed of beast." In Jeremiah 32:36-44, the theme is resumed. Israel and Judah have been scattered (in preceding verses) among the nations: here they are to be gathered out of all countries. In 33:1-8 the thought continues: "I will cause the captivity of Judah and the captivity of Israel to return, and will build them, as at the first." Jeremiah 48:27, 28, repeats the assurance. In 50:33 f., in connection with the fall of Babylon, we are told that "the children of Israel and the children of Judah were oppressed together"; but the Lord "shall thoroughly plead their cause, that he may give rest to the land and disquiet the inhabitants of Babylon." Jeremiah 51: 4-6 suggests that both the Josephites and men of Judah were in Babylon as its fall drew near. Jeremiah, more clearly than any other prophet, indicates the length of Babylonian supremacy. It will endure seventy years.

Repeatedly the prophet connects the restoration with the fall of Babylon, and he anticipates no lost tribes.

In the exilic prophet, Ezekiel, the same ideas are repeated. Over and over he emphasizes his mission and his message to the "house of Israel." The term is almost distinctive of Ezekiel. There is no indication that his addresses are to be understood as applying to Judah only. In 11:17 is a promise of gathering out of all countries, and restoration to the land of Israel. In the 16th chapter, at the close of the tale of the lewd sisters, it is declared that the covenant of youth shall be remembered and the sisters reunited. In 20:33-44 the house of Israel is told that it will be chastised in the dispersion, till the rebels are purged out of it; then it shall be "gathered out of all the countries wherein ye have been scattered." In the 28th chapter, the overthrow of Tyre and Sidon is concluded with the statement that they "shall no more be a pricking brier unto the house of Israel"; the house of Israel shall then be gathered from among the people, and dwell safely in their land. The fall of Egypt, in the 29th chapter, is also made to foreshadow the budding forth of the horn of Israel, in the last verse. The gathering of the scattered people to the mountains of Israel is again detailed in 34:11-16, 23-31. The union of the people under one shepherd is emphasized. The 36th chapter more fully than any preceding, deals with the subject. All the "mountains and hills, and rivers, and valleys, and desolate wastes and cities forsaken," "shall shoot forth their branches and yield their fruit for my people of Israel." "And I will multiply men upon you; all the house of Israel; all of it." More explicit still is the next chapter, with its vision of the valley of dry bones; "these bones are the whole house of Israel," who are to be brought out of their exilic graves and reunited in the land of Israel. One stick is to represent Judah, one to represent Joseph; "the stick of Ephraim and all the house of Israel his companions." "And they shall become one in thine hand." The remainder of the chapter explains and emphasizes the meaning of the vision. The overthrow of Lydia follows in the next chapter. Israel will dwell safely, with no dangerous northern neighbors.

Such is a brief sketch of prophetic material. A few conclusions may be briefly stated. 1. There is no suggestion in all this material that more than one restoration is contemplated. If the passages are to be given the construction that inspires modern Zionistic movements, then a return from the exile at the fall of Babylon was never predicted.

2. But the emphasis upon this last event is pronounced. Repeatedly, by various prophets, this is set forth as the turning-point of the exile. Cyrus is the coming king; seventy years the duration of Babylonian supremacy.

3. There is not a line to suggest that the Josephites shall never return. There is not a prophet that does not specifically express the contrary view. Such passages are numerous.

4. Jerusalem is to be the center of a reunited people; but this people is never described as composed solely of exiles of Judah. On the contrary, Ephraimites are repeatedly announced as sharing amicably in the restored state.

5. To separate the two peoples, in interpretation, who are not separated in prophetic thought, is to adopt an impossible principle of exegesis. To declare that the restoration of Judah took place as predicted, but that the restoration of Joseph never occurred, and never will, as the popular theory virtually does, is apologetically ruinous to the traditional apologetic method.

6. "Israel" and "Jacob" are used to designate ten tribes, or all: never applied to the southern kingdom only.

To give honor where honor is due, this inquiry into the material in the prophets is not the first one. As this book was going to press there came to my attention an article entitled "Were the Ten Tribes of Israel Ever Really Lost?" It was written by Reverend A. M. Osborn of New York, and published in the Methodist *Quarterly Review,* July, 1855, pp. 419-440. It is a carefully written article, covering the ground and the method of this chapter. It provoked no reply. A careful examination of the files of some other religious *Reviews* did not discover a similar one in the last seventy-five years. Considering that Mr. Osborn wrote when books identifying the Lost Ten Tribes were generally popular, and the present vast body of knowledge of the ancient world had not been gained, his article may be fairly regarded as an unusual achievement.

CHAPTER XXVII

Post-Exilic References

We may next consider the post-exilic material bearing upon the subject. In 2 Kings 17:23 we are told of the Hebrews of Samaria that they "were carried away out of their own land *unto this day."* That is practically all the historical material in the Old Testament upon which to base a theory of lost tribes. The Chronicler does not repeat the statement in his compilation; though to be able to repeat it in his own day would very materially further his fancy for deriving all the later temple-order from Solomon. It does not occur to him to maintain that northern Israelites, after the exile, had no part in the highly organized institutions of the temple-service and that they were still in exile. On the contrary, it was noticed in Chapter V that he insisted that Levites of the ten tribes took the lead in reformations in Hezekiah's time, some years after Sargon's capture of Samaria, and that these northern shrine-servitors were more efficient than the Jerusalem priests (2 Chronicles 29-31: note 29:34). And the same inclusion of northern tribes in Josiah's passover, about nine years before the fall of Nineveh, was noticed in the preceding chapter. It does not matter here whether the account be true or false. The immediate point is that the Chronicler has no notion that any tribes have been lost, or that any should be excluded. And further citations from his compilation will show the same fact.

Now the above-cited expression "unto this day" cannot refer to any later time than that of the actual compilation of the Books of Kings. As the compiler of Kings gives no exilic or post-exilic data, we have no warrant for assuming that the statement in question would be true of post-exilic days, to the end of time, as the theory of lost tribes compels us, in some sense, to do.

The deportation here mentioned does not include all the Ten Tribes, but merely some Josephites,—certain powerful and intelligent Israelites of the fertile central district of Palestine. The northern or Galilean region had been ravaged at an earlier period (2 Kings 15-29). The location of the captives is not stated in 2 Kings 17:23. In 1 Chronicles 5:26 still another account is given of the deportation of some eastern Israelites. They are carried away by Tiglath-pileser before Sargon's conquest of Samaria; though the compiler of this book seems to have copied the location of the Josephites in the earlier record, possibly mixing two narra-

tives. The statement in 2 Kings 17:23 then merely declares that certain Josephites were deported to a given locality and that they were still there when a certain Hebrew historical compilation was written, after the fall of Jerusalem and before the rise of Cyrus.

We may consider why there ever was a theory of lost tribes; why it has been assumed that the northern Hebrews are not to be reckoned as forming part of the Jews of the Dispersion. A passage in the apocalyptic 4 Esdras 13 is partly responsible. This seer of the first Christian century sees a multitude coming home to Jerusalem, and is told that these are the "ten tribes," who left their assigned place of residence and wandered forth through defiles of the upper Euphrates to the land "Arzaret." They spent a year and a half in the migration. And the object of it is specifically stated to have been that they might keep the law better than they had ever kept it in Palestine and better than they could in their exilic home. And the apocalypse paints them restored to Jerusalem because of such segregation and consequent improved adherence to the ancient law. It should be recognized that this pessimist of the time of Domitian has totally lost the propagandist fervor of earlier Jews and contemporary Christians. His faithful ten tribes do not think of winning a world for their God. But the exegesis that holds the apocalypse, the migration, and the restoration to be facts, while asserting the improved keeping of the law to be a fiction, and the emigrants to be "lost tribes" is supremely absurd. As for the land "Arzaret," it does not matter here whether we consider it *erets akher,* "another land," or *erets-Urart,* with haplography of the *r.* But since the Jews had become ere the writer's day the dominant element in parts of Armenia or "Ararat," (Urartu) east of Lake Van and were notable sticklers for their law there, some prefer to see *erets-Urart,* or "Ararat," in the corrupt Arz-aret. And we should also remember the prophet's expectation that those who are in exile are the very folk who will one day return and cleanse Palestine from the abominations still prevalent there (Ezekiel 11:16-18). Nothing is farther from his mind than the probability of their being lost or merged with pagan Gentiles.

The peculiar advantages and preëminent excellence claimed for the Yekan-Yâ colony have been vividly before us. But what of the "Jerusalem only" faction among the royalists? It would seem natural that should they undertake to reëstablish the king-and-priest régime in Jerusalem; that they would not feel very cordial toward the northern districts that had never accepted Jerusalem

dictation in pre-exilic times. A failure to accord them a share in reconstruction would not mean that their old opponents of the "ten tribes" had disappeared, but that they had not disappeared; and if allowed to share with Zerubbabel and his party they would overwhelm the little group of malcontents returned from Babylon. The refusal of the Zerubbabel faction to fraternize we have seen emphasized by the Samaritan Chronicles and by Josephus.[1] It was accounted a reopening of hostilities. Like the Bourbons of France in their exile this faction had learned nothing and had forgotten nothing.

The facts stand out in the literature of the time. Israel has no place in the oracles of Haggai and Zechariah. Zerubbabel is governor of Judah only, in Haggai 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 21; while Zechariah 2:12 declares that "Yahu shall inherit Judah, His portion, in the holy land, and shall choose Jerusalem again." Judah and Jerusalem are the only objects of the prophet's solicitude and admonitions are made only to the House of Judah. This obstinate provincialism insured the failure. It was so petty that it could not win the support of Babylonian Jews as a whole. It is clear that very few returned, and those very poor. The well-to-do Jews descended from those who had taken Jeremiah's advice and gone into business in Babylonia (Jeremiah 29:4-7) had no special incentive, under the mild reign of Cyrus, to abandon their business and associations for the name of living in the desolate city of their ancestors. We know from the cuneiform records and from the Old Testament that Jews were prominent in the official life of their new home. This seems true of Assyria, as well as of Babylonia. But nowhere do we catch any hint that any tribes of Israel have been lost. The Zerubbabel faction does not set up the claim, "I only am escaped alone to tell thee!" (Job 1:15-19).[2]

The real development of post-exilic Jerusalem dates from Nehemiah's time. In Nehemiah 7:1-4 and 11 we learn that the city was repopulated, when fortified, by a draft upon the neighborhood. In 1 Chronicles 9 we have a somewhat fuller account of this list. In the third verse there is mention of princes of Ephraim and Manasseh as included in the draft. It does not matter

[1] *Antiquities*, XI, ii.

[2] It should be recognized that Zerubbabel's movement meant a split in the royalist party in Babylonia as was pointed out in Chapter XXIII, in discussing Zechariah's "Flying Roll." Those whose watchword was *Shaf yatib*—"He that brought us here will abide here"—would not and never did acknowledge the lordship of the Jerusalem royalists. The exile made a new division in the monarchy.

here whether we think these chief men the representatives of new princely families that had arisen from the populace remaining, after the Sargonid deportation of three centuries before, or accept the assertion that they are registered descendants of various groups of exiles, or decide that the list represents both elements. Each view rejects the myth of a complete deportation and no return. The claim that they were descendants of deported Israelite princes has the usual Assyrian policy of removing dangerous leaders in its favor. That would not prevent the rise of a new anti-Assyrian leadership, however, from the populace left behind, or from those returning with the Scythians and Medes when Assyria weakened, or from the priest-taught immigrants of 2 Kings 17:28. Assyrian annals show that the deportation of rebellious leaders never had more than temporary success. With the Israelites returning in the flight before the Scythians came many Goyim or Gentile folk. The region east of the Sea of Galilee was "Galilee of the Goyim" in the time of Isaiah 9:1.

In Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7 we have a census of returned exiles, bearing some marks of being an official Assyrian, or rather Persian list, for purposes of taxation. The different dates assigned it in the Hebrew and in the Septuagint are immaterial for the present point. It appears to be largely a list of towns; and the statement is made that the list is given according to genealogies. Ezra 2:61-63, referring to persons of reputed Gileadite lineage, shows clearly that some sort of genealogical records must have been kept in the captivity, perhaps nothing more than a record or tradition of the particular city from which certain exiles were sprung. We may notice in Luke 2:1-4, that there were residents of Nazareth who were officially classed with the people of Bethlehem, though they may never have lived there. A similar procedure may still be observed in the Orient, with taxation of families or clans instead of local residents. Jeremiah 33:7-14 contemplates the restoration of each ruined city as "at the first," evidently meaning that each exile shall return to his ancestral city. Ezra 2:70 seems to express such manner of restoration. The census-list in question has probably such a basis. Now we have not more than two-thirds of it, for the total is the same in all versions; but the somewhat varied list will not average beyond two-thirds of this total, as anyone may test by addition. Yet in the portion we possess, we find Bethel, Michmash, Ai, Jericho, Lod, Hadid, Ono, Ramah, Geba, definitely known to be towns of the old Josephite territory. We find "the province of Moab," Nebo,

Ataroth, Senaah, which may be east of the Dead Sea, in the territory formerly Reubenite. But few can be conclusively shown as belonging to the territory of Judah. Some are certainly foreign proselytes. *Pihat*-Moab is an Assyrian province-name: Judaized Moabites are probable. The Benî-Elam (Ezra 2:7) are probably Judaized Elamites. The Benî-Elam-Aher, or "Hinder Elam" (2:31) may mean western Elamites. There are certainly foreign names in the list of *Nethînîm;* and names like Bigvai, Zakkai, Bebai, Bezai, Shalmai, seem Aramaized, like Mordecai. The larger part of the list appears to be from the towns of the ten tribes, or to be foreigners. And each version is headed, "The number of the men of the people of Israel" (Ezra 2:2; Nehemiah 7:7). There is no hint of a census of Judah only, and no notion that any tribes have disappeared. This again is considered the Chronicler's compilation, and shows that in his time, four centuries after Sargon's capture of Samaria (?) there is no notion of a segregate ethnic Israel, nor of any tribes lost from it.

Not only is the census-list itself irreconcilable with the theory that "Israel" has been lost; the varied recurrences of "Israel" in the Chronicler's phraseology are equally decisive. The census that is headed "men of the people of Israel" concludes with "all Israel dwelling in their cities." The duplicate narrative in Ezra 7 repeats that the priestly muster and the preparations to teach included "all Israel," not simply Judah. "There went up some of the children of Israel, even priests and Levites" (v. 7) "to teach in Israel" (v. 10). The letter of Artaxerxes specifies "all Israel, and his priests and Levites" (v. 13). The date and debated authenticity do not here concern us. The real point is that this writer, whatever his date may be, does not think of any lost tribes; nor does he think of the restoration as comprising men of Judah only. The gathering of the people, in the seventh month, most probably upon the occasion of Ezra's reading the law, is said to be of "the children of Israel in their cities." The document joined to the older Zerubbabel narrative in Ezra 6:16, declares that "the children of Israel, the priests, the Levites, and all other children of the captivity" joined in a great feast at the dedication. The offerings were "for all Israel; twelve he-goats according to the number of tribes of Israel." Ezra 8:35 contains the same general statement. Ezra 6:20 f. again speaks of "all the children of the captivity," and of "the children of Israel which were come again out of the captivity." "All Israel," not simply "Judah," is represented in the temple-donations and their custody, and in

the peoples gathered at Jerusalem (Ezra 8:24, 25, 29, 35; 9:1; 10:1, 25).

Ezra, whose narrative the Chronicler used, tells that he "gathered out of Israel chief men" to go with him carrying the valuable donations of the Persian king. Halting at Ahava-Hit, where Euphratean alluvium begins, he found a deficiency in his temple-staff, and sent a deputation to "Iddo, Head of Casiph-Yâ the Makôm" (Ezra 8:17), to select trained Levites and *Nethînîm*. As we saw in Chapter XXIII, this was probably at Nehardea.

Three salient facts are here. First, Ezra has no mind to set up a petty king at Jerusalem, even under Persian patronage. He is certainly not of the Judah royalist party, represented in Zerubbabel's fiasco. He is superior to Nehemiah, who represents the Persian government. He thinks, in Josephite-Samaritan fashion, of an Israel ruled in all things by a high-priest in the name of God. The title "scribe" added to his priestly rank we must compare with "Shebna the Scribe" of 2 Kings 18:18, or Sheva in 2 Samuel 20:25. As Grand Scribe or secretary of the priestly fraternity, he is essentially a high-priest, and acts as one. An Israelite papacy resenting taxation or domination by any earthly king is the logical goal of his pretensions and dreams. He wants no military Branch of the conqueror David, as the Zerubbabel faction did (Zechariah 3:8, 6:12; cf. Isaiah 11:1). So the very name Israel has a peculiar significance for him to which the ideals associated with the conquest-dreaming Judah are opposed. This gives emphasis to his statements that Israel is returning, rather than Judah.

Second, Ezra is clearly not of the Nehardea-Yekan-Yâ colony, and has not come by that point with his company en route to Jerusalem. He has not organized his temple-staff in advance. He has seemingly raised the cry, "Yisra-El!" and to that a multitude has rallied. He does not know what are his resources in personnel till he holds a review at Ahava.

Third, he has come from the Persian court, and there has gathered his following, representative rather of the Israel that was settled in the cities of the Medes than of the Judah that was colonized in Babylon. And he is a Zadokite or Sadducee himself, descended from the Zadok son of Ahitub that was prominent at David's court.[3] His deputation returns with thirty-six men of the Levite clans of Mahli and Merari, intelligent and trained in the law. Again we meet the Chronicler-Zadokite insistence that re-

[3] Compare Ezra 7:1-6, 10, 11, 13, 21, 25; Nehemiah 8:1, 4, 9, 13; 2 Samuel 8:17, 20:25; 1 Kings 1:32, 38 f., 44 f.; 2:26 f., 35; and Ezekiel 44:15 ff.

forms and reorganization at Jerusalem came out of northern Israel; for these Levites are by all accounts originally in the north, chiefly in the Bashan regions.[4]

For the present point, Ezra did not know that the ten tribes were totally lost, nor that their religious forces were so corrupt as to be impossible for a Jerusalem staff. More than three hundred years had passed since the fall of Samaria; still longer since Tiglath-pileser III plundered all Naphtali and Bashan, and deported its intelligent leaders. Yet faithful Israelites of those regions, well trained in the law in schools of the Diaspora, are those selected to reclaim and to instruct Judah. We are given a picture of them at work in Nehemiah 8. The subsequent attitude of Ezra and Nehemiah toward mingling with certain Ammonite and kindred peoples curiously resembles that which blazed out centuries before in Israel against Solomon's intimate alliance with the Ammonites.

To this fact that not a single post-exilic Old Testament writer knows that any Israelite tribes are thought of as lost or as exceptionally corrupt may be added the same negative evidence in the Apocryphal literature. Tobit was originally written to tell of the faithfulness of Israel, particularly of Naphtali, in the cities of the Medes. Even with the re-working and interpolations, Judah is not mentioned. Judith tells how Holofernes is beaten by Israelites, somewhere in northern Israel. Ben Sira prays, "Gather all the tribes of Jacob together, and inherit Thou them, as from the beginning! O Lord, have mercy upon the people that is called by Thy name, and even upon Israel, whom Thou has named Thy firstborn" (36:11 f.).[5] He sketches the past of Israel, emphasizes the folly of Solomon, and "Roboam" he etymologizes as "the foolishness of the people; one that had no understanding" (47:19 ff.). But he does not think of a total loss of any tribes. On the contrary, in 36:11 f. he was quoting from Jeremiah's assurance that all Israel-Ephraim would certainly be restored, and his references as a group show special sympathy with the North. Baruch bemoans the past and the dispersion, but says, "O Israel, happy are we, for the things that are pleasing to God are made known to us. . . . He hath found out the way of all knowledge, and hath given it to Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved" (4:4; 3:36). So he chides and comforts, declaring that deported Israel is the real light of the nations. There is no notion that Judah instead of a lost Israel is the guardian of the Law. The emphasis all through

[4] See Joshua 21:7, 34-40; Numbers 3:20, 33; 26:57 f.
[5] Cf. Jeremiah 31:9.

1 Maccabees that Israel, not Judah, was the zealot defender of ancient faith was noticed in the chapter on Samaritans.

Next we may notice the peculiar, varying, and inconsistent way in which Josephus uses the terms "ten tribes" and "two tribes." In his statement of the trouble that Ahaz had with the kings of Samaria and Damascus he does not mention Tiglath-pileser's harrying Naphtali and Galilee (2 Kings 15:29); he does mention the deportation of the Damascenes (2 Kings 16:9); the "Kir" of this passage is "Upper Media" for him, and an Assyrian colony or garrison is placed in Damascus.[6] At the fall of Samaria "the ten tribes" were removed out of "Judea" *(sic!)*. At the fall of Jerusalem, he tells us of the prisoners carried to Babylon, and later of Nebuchadrezzar's raid upon Egypt, where

"he took those Jews that were there captive and led them away to Babylon. And such was the end of the nation of the Hebrews as it hath been delivered to us, it having twice gone beyond Euphrates, for the people of the ten tribes were carried out of Samaria [All the ten tribes, in "Judea" above, are now in "Samaria."] by the Assyrians, in the days of King Hoshea, after which the people of the two tribes, that remained after [!] Jerusalem was taken, by Nebuchadrezzar, the king of Babylon and Chaldea."[7]

But a little later, telling of Ezra's organizing a company at Babylon, to go to Jerusalem, he writes that

"the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country (!) wherefore *there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans (!)*, while the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates till now and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers. . . . The presents had been made by the king and his counsellors, and by all the Israelites that stayed in Babylon."

Now these statements with their amusing inconsistencies, make all the great leadership of Babylonian Judaism, all its contribution to the religious and educational life of the world, to be the product of the "ten tribes." But Josephus is unconsciously showing us the actual popular use of the terms "ten tribes" and "two tribes" in his time. The original distinction that persists in our minds, did not exist in the popular speech of the time. All knew that the "two tribes" were carried to Babylon in the same sense that "ten tribes" were carried to Assyria, and just as completely; but here the "two tribes" are simply the minority of Israel that are

[6] *Antiquities,* IX, xii, 3.

[7] *Antiquities,* X, ix, 7.

within the Roman Empire, while the "ten tribes" are the great majority, not lost, but east of the Euphrates. But such use of terms leaves no excuse for the hunter of specific tribes that have been lost somewhere.

It should be recognized that Josephus' use of the terms was that which was popular in his time. He expected all his readers to understand. It shows that the intelligent Jews of his time did not think of any tribes as lost. They simply considered the majority of Israel to be then in the far east, and the minority to be west of the Euphrates. Their terminology leaves no place for a lost-tribes hunter.

This same view is that expressed in 4 Esdras, already noticed. His faithful, unyielding "ten tribes" are those beyond the Euphrates. He writes in the time of Domitian. Jerusalem has been gone for a quarter of a century. The two tribes had played a mad game for Jewish empire and lost. All the writer's hopes are centered in the faithful Ten. But Arabian raiders are pouring into Babylonia, and the Carmanians (Kashans?) are coming westward from Seistan into Assyria. How shall the Ten escape in this hour when divine judgment is to sweep the world bare of these powers of evil? Let them flee through the narrow passes northward, into a land where no man dwells, there to wait in quiet till the days of wrath be past. The writer certainly knew that there had been several such migrations northward; some into Trans-Caucasia, some across the Caucasus, some long settled in lands north of the Black Sea, as noticed in the chapter on Khazars and Scythians. But the turning of his faithful Ten, providentially secluded till the storm of divine vengeance be past, into a list of lost and unrecognizable Ten is one of the drollest things ever done by incompetent expositors.

In the New Testament the general epistle of James is addressed "to the twelve tribes that are scattered abroad." Those assembled on the day of Pentecost are from the cities of the Medes and Parthians, where Sargon placed some of his colonists; and some were Elamites, in whose mountains Khalah was (cf. 2 Kings 17:6). The apocalyptist, dreaming of a triumphant earthly Jerusalem, sees twelve thousand of each of the twelve tribes of Israel sealed for the honors of that kingdom (Revelation 7). No one could have persuaded any of his school that any of the twelve tribes had been or would be lost.

Then Agrippa brings both Paul and Josephus before us. Standing before Agrippa, Paul said (Acts 26:7): "Our twelve

tribes serving God earnestly both night and day." And Josephus reports the speech of Agrippa when endeavoring to check the fanatical religio-political revolt that ended in the destruction of Jerusalem.[8] In the latter part he asks if they think that those of their nation that are beyond the Euphrates still, that dwell in Adiabene, will come to their help. But Adiabene is the mountain region of Assyria, named in 2 Kings 17:6. It is recognized as Adjab-ene, for Azab-ene, "The Land of the two Zab rivers." So the descendants of northern exiles are still there at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and are thought powerful enough to send decisive military aid to far-away Jerusalem, if they will. As we have already seen, they have converted many Assyrians. When Josephus wrote, a great Assyrian Christian Church was well founded. St. Maris, first Patriarch of Ctesiphon died 82 A.D. Large numbers of these Israelites in Assyria became the backbone of the early Christian church. Those who did not became a prominent factor in the making of the Babylonian Talmud. Their translating their Hebrew literature into Assyrian, and making Assyrian proselytes into doctors of Jewish law has already been noticed. But this language of Paul and Agrippa and Josephus shows no thought of any lost tribes.

We may sum up the evidence of literary references, then, as follows: All the pre-exilic and exilic prophets declare that both north and south will be restored and united into one people. A reasonable exegesis requires us to take these statements as seriously as the threats against the Gentiles. The restoration is nowhere painted as bipartite—Judah to be restored at once, and Israel thousands of years later. There is not a line, either in the prophets or in the historical portions, to suggest that the exile of Israel was to be final. All the evidence is the other way. The data for the time of restoration are abundant. The fall of the political dominance of Assyria and Babylonia was to open the way for it. The effort clearly marked by all three sources as a narrow provincial Judah movement on the part of Zerubbabel and a few coadjutors was a complete failure. The movement described as successful everywhere implies that "all Israel," or "the children of Israel" were connected with it; its census includes towns never in the southern kingdom. Jerusalem is pictured as prostrate till princes of Ephraim and Manasseh joined with Nehemiah in the effort to reëstablish the city, and men of Ephraimite towns aided in rebuilding the walls, and were included in the draft made to repeople

[8] *Wars*, II, xvi, I.

the empty city. The temple-service seems to have been all but neglected, till a body of descendants of exiled Bashan priests and foreign *Nethînîm* were brought by Ezra to take charge of the Persian donation, and to aid in the restoration and reorganization of the temple services.

Then after this reorganization, all literary allusions in all records or editing or compiling of records point the same way. In such a compilation as 2 Maccabees, we hear the praises of Judah loudly sung and Israel depreciated. But there is no suggestion that Israel has been in any sense lost. All through the apocryphal literature and in various late Psalms the preëminence and persistence of Isräel remains. The effort to make Judah and Jerusalem the center of politico-theological dictation to the world ended in ruin. But Israel remained, as the primal fact in history and literary allusion. Neither Christian nor Jew in those centuries of transition ever spoke of any tribes of Israel as lost.

Then there is the outstanding fact of Oriental Jewish belief in every age which has been before us repeatedly in this study: that certain of the ten tribes are still resident in this or that locality in the Far East. At no period has Oriental Judaism admitted that any tribes were lost. The egotism of modern western Gentile ignorance invented the theory of lost tribes. W. T. Ellis writes, "On my first trip to Babylonia, nearly twenty years ago, I was surprised to find communities of Jews living, mostly in squalor, all up and down the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. Later, I met them throughout Persia. Mildly interested in the subject of 'the lost ten tribes,' I asked the Grand Rabbi of Bagdad for his opinion. He called a meeting of the other rabbis in the old synagogue of Bagdad—these venerable and white-bearded doctors of the law were like a picture from the Bible—and they promptly and unanimously agreed that the ten tribes of Israel never were lost; they remained in the east, and are there yet." But we have seen that the pet Jewish theory of a segregate, pure-blooded Jewish race is contrary to the facts of all Hebrew history. It is not a race that has survived, but a peculiar cultus with many sects.

For current terminology we are not likely to discard the word *Jew*. But we have no grounds for using it in contrast with "ten tribes." We have seen a tremendous religious propagandism that carried the name of Yahu far and wide in the ancient world; we have seen survivals of that activity in many lands. And the larger early activity seems that of Israel rather than Judah. Academies in Babylonia furthered the blending and unifying the work of de-

ported northern and southern Israelites. No distinction between them remained possible, when such education had united them. No fair distinction can be made among such Jews to-day. The deportees of the ten tribes are in all fairness to be viewed like deportees of the south, simply as Jews of the Dispersion, retaining their faith, active in spreading it, often the nucleus of an early Christian church. Josephus speaks of a band of them, steadfast and rejoicing in the prosperity of Jerusalem, in the vicinity of the territory held by the modern Nestorians. Some of these reside in the very mountains of Assyria where certain of the Josephites are said to have been placed; and some such claim to be of Josephite descent. There is nothing intrinsically impossible about that claim.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Rewriting Hebrew History

Efforts to write Hebrew history have generally been dominated by the apologetic pretensions and special claims which Judaism set up for itself more than two thousand years ago. Yet this claim to be the sole possessor of moral truth and to be the only medium through which moral truth was to reach humanity is no more than some other religions have claimed, and for apologetic purposes is worth no more than their claims. As it is historically untrue, any quasi-history controlled by that ancient apologetic assumption becomes eminently unhistorical. Modern Jewish scholars have recognized this. Dr. Morgenstern writes,

"I have no quarrel with this doctrine of immediate and momentary divine revelation, although I cannot subscribe to it, and hold instead an altogether different though quite as positive a concept of divine revelation. None the less I maintain that despite origins, or rather, supposed origins, religion is largely, if not primarily, a matter of culture, the creation of the age and the environment working upon the heritage of tradition."

The words "supposed origins" emphasize the fictitious character of the pretensions by which the real history of the growth of Judaism has been obscured. And a general scholarly recognition of the fact results in the feeling that there is no satisfactory textbook upon Hebrew history to-day. Probably no Semitic scholar would care to attempt one just now. The material presented in the preceding pages is certainly but a small part of what will one day be included in any scholarly efforts to present a comprehensive survey of the growth of religion among the ancient Hebrews.

Rewriting Hebrew history would be a task somewhat similar to that of rewriting the history of Hindu religions and literature. Brahman claims that their literature was four thousand years older than the Christian era have long been familiar. It is even asserted that they had written literature then. These claims have been superciliously discredited, for good evidence was produced showing that the Aryans could not have entered northwest India earlier than 1200 B.C. Latterly their entry is put about 900 B.C., at the time when the kindred Parsua or Persians appear on the Assyrian horizon. But with the fact that compilations like the Atharva-Veda show much of pre-Aryan origin, that Brahmanism to-day includes hardly one-fourth of the population and still gathers in

rituals and ceremonies of the older population,[1] we have to combine the new fact, revealed by the extensive explorations of Sir John Marshall, that there was a high social development, great city-building, and written literature in India some three thousand years before the Aryan arrived. When the Persian arrived in Babylonia he had no body of doctrines or organized dogmas, but only a jumble of naturalistic myths and barbaric rituals. Babylonia shaped Mazdaism.[2] His Aryan comrades four centuries earlier must have been even more poorly equipped. What is now Sanskrit literature seems simply putting an Aryan stamp on ages of pre-Aryan thought and institutions. It is considered that what we call Hinduism is essentially Dravidian, that it is before us in all its essentials in the South India that the Aryan did not conquer. Whether the same Dravidian culture produced the newly-discovered antiquities of the ancient valley of the Indus remains to be determined. We have seen that the Dravidian took the Phoenician alphabet about the time the Aryan arrived and produced the Brahmî script, and centuries later passed this script and literature on to the Aryan invaders of North India. But the Aryan was strong enough to put the literature in his own language and molds. And this is what the Aramaeans who claimed to be Israel were never able to do; the old Hebrew language and culture persisted, even though Israel got some brief but vacillating political control. Seeing that Israel in exile is denounced as largely pagan, the question is inevitable, Did Israel bring any valuable religious contribution to the Hebrew-speaking Palestinians?

When the invading Aryans adopted old Hindu literature and institutions as their own, they lost the earlier traditions of their own history so completely that scholars are still not agreed from what region they came. They simply annexed their history subsequent to their settlement in northwest India to the earlier Hindu traditions, and claimed the old literature and institutions which they accepted as their own product. The like procedure is an outstanding fact of the Old Testament. Where is the Hebrew-Phoenician history of Palestine during the two thousand years before the Israelite kingdom? Where is the record of the mighty men of old whose thousands of palaeolithic tombs still remain in Palestine and Trans-Jordania? A great Philistine infusion came into the making of Israel, and largely figured in shaping its liturgy; but where is the record of a single hero, or any reminiscence of the great Minoan past, reaching back of 3400 B.C.? The

[1] Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the Northwest Provinces*, passim.
[2] Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, p. 91.

Hittite-Hurrian has become a prominent ethnical element in the Judaism that we know; but where is any record of the long Hittite or Hurrian past, or of a single heroic Hittite figure? Modern excavations have shown Egyptian dominance in Palestine through the greater part of three thousand years. There were Israelite kings who were political "sons" of Egypt, and Pharaohs warred to establish their authority (1 Kings 9:16; 11:40; 12:2 f., 20; 14:25). But there is no extant effort to append the history of Israel to the antiquity of Egypt.

Still more sharply must be asked, Where are any pre-Abram records of the Aramaeans who have explained the final Aramaean dominance of the whole region at the east end of the Mediterranean by parading a claim that they were divinely called and predestined to possess that land? Back of a traditional grandfather of the legendary Abram there are but three topographical titles used to link one famous Aramaean migration out of many to an ancient non-Aramaean, non-Semitic tradition (Genesis 11:16-23). But when this mingled population of ancient pre-Abram Hebrew-Phoenicians and Indo-Germanic Hittites with a Mongolian substratum and a host of the ancient Hurrian stock fused also with Minoan Philistines and Arab strains from the desert and later Iranic Scythian invasions—when this ethnically mongrel population was deported to the Sea-Land, its literary class and cultus-leaders were so mightily impressed with a Noachian Yahu-cult and tradition which they found there that they discarded any remnants of ancestral traditions that may have still survived and translated the names of a long list of prediluvian Proto-Elamite traditional heroes into Semitic forms and claimed them as their own Semitic ancestors—the antediluvian patriarchs of the Old Testament. At present the pre-Semitic names are known to us only in the form transmitted by the Sumerians, who are acknowledged to have reached the Euphratean alluvium long after the Proto-Elamites did, and to have gradually assimilated much Proto-Elamite culture, and to have appropriated some of the Proto-Elamite traditions. In Chapter XXI was presented the fact that deported Palestinians did accept Proto-Elamite tradition as the real authority upon the antiquity of the Yahu-cult, acknowledging its provenance from the ancient regions farther east. Modern speculation deriving Yahwism from the Beduin of Sinai contradicts the view accepted by the compilers of Genesis.

Then the deported Palestinians annexed the Aramaean hero Abram (high father, exalted ancestor) to the line of non-Semitic

heroes several thousand years earlier. The antiquity had captured their fancy. The Sumerians have made these legendary figures speak Sumerian. But in Chapter XXIV was noticed the fact that Aramaic-speaking rabbins in Talmudic Babylonia had concluded that "Adam" spoke Aramaic. The important fact is that it seemed imperative to hold to a version of the Proto-Elamite tradition, instead of enouncing Palestinian origins. The bare fact, long familiar to Orientalists, has not brought recognition of the vigor and power of the ethical-cultural elements in the life of the ancient Sea-Land that could achieve such a result. The facts presented in Chapter XXI have hardly been seen. But if Aramaean compilers have thus annexed their own traditions to those of ancient Sumer, or of the Proto-Elamite, if they have reported old non-Aramaean Palestinian institutions in Exodus 20-23 and 34 as those of their own ancestry, have they done the same for Exodus historical traditions? Irreconcilable in their present form, as all scholars know, it may be that no Aramaeans were in the original Exodus narratives.

That Judaism has in every land annexed some proselytes, and with them some customs or superstitions that did not belong to ancient Yahwism, is recognized by all Jewish scholars. But how much of the historic achievement of the ancestors of such proselytes has been annexed by the same process, and declared a part of the doings of ancient Israel? In Chapter V it was suggested that Judges 3:3 may be Hittite Yahwists' reminiscence of Shubbilulyuma's subjugation of that mountain region. It was noticed that Joshua allied himself with the Achaian (Hivite) confederacy of Gibeon and vicinity. What legends of Hivite and Hurrian conquest were thereby brought into Israelite tradition? Was the center of this confederacy at the *gibeath elohîm* (1 Samuel 10:5) the modern Ram Allah, twelve miles north of Jerusalem? Was it the site of the *gilgal* where a formal renewal of a kingdom was made (1 Samuel 11:14)? and the strategic point seized by the Philistines (13:2 f.)? Saul's violation of the treaty with the Gibeonite Hivite-Hurrian colonies was a chief factor in his downfall. The whole weight of their influence was thrown to the side of the house of David (2 Samuel 2:8 ff., and 4). Their sanctuary remained a point of conference and oracle (2 Samuel 2:13; 1 Kings 3:5; 1 Chronicles 21:29) and the sword of Yahu was a superstitious terror at that point in post-exilic times. But this emphasizes the query, How much pre-Israelite Hivite or Hurrian achievement became incorporated into Israelite historic tradition?

As to the Exodus stories, and the garbled version of Manetho, given by Josephus: this version begins when Ahmose I (1580-1557 B.C.) has expelled the Hyksos from their Avaris capital. The succeeding Amenophis I and Thothmes I (1557-1501 B.C.) have to deal with the efforts of Osarsiph to liberate his associates, and their temporary recovery of Avaris by the aid of Hyksos returning from Jerusalem. The confused narrative continues to Seti I (1313-1292 B.C.) and his son Rameses II. The chief Egyptian figures are of the Thothmes Dynasty (Egyptian, Dhut-Mose). Tethmosis, Thummosis, Muthosis, are Greek corruptions. Even Misphrag-Muthosis is plainly Mes-Perao-Dhut-Mose ("Son of the Pharaoh Thothmes"). Now there is no difficulty in recognizing four hundred years of Egyptian conquests and domination in Asia. There were inevitably various groups in Palestine that had vivid traditions of Egyptian oppression. But to combine all these as the experience of one singular segregated group is impossible.[3]

Nor is there any difficulty in accepting the evidence of the El-Amarna Letters, that in the time of Ikhen-aton or Amenophis IV (1375-1358 B.C.) Hurrian Khabirû adventurers from the north occupied portions of Palestine. And these remained an important part of the Palestinian population. As numbers of them were Hittite royal guards, their incursions into Palestine were probably a Hittite scheme of penetration and occupation, compelling Rameses II later to a tremendous but futile effort to dislodge the Hittites from Kadesh. To identify these Khabirû from the Hittite north with the peoples oppressed in Egypt two hundred years before under Ahmose I and Amenophis I is impossible.

Nor is there any difficulty in accepting the assertion that some pagan Aramaean brigands, led by Hoshea (Numbers 13:16) were

[3] Since this chapter was written, Professor B. D. Eerdmans' *Das Buch Exodus* came to hand (vol. II of his *Alt-Testamentliche Studien*, Giessen, 1909). Eerdmans held that the Hebrews were not nomads: that there were Hebrews in Egypt who were not Israelites, before the time of Thothmes III. These he thought were the Aperiu of the Egyptian records. The much later Aramaean Israelites were also not nomads. The Khabirû he suspected to be the rural population of Palestine of the period. He suggested that *Kha-bi-ru* was a mistaken vocalization by modern scholars, and comparing *Subari*, written also *Sûri*, for northern Assyria, suggested *Khawiru* as the intended vocalization; the Egyptians expressing it by what scholars have been transliterating as *Khârû*. The incessant hardening of surds into sonants in the Amarna letters he overlooked, or he might have suspected that Amarna Kha-bi-ru represented an Akkadian Kha-wu-ru, our now-familiar Hurrû. Nor did he notice that the people of the ancient Su-wa-ri now call themselves Surāyi: mere *metathesis*. But as Professor Eerdmans wrote over twenty years ago, before the Hittite inscriptions and modern explorations had made us acquainted with the Hurri, his approximation of some main facts is highly creditable.

met by the Sar of a Yahu-association already in Palestine, (Joshua 5:13—6:5). Their Aramaean paganism from Harran (?) may be admitted (24:2, 14 f., 23). The Sar of the Yahu-forces must have been the one who gathered the successful raiders at Shechem to make a covenant declaring Yahu to be their national god. The El-Amarna Letters show that Labaya, the Hurrian governor of Shechem, had surrendered the city to the Khabirû about 1365 B.C. A Khabiri Sar of Shechem is probably the director of Hoshea's brigands. Their league with some powerful Achaian gibborîm about Gibeon (Joshua 10:2, 7) and the necessity of capturing Hazor before the war was ended can be admitted. The Khabirû had not been able to capture Hazor, in the El-Amarna Letters. Abdi-Tirshi, its governor wrote two letters (Nos. 227, 228) expressing loyalty and much pleasure at the prospect of the speedy arrival of the Pharaoh. But Abi-milki of Tyre wrote shortly afterward that the king of Ha-zu-ra had abandoned his fortress-post and taken his stand with the Khabirû.[3a] There were no gibborîm among the wanderers led by Moses. The powerful gibborîm with which Hoshea captured Shechem must have been those of his Hivite allies of Gibeon and of the Khabirû masters of Shechem. Such a league against other Achaian city-chieftains can be admitted. As for the Sar of the Yahu-forces at Shechem inviting Hosea to join them (and the Achaians of Gibeon?) it is suspected that Genesis 32 contains another version of the same negotiations; the advancing Jacob-forces in 1 f. being met at Mahanaim ("Two Camps") by the couriers of some god. This story asserts that Mahanaim was the scene of Israelite negotiations with the Edomites (Calebites? cf. Joshua 14), while a third explanation is that the original Jacob-tribes had grown to be "two camps" (v. 10). It would appear that there was an initiation into a new cultus ere crossing the Jabbok into Edomite territory (cf. p. 487). But the present version seems a fusion of two stories: the negotiations of Labaya of Shechem with the Khabirû (=SA.GAZ= "Sinew-Smiter"="Jacob") shown by the El-Amarna Letters to be coming down through the Bashan region, and the story of the negotiation of the far later "Israel-Ephraim" with the neighboring Edomites for an advance into central Palestine.

It is of first importance that the region about Mahanaim is heavily forested and known as "The wood of Ephraim" in David's time, 2 Samuel 18:6. It was probably the pre-Palestinian base of the Ephraim clans: it was the capital of the House of Saul (1

[3a] El-Amarna letter, 148:41 f.

Samuel 11:14; 14:47; 2 Samuel 2:8 f.). This is supported by the Palestinian Ephraimite attitude toward Gilead, Judges 12:4: "You are but fugitives (protégés? outcasts?) of Ephraim, in the midst of Ephraim and Manasseh!" As noticed in Chapter III, Hoshea of Ephraim (Numbers 13:8) is not credited in the Book of Joshua with any conquests in the central highlands of Palestine. He is allied with a Sar of Yahu-forces and with the Achaians of Gibeon and vicinity. We have seen that all "Mount Ephraim" was an undisturbed forest at the time of this Ephraimite invasion. During many centuries of the Bronze Age there had been no cities there. This fact is reflected in Joshua 17:14 ff.

But with this Mahanaim region an ancient Ephraimite base, and the scene of negotiations between Israel and Edom, we may consider the contemporary Egyptian activities in that same region. Seti I's Beth-shean stele declares that the insurrection around Beth-shean was incited by the kings of Hamath and Yenoam (Galilee, whose strongest fortress was Hazor). They had also invited in A'amu (Aram?) and Aperiu (redskins: Edomites?) from the east of the Jordan. Scholars incline to put this Hoshea raid near 1250 B.C., in which case it synchronizes with the sudden disappearance of Mycenaean ware that had been plentiful in Palestine for two centuries preceding. The Achaian colonies would appear ruined by their own feuds and commercial rivalries. Hoshea's freebooting would appear a minor incident in the time of Rameses II, and did not establish Aramaic speech in central Palestine. It may be of the period when the fragmentary records of Rameses II mention the subduing of Askalon, Beth-Anath (Joshua 15:59; 19:38), Merom (Hazor?), and Tabor; the invasion of the Hauran, with evident treaty with the local peoples, since he set up a votive stele to the local goddess, Arkan of the North (the "Job stone"), and captured some A'amu and Aperiu (redskins) for service in Egypt. Hoshea's assertion: "This day am I rolling the taxation of Egypt off of you" (AV "reproach," Joshua 5:9) may mean that they were to be taxfree as militia of Egypt, represented by the "Sar of the Yahu-troop." This official "son" *(Mose)* of the Pharaoh was later identified with the "Mosheh" of Exodus. Such political methods were habitual in the ancient Orient. The circumcision was a formal induction into Egyptian military service and a declaration of fusion with the Khabirû of Shechem. Such periodic inductions into a military company with a chief's son are still familiar in Africa. But in the next generation the new-comers participate in a Palestinian revolt,

and are chastised by Merneptah. If the revolt were also a breach of faith with their Khabirû hosts of Shechem it would be described as doing evil in the sight of Yahu." Whatever the date, at any time between Ikhen-Aton and the Philistine invasion, the newcomers were under Egyptian government in Palestine. But no scholar identifies this petty incursion with those of the Khabirû from the Hittite north over one hundred years before, nor with those oppressed in Egypt by Ahmose I and Amenophis I three hundred years before. Material introduced in the Book of Joshua to make all the traditions the experience of a single early group from Egypt we can not accept. The mention of Terah and Nahor and Abraham (Joshua 24:2) may be a gloss. Since it has been repeatedly noticed that Israel is not known as a patriarch in northern literature, and that the name has never been explained, it may be that the Hoshea immigration was the original Israel, and that it adopted historic traditions of earlier Palestinians.

And we have no difficulty in accepting the assertion that the irruption of Hoshea's brigands into central Palestine synchronized with an Edomite conquest of the south by the Calebites (Joshua 14; 15:13 ff., Judges 1:9-15). Excavations have shown that the older culture-cities of southern Palestine were destroyed by marauders from the desert whose subsequent development was under the guidance of the cultured Philistines. There is no difficulty in accepting the story of David serving for some years as Philistine deputy, and the remark that border-peoples considered all southern Palestine to be controlled by the Cretans (1 Samuel 30:14). Nor can we object to the statement that recaptured spoil was distributed to settlements acknowledged to be Edomite.[4] There is a plain case of Edomite settlers under Philistine protectorate. There is no difficulty in accepting the statement that these Edomite colonists decided to receive David as a Melek, under Philistine protectorate (2 Samuel 2:1-4). A conscious break with their Edomite caravan-centers is preserved in Genesis 36: a list of some of these traffic-centers up to the time of the kingship of David. But it is not possible to make this Edomite invasion a genealogical sequence of oppressions in Egypt under Amenophis I, three hundred years before. Nor was Yahwism their original Edomite cultus, any more than it was of Hoshea's Aramaean brigands.

And the repeated assertion of four hundred years of Egyptian oppression[5] is perfectly true. But that oppression did not take

[4] See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, on the towns mentioned in 1 Samuel 30:26 ff.

[5] Genesis 15:13, Acts 7:6; contrast Josephus, *Antiquities*, II, xv, 2.

place in Egypt! It is the period of Egyptian oppression in Palestine till that power was broken by Philistine conquest of the south; the period from Ahmose's expulsion of the Hyksos, 1580 B.C., to the Philistine triumph, 1180 B.C. Exodus 12:40 has four hundred and thirty years, which probably includes thirty years of favor in Joseph's time. Genesis 41:46 may originally have said that he stood before Pharaoh thirty years. The present compilation makes him hold his position eighty years. But the Samaritan version, made from a Hebrew text more than a thousand years older than any now extant, has in Exodus 12:40, "four hundred and thirty years in Egypt *and the land of Canaan.*" The theory that a preceding patriarchal period is included is not acceptable, since a long period of oppression seems meant by the Samaritan text.

Twenty-four graves of Hyksos kings have been found by Sir Flinders Petrie at Tell Fara, eighteen miles south of Gaza, raising the total number of known Hyksos kings to thirty-four.[6] It is clear that these Beth-Palet kings ruled both Palestine and Egypt from that stronghold, for a considerable period: and that succeeding them there was a local line of Philistine lords whose relations with Egyptian kings show that these Philistines dominated the region from 1320 to 1100 B.C. Their five great tombs show seven to nine successive interments in some of them. Petrie sees light upon Hyksos chronology: their domination began earlier and continued longer than has been supposed. Baker observes that we have to recognize that Egypt garrisoned the whole south of Palestine until the Philistines did, about 1190 B.C. With Egypt and Palestine one empire for a time, and the seat of government sometimes at Avaris, sometimes at Beth-Palet, it is certain that the term "Egypt" might be used as including all southern Palestine. It adds new force to the *nahal Mitzraim* (AV "river of Egypt") in Joshua 15:4, 47; 1 Kings 8:65, Genesis 15:18. This fertile plain south of Gaza, the grain-land of Crete, actually was "Egypt" for a long period, and is so spoken of in Solomon's time. Any one who "went down into Egypt to buy corn" in Hyksos times might have gone no farther than Beth-palet. The discoveries add strength to the above suggestions that "four hundred years of Egyptian bondage" actually meant the post-Hyksos domination of

[6] Petrie, "The Home of David's Pelethites: Discoveries at Beth-Palet" in *Illustrated London News,* June 30, 1928; "Shepherd Kings of Egypt" in London *Times,* May 24, 1929; "Lords of the Philistines," London *Times,* July 1, 1929; R. St. Barbe Baker, "The Shepherd Kings: Tell Fara Fortress," in London *Times,* July 6, 1929; Petrie, *Gerar,* London, 1928.

Palestine by Egypt, which was terminated by a great reinforcing Philistine immigration, that enabled the Philistine lords to end Egyptian rule. And the Samaritan assertion that the long oppression was "in Egypt and the land of Canaan" is harmonized with the Hebrew text which specifies Egypt only. And since excavation has discovered that Gerar was a great metal-working town, such as Egypt never had, "the furnace of iron, in Mizraim" in Deuteronomy 4:20 may be a reminiscence of the oppression of local Hurrian and Philistine metallurgists after the expulsion of their Hyksos employers. For Egypt had no iron: and we have seen Rameses II asking the Hittite king of Kadesh to procure him some iron from the iron-miners of northern Asia Minor, in Kizzuwadna.

It should be emphasized that Genesis 47:13 ff. asserts the Hyksos domination of both Egypt and Palestine. Grand vizier Joseph had the same authority and the same policy for both regions. He deprived the nobility of all their chariot-equipment. All horses, asses, and chariot-oxen(?) were surrendered. They were probably concentrated at Hazar-Susah, "Horse-enclosure," and Beth-Marcaboth, "Chariots-house," of Joshua 19:5; very near Tell Fara'. The long-successful Hyksos domination is explained. These invading Iranic (?) horsemen undertook to maintain a monopoly of horses, and concentrated Hurrian and Cretan metallurgists and armorers in the same Gerar region. So long as they could maintain their monopoly of such military equipment, they were invincible, and could dominate both Egypt and Palestine from that base.

As for oppressions in Palestine, it has been shrewdly said that all Egyptian raids into Asia were little more than slave-capturing and press-gang expeditions. The Pharaohs regularly boast of such levies of forced labor. We cannot say that there was ever a conquering Pharaoh who did not thus conscript labor. In Chapter XXI were noticed the boasts that captured Hurrû became temple-slaves, or were placed in colonies about some of the temples. Seti I and Rameses II, in telling that they checked raids into Palestine made by A'amu and Aperiu (redskin Edomites) declare that they used captives of these in their building projects in Egypt. But every such Pharaoh-raid in Palestine meant such captives for hard labor in Egypt. Probably regular drafts for construction work were made where the populace was unable to pay taxes in kind. Egyptian inscriptions show that such was the custom in Egypt. Such policy was parallel to the employment of mercenary

troops in that period. Recent excavations in Palestine corroborate the Egyptian claim of long tenure of strategic points in Palestine. Beth-shean, Megiddo, and other strongholds were held by Egypt through four hundred years. But in 1190 B.C. Rameses III records his struggles with a host of migrating "sea-peoples" approaching Palestine from the north: in 1187 he battles with them at a stronghold camp in the Lebanon Amor: in 1185 he has to battle with them in the Delta. Despite his bluster, Palestine is lost. The Philistines are masters of Beth-shean thereafter, as in 1 Samuel 31:8 f., and their protectorate of the Edomite South in David's time keeps open their trade-route to the Red Sea. They probably leagued with the "sea-people" garrisons the Pharaohs employed in Palestine, and turned them against Egypt.

As to identifying the oppressions in Palestine with those of a single group once resident in Egypt, that fusion was facilitated by the Egyptian assertion that Canaan was politically a mere "son" of Egypt (Genesis 10:6). The claim that it was an integral part of the Egyptian empire would certainly make some people speak of Palestine as Egypt. And any local people or district wrested from the Egyptian empire might eventually speak of their fathers as "brought out of the land of Egypt."

The final idea of an ancient national covenant with Yahu, made simultaneously by the ancestors of the whole body of people finally included in the kingdom of Israel must also be a composite conception. The case of Hoshea and his followers covenanting to accept Yahu as their tribal god illustrates the point. It was done at the Shechem sanctuary, which Khabirû from the Hittite country had held for more than a hundred years. Any such immigrant group in the ancient Orient could be awarded lands upon swearing to respect the national gods. Assyrian records mention covenants made in the name of the great Assyrian gods, and the occasional breach of them. It was always possible to warn covenant-breakers of the loss of "lands which I sware to give unto your fathers." So a series of such covenants with annexed peoples, from Moses to the Asmonean annexations, came to be thought of as a single ancestral covenant with one great people. And this brought some old achievements made under pagan gods into the roster of Yahu-directed events, even as pagan cultus was fused with Yahwism (Deuteronomy 12:29 f.). Yahu came to be thought of as a Providence directing ancient peoples who did not use His name. See Hosea 2:8, Isaiah 45:4, Amos 9:7. So may we write of a providence in the history of the Mayas or Aztecs. But to write that

they recognized our conception of and name for that Great Providence would be a perversion of their actual cultural history.

To summarize: we have no difficulty in accepting every event cited as important episodes or factors in four hundred years of Palestinian history. But the combination of them all into an experience of one little invading group is a Frankenstein construction. That some little group called Israel, or some recalling their Aramaean origin should tell it all as their own ancestral experience only shows how completely they had been merged with the older Palestinians.[7] The historic consciousness of the long Palestinian struggle is presented as the historic consciousness of one late element in the population. But to what element was due the original consciouness of Palestine as a whole? The answer must be sought in the identity and group-consciousness and ideals of the leaders of that horde called Hyksos, whom Ahmose I drove back into Palestine. Every proselyte urged to accept a passover and an escape at the Red Sea as part of his genealogy as well as of his cultural history is invited to begin his new life with falsehood. It will be remembered that Philo strongly condemned such demands.

This appropriation of supposed pre-history by Judaism is not peculiar to it. Mediaeval European monks did the same thing when they linked early kings of the Northmen to Noah or Adam. Moslem achievements in this field are the amusement of every Orientalist. A genealogical line can be constructed leading back to any desired personage in Old Testament tradition. Such Moslem pedigrees are familiar. But how much more of non-Israelite tradition had Judaism annexed and declared to belong to the history of Israel? That question is seriously considered by some modern Jewish scholars. In Chapter XIV, for illustration, it was noticed that Jews lost the origin and meaning of the term *Israel* more than two thousand years ago. There is no agreement in their ancient literature upon that point. All record and tradition of the old Penê-el sanctuary where Jacob became "an Israel" has been lost.

It has been said that rabbinism or Talmudism represents an effort to arrest the process of appropriating non-Israelite customs and traditions. The continual proselyting in many nations meant an influx of such elements: it was possible for the process to overwhelm or displace some previous Jewish annexations. Certain objectionable features are denounced in the Talmud as "ways of the Amorite." But all Semitic scholars recognize that the efforts

[7] See Chapter XIV, second paragraph.

to check this appropriation of alien features have failed. Some things in the "traditions of the elders" are known to have been of later Babylonian origin; some are traceable to Armenian residence; some are Persian, and so on. But they do not appear labelled as such. They have been stamped with the ethnic label "Israel," for official approval and popular acceptance. But they only prove that the Gentile convert added much to the small circle of ideas that earlier Israel associated with Yahu, and they bring again before us the question, How large was that original circle of ideas?

Moreover, the records of the ancient kings and leaders in Palestine are but a very small fragment of a great past. Saul, for illustration, is represented in 1 Samuel 14:34 as having then built his first altar to Yahu. Was he of the older non-Yahwist population that had a royal high-place at the elohîm-knoll in 1 Samuel 10:5, 10 f., and renewed their Philistine-shattered kingdom at a gilgal or cromlech, probably at the same place?[8] (1 Samuel 11:14 f.). The very name *Israel* may prove to be of non-Semitic origin. The Deuteronomic politicians demanded the destruction of a host of old hero-monuments and the obliteration of all names (Deuteronomy 12:2). How many memorials of ancient kings and prophets and warriors were thus wiped out?

We have Israel's recorded interest in two lines of Israelite kings. But how would the records of other Palestinian kings read? Thirty-one "city-kings" killed in Joshua 12:24 means neither the conquest of the thirty-one cities nor a termination of their lines of petty kings. It is the successful continuation of these petty kingdoms that makes Israel at length wish a similar organization. Seventy such kings are recorded as humiliated vassals of one (Judges 1:7). "All the kings and all the kingdoms beyond the river" subject to Solomon in 1 Kings 4:21, 24, certainly means those west of the Jordan. Gezer was still independent then (1 Kings 9:16). The assurance that none of the kings shall be equal to him (in 1 Kings 3:13) must mean the same petty Palestinian kinglets. In 1 Kings 10:23, "all the kings of the land," instead of "all the kings of the world," must be meant. This seems to be emphasized in 2 Chronicles 1:12; all the Palestinian kings before and after him are implied (cf. 9:22). Geshur and Maacah are little independent kingdoms in David's time, northeast of the

[8] The excavations at Beth-Shean have discovered the great temple of the sun-god Mekal, which seems to be the name of Saul's daughter, the Michal of our AV. And his concubine Rizpah of 2 Samuel 21 bears the name of Reseph, the fire-god who is identified with Mekal in some cases.

sea of Galilee,[9] and north of Gilead. The protests of Ezra's opponents certainly speak for those west of the Jordan (Ezra 4:10 f.) and refer to the previous relations of Israelite kings with the petty kinglets and districts of that region (Ezra 4:16 f., 20; 5:6; 6:6; 7:25, 21). The pottery and sherds found at various Palestinian sites inscribed "For the King" must refer to the local kinglets; we can hardly suppose a royal pottery of the king of Jerusalem at every hamlet; nor does the theory of a royal stamp guaranteeing the capacity of the jar satisfy, when there is no mark of capacity on the jar. The supposition that all were simply addressed to the king, as ancient express-packages, and became the perquisite of the tax-collector after the contents were delivered to the king is also unsatisfactory. Why should only five such place-jars be found among the fifty stamped with an owner's name? At Gezer the five were "For the king (of?) Socoh," "For the king (of?) Hebron"—and so for Mamshith, Ziph, and Jerusalem. It would seem that these were royal owners, as the others were private owners.[10] A king (of?) Socoh jar was found at Jericho.[11] The absence of king-jars in the great number recovered later at Samaria by the Harvard expedition also suggests that no one in the vicinity of Omri's capital was conceded the titular dignity of "king."

Then there is reason to believe that some kings of the Jerusalem and Samaria dynasties have been omitted from the Old Testament. There is no possible reconciliation of the large chronological discrepancy in the northern and southern summaries of the reigns from the accession of Rehoboam to the fall of Samaria. Nor does either agree with the Assyrian eponym chronology. The Babylonian records show that some actual rulers in Babylon were not considered legitimate. The same issue is made in Deuteronomy 17:14 ff.: set up no more foreigners as kings. But who are the rulers referred to? Are they non-Israelite Palestinian kinglets, or rulers from abroad? The Old Testament silence concerning the long line of Hyksos kings and Philistine lords discovered at Beth-Palet (or Sharuhen?) is an illustrative case. The issue is made very pointed by the fact that the text used by the translators of the Septuagint did not have the word *melek,* "king." The Greek version has *archôn,* "ruler"; the old Latin version has *princeps,*

[9] Geshur in 2 Samuel 3:3; 13:37; 15:8; cf. Deuteronomy 3:14; Maacah in 2 Samuel 10:6; Joshua 12:5; 13:11.

[10] Cf. Driver, *Modern Research and the Bible,* 76 f. Driver inclines to the theory of a royal guarantee of capacity.

[11] *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orientalischen Gesellschaft,* December, 1908, p. 40.

"chief." There are other important divergencies in verses 14-20 It does not matter here which party altered the text; the fact remains that either the earlier compilers or the later translators refused to concede the title "king" to the actual rulers referred to.[12] The compilers have repudiated the connection of Jehoahaz with Yahu, and call him simply "Ahaz.".

Then the so-called "judges" have all but vanished from the records. The term *shopēt* remained in Phoenician regions to the last; the term *shophetîm* of the Book of Judges shows us a Palestinian official title in general use during the first Israelite centuries in Palestine. But with such titular authorities at every little administrative center during three hundred years, the total number would mount to the thousands. Yet of all the number down to the days of Samuel, there are only six of whom any details are told in the Book of Judges. If one object that the term *shophēt* does not occur at all in the El-Amarna Letters, neither does the corresponding Akkadian term *daiânu*. Nor have we any mention of the "elders" of any city. There is simply no reference to such civic organization. But if we had the records of all the judges and of each petty city-king, and of each Chief Priest of each once-independent levitical city, and of each city of refuge, how wide would be the difference between these records and those remaining of Israelite kings? How far is Micah of Moresheth-gath from approving the pretensions of Jerusalem? (Micah 1:5). Does he speak for the older population, oppressed by Israelite militarists (Micah 2:1 f.; 3:1 ff., 8-12)? Considering the long-maintained discrimination against the non-Israelite *gêr,* or proselyte, such questionings gain in emphasis.

The elimination of the records of all ancient Palestinian kings and the deliberate suppression of the records of "all the kings beyond the river," and of nearly all *shophetîm,* with the oppression of the peasantry by a military landed aristocracy suggests a leading question in literary criticism. America shows us the farmer often arrayed against what he calls "Wall Street." The various forms of this antagonism—the Grange, the Wheel, the Coöperative Stores, Free Silver,—such are historic. Should a national cataclysm sweep away all that the rustic calls "the money power," and the poor peasantry must compile a little popular code, how much of

[12] Wiener, *Pentateuchal Studies,* pp. 157 f. compares the prophet parallels, and concludes that the original text was the one that refused to use the word "king." That the reference may be to foreign conquerors who set up their own royal steles as objects of popular worship, for testing popular submission, does not occur to him.

"Wall Street" would be left in it? Would the Palestinian peasantry after Babylon destroyed Jerusalem include any more in their code than is found in the so-called "Book of The Covenant," Exodus 20-23?[12a]

It has been seen, as in Chapter IV, that the Aramaean does not appear in the El-Amarna Letters and in other records that refer to pre-Israelite Palestine; that during many centuries subsequent to the Israelite settlement in Palestine the Hebrew-Phoenician language with a fairly homogeneous type of culture dominated the whole region immediately east of the Mediterranean: some four hundred miles from north to south, and eastward to the Euphrates. Any small Aramaean migrations into Palestine, if there were such, have left no trace. The claim that some Aramaean ancestors, nearly a thousand years before the great westward migration of the Aramaeans from Lower Euphrates regions, were divinely assured that their posterity were to possess and dominate politically the regions specified (Genesis 15:8-21) is believed by some to be a *vaticinium post eventum* for the purpose of explaining and justifying the actual Aramaean domination, politically and linguistically, of the whole region named.[13] It is to be emphasized that the Old Testament presents no evidence that Judah and Israel ever did dominate this great tract. Or, Aramaeans during their long wars with Palestine and increasing encroachment upon Israelite territory secured many favorable oracular responses to their inquiries concerning proposed campaigns. Some of these Aramaeans, fusing later with the Hebrew Yahwists of Palestine, fused their justifying oracles with the Palestinian tradition, but were not able to make Aramaean the language of the Hebrew literature and religion.

It was a familiar precaution in the ancient Orient for an invader to make inquiries of the important local gods of the lands they assailed. One Pharaoh after another cultivated the favor of Anat, the Queen of Heaven of Beth-shean, and made assurance doubly sure by establishing shrines for her in Egypt; they were thus independent of the prepossessions of the oracle-priests of

[12a] For a recent recognition that this code is due to non-Israelite influence, see Morgenstern, *The Book of the Covenant,* Cincinnati, 1928. He views it as primarily Kenite or Edomite. That it may show the influence of Edomite colonists who flocked into Palestine after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar is not considered.

[13] Compare the other suggestion, noticed in Chapter III, that the oracles emanate from the old pre-Israelite population, who dreamed of regaining the lost territory, and that these oracles were appropriated by the Aramaean Israelites in their own interest.

Beth-shean. Rameses II set his stele in the shrine of Arkan of the North, one of the divinities of Ashtaroth-Karnaim—the goddesses of the Two Peaks. Any coalition of Judah or Israel with neighboring kings meant that the allies had favorable oracles from Yahu. The Aramaean Yahwist (?) king, Yau-bidi of Hamath, defeated and flayed alive by the Assyrians, certainly secured a Yahu-oracle justifying his aspirations to empire. Aramaeans of Damascus, after General Naaman set up his Yahu-shrine (2 Kings 5:17 f.; cf. 8:7 ff.), had no difficulty in securing oracles from Yahu that they were called of Yahu to possess the whole land from the Euphrates to the frontier of Egypt. Hazael got such Yahu-assurances. So some such Aramaean Yahu-oracles began to gain currency in Palestine two hundred years before the Deuteronomic revolution, and their eventual inclusion in compilations of popular lore was inevitable. Similarly, in Hezekiah's time, the Rabshakeh secured Yahu-oracles directing him to destroy the land (2 Kings 18:25); and the Babylonian commander, Nebuzaradan, in Jeremiah 40:2 f., claims thorough information as to Yahu's wishes and oracles in the struggle.

As for the fulfillment of the imprecation-oracle of Genesis 15:8-21, if it was Israel that was to rule from the Euphrates to Egypt, such assurance stands on a par with the promises from Yahu that Ahab should conquer at Ramoth-Gilead (1 Kings 22:10 ff.). Three kings directed of Yahu and Elisha against Moab fared no better. There eventually came upon Israel a "terrible cutting to pieces" (2 Kings 3:10, 27). Apologetes' explanations of the non-fulfillment of Genesis 15:8-21 are just the same that ancient oracle-mongers made to save their own necks, when predictions misled. Consider the amusing Judges 1:19. Deuteronomy 7:1-16 was as ruinous to Josiah as Zedekiah and his fellow-fanatics were to Ahab, or as Elisha's direction was to the coalition against Moab.

The oracle of eventual Aramaean dominance did not come from the time of Israel's exile in the Sea-Land, among the Aramaeans massed there. Those Aramaeans would have announced the Sea-Land and Babylonia to be their foreordained inheritance. As for the fancy that Israel was divinely foreordained to possess Palestine, there are historians who consider that this obsession has been an immeasurable curse. Some Jewish scholars think so.

There is strong evidence that the patriarchal narratives are a late Edomite graft upon Palestinian history. In the first place, they represent Yahu as a name unknown to any of the patriarchs

in all their wanderings, and unknown to their descendants till Moses' time, while the name Shaddai was known to the patriarchs, but not to their descendants. And it has been pointed out that the patriarchs are not ideals for the reformer-prophets. Abraham is never mentioned in the pre-exilic exhortations, save in Isaiah 29:22, Micah 7:20, thought to be editorial enlargements; while the Abraham folk in the exilic or post-exilic Isaiah 63:16 are scorners of the mourning Yahwists. Nor is Shaddai a name in which any prophet-reformer speaks. But Esau-Edom is represented as the older branch of the Abraham folk, dominant in the Calebite south in David's time. And the Book of Job, which claims to be of Edomite origin,[14] regularly uses the name Shaddai in the discussions, the name Yahu not appearing at all save in the editorial prologue and epilogue. Then in Genesis 17:1, 35:11 are oracles in the interest of the Shaddai cult, identifying Shaddai with Yahu; while in 28:3, 35, 43:14, 48:3, 49:25, Shaddai is consistently the increase-giver of the nomad, as in the Moabite tradition in Ruth, 1:20 f., where Yahu is twice identified with Shaddai.[15]

The evidence that these stories are late grafts upon the Palestinian history is to be recognized in the irreconcilable difference between their ideals and those of the prophet-reformers, and in the fact that there is no conscious criticism of either by the other. Two independent estimates of ancient popular cultus seem presented. The prophetic literature is in incessant protest against old sanctuary-makôms with their mazzebot-stones and evergreen trees, and culminates in the demand, in Deuteronomy 12:3, that certain old makôms be destroyed, with all associated names. There is no reference to patriarchal habits in such matters.

But the compilers of Genesis show no knowledge of this. They do not picture the patriarchs as bringing a single ethical or inspirational contribution into Palestine. Much increase is the one allurement, and approval of every popular makôm is attributed to them. Abraham begins with an old makôm and oaks of oracles at Shechem, Genesis 12:6; goes to another in 12:8 f., specifically called a makôm in 28:11 f., 16 ff., 13:3 f. He dwells at certain oracle-oaks of Hebron, in 13:18; 14:13; 18:1; resides at another makôm at Beersheba, plants a tamarisk, and invokes a "spirit of olden time," 21:31-33. Human sacrifice is practiced at an old makôm in 22:3, 5, 9, 14; and Abraham is told this must be stopped. Isaac

[14] See R. H. Pfeiffer, "Edomite Wisdom," in *Zeitschrift für die Alt-Testamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1926, pp. 13 ff.

[15] In the amended (?) Isaiah 13:16, the undatable Joel 1:15, and Ezekiel 1:24, 10:5, Shaddai is a destructive tempest, as also in Job, 22:15-20.

resides at the Beersheba makôm, 26:23 ff., and his bamôt there are denounced by Amos 8:14. Jacob's independent career begins by leaving this makôm for one at Luz-Bethel, 28:10 ff., which is apparently the one visited by Abraham in 12:8 f. The Aramaean teraphim in 31:19-35 are placed at the old Shechem makôm under the "oracle-oak" in 35:6-15. Burial in such a makôm is recorded in 35:8; cf. 2 Kings 23:15 f. Thence the party journeys to the oracle-oak near Hebron, 35:27 f.

The same problem, as scholars know, is presented by the patriarchal use of *teraphîm,* or "ghost-figurines" (Assyrian *tarpu,* "ghost, specter, apparition.") Neither in the case of Jacob (Genesis 31:19; 34 f.) nor of Micah (Judges 17:5; 18; 14, 17 f., 20) nor of David (1 Samuel 19: 13, 16) is there any disapproval. There is no Pentateuchal prohibition of them. It is difficult to believe that the reformer-prophets knew of any Torah-approval of *teraphîm;* it is equally difficult to believe that compilers of the Pentateuch knew of their disapproval by the ethical prophets.

How could emphatic endorsement of these old sanctuaries by Aramaean patriarchs have been known to the reformer-prophets, when they make no reference to the fact? How could the bitter prophetic assaults upon Bethel, Shechem, and Beersheba, and the resultant iconoclasm, have been known to the compilers of the patriarch stories, yet no reference be made to that period of persecution? Is it possible that this patriarchal approval, with the oracles asserting that Shaddai is just the same as Yahu, come from the second great Edomite settlement in Palestine, after the fall of Jerusalem? Such would have had no experience of the reformer-prophets' crusade.[16] Their ideas and approved institutions meant a reaction in southern Palestine, and made possible later the inconsistent compilations extant.

That the demand in Deuteronomy for the extermination of Hittites, Hurri, Coastlanders, etc. seems a fanatical Aramaean-led *jehad* of the Semitized south against the non-Semitic elements from the north was suggested in Chapter V. It is comparable to the massacres that closed the period of Crusader domination. An outstanding fact of the record is that there is no demand for the destruction of any Aramaean baalim. There is no denunciation of the baalim of Tyre. The Aramaeans of Edom and the allies of Egypt are to be accounted brethren (Deuteronomy 23:7). Yet for two centuries there had been a life and death struggle with the Aramaeans of Damascus. This attitude in Deuteronomy contrasts

[16] See Ezekiel 35:10-15; 33:24 f.; 25:12 f.; and Obadiah.

sharply with the Joshua compiler, who admits the paganism of his Aramaean brigands, approves its repudiation, acknowledges direction by a Yahu leader already in Palestine, and makes no demand for extermination of Hittites, Hurri, and Coastlanders, and no complaint of the cultus-conditions in central Palestine. Alliance with the Gibeonite colonies is acknowledged as binding, and Saul's breach of that treaty was his ruin. But in Josiah's time the Aramaean element was in control at court, and in Deuteronomy 25:6 every one admitted to the stated festivals at the royal chapel at Jerusalem had to swear that he was of Aramaean ancestry. Some may think this a very late interpolation, made after Aramaic had become the popular speech.

Nor is the campaign of Josiah one of mere iconoclasm. There was no objection to "molten images" at any pre-exilic period. All use of the expression in translation is mistranslation. The whole decorative scheme of Solomon's temple consisted in molten images —pomegranate trees, lions, oxen, cherubim—all were of molten or cast bronze.[17] No objection is recorded; their loss was a national grief (Jeremiah 52:27 ff.). And while Josiah smashes in central Palestine some of the bamôt-houses of the kings of Israel, the kingly baalim and the many hero-baalim of Jerusalem are undisturbed.[18]

As for the Aramaean arrogance that asserted its exclusive ethnic predestination to announce and embody the plans and purposes of Yahu, it is directly contradicted by the Old Testament data, which assert that Yahu-worship came from some ancient non-Semitic people east of the Persian Gulf.[19] Pulpits and commentators, historians and teachers, may one day accord as little respect to such Aramaean pretensions as the average Protestant pays to like Romish Ultramontane claims.

The net result of the effort of Aramaean politicians to impose their ethnic stamp and claim of prior discovery upon the religion of Yahu everywhere was Israel's political ruin. For such arrogant ethnic exclusiveness the destruction of its politico-theological organization was the answer of Providence. Such arrogance is ruinous in the long run in any land, in any age, among any people. The whole record in the case of Judaism should be vividly apprehended. The effort to unify theological thinking and religio-social organization by asserting an ethnic unity based upon descent from

[17] 1 Kings 7:14 ff., 23 ff., 27-30, 33, 37, 46.

[18] 2 Kings 23:15-20; Jeremiah 7:32-8:2; 19:1-3 ff.; Ezekiel 43:7-9; Micah 1:5.

[19] See Chapter XXI.

a single ancestor has signally failed. The consciousness in any given group of men that they are genealogically close kin has never prevented them from fighting one another. It is much easier to spread the fiction that your heterodox kinsmen are bastards, aliens, or mixed bloods than to spread the fiction that aliens who will accept your opinions are your blood-kin. So we have seen Judaism, when failing of doctrinal or liturgical uniformity, regularly setting up the excuse that those whose orthodoxy is questioned are aliens, or bastards, or of impure blood. Modern Protestant heresy-hunters may consider the feasibility of announcing that all whom they find unorthodox are also racial aliens and of illegitimate birth. How far would this method tend to produce organic unity? and how far would such a charge promote peace between those who have somewhat to debate? We noticed in Chapter XIX a Talmud case where a Jewish proselyte, Issur, was not allowed to consider his own son a legitimate Jew because begotten before the father was converted to Judaism.[20] Should all persons born before their parents joined some church be required to acknowledge "In sin did my mother conceive me"? (Psalm 51:5). Yet this has been turned into a Christian dogma! There is told a story of a Gothic king of Spain who stepped back from the font, declining Christian baptism at the last moment because told then that his pagan ancestors were in hell.

One oft-recurring result among the Jews has been that the denial of that racial unity and purity which has always been declared a *sine qua non* by one great Jewish faction (with many sub-factions) has always been a pretext for not uniting ecumenical Judaism in any hour of supreme peril. When the relatively small proportion of Judaism that dwelt in Palestine revolted and brought on the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the vastly greater body of Judaism east of the Euphrates, that counted themselves the eugenic aristocracy, would lend no aid. Agrippa warned Jerusalem that it would be so. Nor did the Judaism of Asia Minor as a body lend aid. It was largely Indo-Germanic, Hurrian, and Iranic, for it will be remembered that garrisons of Persian Jews had been placed by the Seleucids among the Indo-Germanic Hittites, Mysians, Bithynians, Phrygians and the Kimmerian and Median-Scythian settlers four hundred years earlier. Then there followed the invasion of the wild Gauls, immortalized in the Epistle to the Galatians. And the Lydian, Carian, and Pamphylian elements were at least not Semitic. The great body of Jewish proselytes

[20] Rabbi Mari ben Rachel; cf. Rodkinson, VI, Baba Metzia, 180.

among these non-Semitic ethnic elements were not to be stampeded to the support of the Semitic fervors around Jerusalem—certainly not to support their claim to be the only genuine, orthodox, pure-blooded Jews. Also the tens of thousands of Jews in Rome dwelt quietly, undisturbed and undisturbing. So when Judaism in Cyrene and Egypt revolted under Trajan, legions levied in other lands necessarily included some Jews ready to serve against their fellow-religionists. It was so when Bar-Cocheba revolted in Hadrian's time. Israel has always fought Judah, and Judah Israel. With its insistence upon denationalizing its proselytes, Judaism made itself viewed politically as the enemy of all other political organizations. So there were many local Jewish revolts in history; there was no general Jewish revolt. The fiction that variance in creed or ritual meant "dysgenics" effectually prevented such unity of action.

So in modern Judaism we have seen many divisions, as in Protestantism, or Romanism, with prejudices deepened by adding the eugenic myth; each division claiming the same ethnic fiction as the reason for its self-segregation. The Papacy has not made the mistake of requiring every convert to swear that he is of Italian descent, with St. Peter as his genealogical ancestor. Jewish writers have observed that Judaism in the Orient sometimes proved the halfway-house to Mohammendanism. Mohammed did not make all converts swear they were Arabs. He seems to have recognized the fatal weakness of the Judaism that he knew, and to have taken advantage of it. Should converts now being made by Christian missionaries in foreign lands forswear their nativity, declare that they are Americans, and lineal descendants of George Washington, who must dwell in segregate ethnic purity, there would come to them what has so often come to the Jews. Anti-Semitic crusades will cease, writes the Jewish ethnologist, Dr. Maurice Fishberg, when the myth of the pure-blooded, changeless, peculiar ethnic Israel is abandoned. Will Jewish community life decide that its true mission is not that of maintaining the forms and fictions and phrases of an Orient five thousand years ago, but the task of contributing directly to the ethical vigor and spiritual inspiration of the modern community in which it dwells?

This question of the relation of a Jewish community to its environment involves another problem in any rewriting of Hebrew history. Why has Judaism totally vanished from some areas it once occupied, and why has it attained greater ethical and spiritual heights in some regions than others? It has been recognized that Judaism is extinct in parts of Arabia where its adherents were

once many; that the same is true of vast stretches of Central Asia; that the many strong communities in ancient and mediaeval China have disappeared; that its adherents in North Africa are but a tithe of its numbers eighteen hundred years ago; and that modern Jewish travellers and missionaries of the Israelite Alliance sometimes question if the great majority of this surviving fraction are any better than their non-Jew neighbors. Of the few thousand living a nomad life in the Sahara, it is frankly said of many that their Judaism is nothing but a tradition and a few superstitions. And it has been noticed more than once in the preceding pages that modern western Jewish authorities regularly contrast European Judaism with that anywhere in Asia or Africa; "they are utterly unlike in ideals, morals, institutions—in all that belongs to the inner life." It should be remarked that this current scholarly Jewish acknowledgment does not support the sweeping claim occasionally met, that Judaism is everywhere marked by its emphasis upon the ethical. Among the three hundred thousand Jews in North Africa, a little of the ceremonial is all that European and American Jewish observers concede for perhaps nine-tenths of them.

But why has Judaism failed to hold its own in a savage or nomadic population? Could it enter central Africa and civilize and purify a cannibal tribe? Or are the conditions of Esquimau life favorable to its spread and perpetuity? Is it true, as sometimes charged, that a Jew becomes a Moslem more readily than he becomes a Christian?

In contrast with this historic record, why is it that the Judaism to-day that is highest ethically and intellectually is found only in the most Christian lands? That is the fact which above-cited Jewish authorities admit. What has the Ghetto acquired, intellectually, spiritually, ethically, from its more or less Christian environment? There is no point at which a satisfactory rewriting of Hebrew history will be more difficult. It raises directly some furiously contested questions. Some fervid Jewish apologetics assert Jewish priority of discovery or enunciation of anything the apolegete now happens to approve in various fields of human thought and inquiry. Christianity once accepted such oracular assertions as inerrant revelations. There resulted some curious Christian theologies, whose actual paternity the same Jewish apologetes do not like to admit. The dispassionate historian will not concede such Jewish claim of priority in all good things, nor respect Jewish repudiation of the paternity of some theologies the

Jewish apologete may now disapprove. There are printed Jewish explanations of the degradation of some North African Judaism which declare that an oppressive and degraded environment is responsible. Such apologetes should logically give equal credit to the environment in which a nobler Judaism appears.[21] Ancient Arabian, Edomite, Asyrian, Aramaean, Persian, Greek, or Roman influences in Judaism are admitted without much heat to-day. But the actual influence of Christianity upon Judaism will long be a subject of battle. Yet in our own times, when Jews and Christians sit in the same public schools, receiving the same general social impressions there; when Jews are filling editorial, and teaching, and executive, and professional positions in Christian communities, it is inevitable that the intellectual and spiritual reactions upon men thus adapting themselves to the extra-Jewish world should influence the inner life of the Jewish community. So Dr. Morgenstern acknowledges: "Certainly Judaism has undergone a development in America during the last century in many vital respects quite unlike the development which it experienced in the countries of Europe during the same period, and which has differentiated it to no mean degree from European Judaism of even the most progressive type."[22] How far this differentiation and development may still go it would be foolish for anyone to predict. Rather is it the task for both Christian and Jew to continue to go forward, like Abram of old, who "knew not whither he went."

[21] Dr. Louis Israel Newman's scholarly compilation, *Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements,* New York, 1925, unconsciously puts the whole question before us. In xxvii + 706 pages, divided into four books, he considers the influence of eminent Jews and Judaism upon the church Fathers, the venerable Bede, the Carolingian renaissance, the mediaeval centuries of Heresies, and upon pre-Reformation and Reformation movements and leaders. He recognizes a large and effective proselytism in ancient and mediaeval times, particularly in the thirteenth century. But he does not tell us of like Jewish promotion of reforms in the Orient or in Africa. We hear only of what Judaism claims to have done among Indo-Europeans. Its total loss of large areas in Asia and Africa should have been the correlative study. Considering this larger field of facts, the impression deepens that Judaism never could have originated with semi-savage Semitic nomads.

[22] *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* June, 1928, p. 99.

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——— Israel in World History. London, 1927. [This short sketch of the international relations of Israel fails to recognize the Hurrian or Armenoid as dominant in Palestine for a long period and becoming a leading element in the composite Hebrew people. The various modes of early dispersion and the incessant commingling and proselyting are ignored.]

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——— "The New Crusade," in *American Historical Review,* January 1929.

——— "Recovery and Decipherment of the Monuments of Ethiopia," in *The Biblical World,* December 1908, pp. 376-385. [These Nubas were dominant in Isaiah's time. Tirhakah (Isaiah 37:9) was of them. Kandakê (Acts 8:27) was their queen. See Domville-Fife, and Reisner, below.]

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of Egypt were the invasions by the sea-peoples in the time of Rameses II, which enabled the oppressed Hebrews to escape in the confusion. He might have made effective use of the great body of information supplied by recent archaeology.]

——— The Story of the Jews from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. London, 1926. [An abridgement of the above book, but retaining much of its verbatim. The author emphasizes the fact that it was Paul's liberal social attitude toward the proselytes and semi-proselytes whom contemporary Judaism ostracised socially that enabled Christianity to annex them at once and to outstrip Judaism numerically and socially. Dr. Browne has not grasped the immense pre-exilic spread of Yahwism and its incessant pre-exilic proselyting. He will probably end by accepting the fact.]

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Parthians; Parsiism in Judaism; Prester John; Proselyte, proselytism; Sabaeans; Sadducees; Samaritans; Sambatyon; Scribes; Scythian; Shekînah; Slavery (Primitive); Slavery (Christian); Slavery (Jewish); Tatars; Therapeutae; Tushes and Other Pagan Tribes of the Caucasus.

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(Field Museum, and Oxford University Expedition: announces that the ruins of Kish confirm the Biblical tale of a flood: New York *Times,* March 19, 1929. Culture-strata in Mesopotamia show seven ages of humanity: *Times,* January 27, 1929.)

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——— "Physical Anthropology of the Jews," in *American Anthropologist,* IV, 684 f. V, 89 ff.

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——— The Fall of Nineveh. London, 1923.

GARBE, RICHARD. "St. Thomas in India," in *The Monist,* January 1915, pp. 1-27. [Not seeing the fact that early Christianity everywhere spread through pre-existing Jewish communities, he consequently ignores the antecedent question of Judaism in the pre-Thomas India. His skeptical conclusion accordingly has no value.]

GARDINER, ALAN H., with SETHE, KURT. Egyptian Letters to the Dead. London, 1928.

GARCIA. Origen de los Indos. Valencia, 1607. [They are the Lost Ten Tribes.]

GARSON, *Dr.* J. G. "Exploration of Ancient Remains in Abyssinia," in *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science,* 1893, pp. 551-62. London, 1894. [As chairman of a committee, Dr. Garson presented a report prepared by J. T. Bent, who identified Yehâ with the capital Avâ, in the account given by Justinian's ambassador Nonnosus, 540 A.D., as on the highroad from Adulis to Aksum. The region is exceedingly fertile and surrounded by mountains abounding in caverns. Hence Bent thought it the ancient capital of "Ethiopia Troglodytica." He located it forty miles (elsewhere, five hours) from Aksum, a far later capital built after Avâ was destroyed. Avâ-Yehâ has always remained the religious capital, though Aksum, Gondar, Ankober, and Addis Abeba have been political successors. Müller thought a Himyaritic inscription of the eighth century B.C. (Isaiah's time) gave the name Avâ, and a Ba'al-Avâ. (This could be Yahu.) Bent counted seventy monoliths at Aksum, from rude megaliths to finished obelisks. He acknowledged the names Habesh, Habeset in the inscriptions, but did not know that the Habesh came from southeast Arabia. He scouted the idea of any early Judaism in Abyssinia, and found a "Sabean Mithraism" instead. He did not recognize Egyptian monuments.]

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——— The Hittite Empire. London, 1929. [Professor Garstang's survey of the geography and monuments of "Hittite" Asia Minor is minute and comprehensive. But he leaves the reader with the

impression that "Hittite" is an ethnographic term. The dominance of Mysians or Askênoi at some periods is unnoticed. So is the old Labarna dynasty of the Anittash tablet. The Harri or Hurri are a small people of eastern Armenia. The distribution of this somatic type from central Asia Minor to northwest India is not mentioned. That the culture he portrays is that of a single long-dominant Aryan race is not accepted by Orientalists in general.]

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——— The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments. New York and Toronto, 1928. (Chapman Lectures, SPCK. 1927.)

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——— "Some Relations of Semitic Studies to Divinity School Courses," in *Methodist Quarterly Review,* April 1928.

———"The Assyro-Babylonian *amel* TU. biti," in *Notes upon Some Officials of the Sargonid Period,* Chicago, 1905.

——— "The Esarhaddon Succession," *ibid.*

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——— "Ur of the Chaldees," in *Illustrated London News,* April 1, 1922. [Discusses finds at Tell 'Obeid.]

——— "Temple of the Moon at Ur of the Chaldees," *ibid.,* April 21, 1923.

——— "Compare pictures from British Museum," *ibid.,* March 17, 1923.

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and does not touch the data collated in this volume. Hence the series contains nothing quotable.]

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Herzfeld, *Dr.* Levi. Handelsgeschichte der Juden des Alterthums. Aus den Quellen Erforscht und Zusammengestellt. Brunswick, 1879. [This Jewish scholar of fifty years ago collates Biblical, Apocryphal, classical, and Talmudic data to prove that Israelite trade from early times reached from Gibraltar to India, from South Russia to Ethiopia. The question of proselyting activity at the trading-posts he does not consider germane to his inquiry. It is a valuable collection of material for the student.]

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——— The Pulse of Progress. New York and London, 1926. [As a student of the influence of geographical and climatic conditions, Prof. Huntington undertakes to tell us of the "Origin of a Great Race." Since he ignores all the ethnical, political, and sociological data presented in this volume and the incessant Yahwist proselyting and intermarriage with any contiguous race, his advocacy of the fallacy that the Jews are a distinct race is futile.]

——— "The Biological Antecedents of Jesus," in *Scribner's Magazine,* July 1926, pp. 53-59. [Wholly false in every assumption as to original race-singularity, seclusion, historic segregation, and a repeated "cream-skimming" of local Israel by the processes of history. The effort to show Jesus as "the survival of the fittest of the fittest" shows total disregard of the historic facts presented in this volume.]

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——— "Ilu Habirû: der Stammesgott der Habiru-Hebräer," in *Orientalische Literaturzeitung,* 1921, col. 246 f.; 1922, col. 39. ["The God Eber," or Habir. Gustavs above reads "gods of the Habiru," as Winckler read. See Jirku again in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* XXXIX, 156 f., and in XLIV. Compare Winckler, below.]

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Kautsky, Karl. Are the Jews a Race? New York, 1926. Translated from the second German edition. [The Jews are not a pure and segregate race, either geographically or ethnologically; even the most superficial acquaintance with their history will prove this statement. In Palestine before Judaism there were mingled the Armenoids of Asia Minor, and the peoples of the steppes of Arabia (p. 108).]

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——— "Excavations at Kish," in *Art and Archaeology,* October 1927, pp. 103-111.

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LUDOLF, JOB. A New History of Ethiopia. London, 1682.

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LURIA, *Prof.* S. "Die Ägyptische Bibel (Joseph und Moses-Sage)," in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* XLIV (1926), 94-135. [He considers that the patriarchal stories and the Moses-Saga were two different racial sources, and that the Joseph-Saga is an invention to connect them. Why not a third ethnic element instead of a fiction? He sees that it is impossible to explain the Old Testament as claiming only one Hebrew residence and oppression in Egypt. Nor can the popular notion of a simultaneous complete emigration fit the many facts. The oral traditions of different ethnic groups have been fused. Luria indicates some of the features that he thinks originated with particular ethnic groups.]

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MACFAYDEN, JOHN EDGAR. "The Mosaic Origin of the Decalog," in *Expositor,* 1915-1916.

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MCLEOD. Epitome of the Ancient History of Japan. Tokyo, 1879.

MACURDY, *Prof.* GRACE H. "The Hyperboreans," in *Classical Review,* November 1916, pp. 180-193. [Reply by Prof. Stanley Casson, *ibid.,* February-March 1920, pp. 1-3. Reply by Prof. Macurdy, "The Hyperboreans Again; Abaris, and Helixoia," *ibid.,* 1920, pp. 137-141. A. D. Nock in *Classical Review,* September 1929, p. 126, approves Seltman's suggestion that the Hyperboreans who sent offerings to Delos were "the semi-barbarized descendants of Ionian-Milesian traders located in the south of Central Europe." He quotes some Greek authors who refer to various peoples from Epirus and Dalmatia to the Caspian as Greeks who had become barbarized. These do not affect the fact that the tomb-cultus at Delos dates from pre-Hellenic times, with a prestige "beyond the mountains" reaching to the Caspian.]

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——— "The Sadducean Christians of Damascus," in *Expositor,* II (1911), 499-517.

——— "The Elephantiné Papyri," in *Expositor,* 1912, pp. 67 ff.

——— "The Zadokites," in *Expositor,* 1913, pp. 157-164.

MARGOLIS, MAX L. and MARX, A. A History of the Jewish People. Philadelphia, 1927. (Jewish Publication Society of America.) [Not quoted in this volume. The Jewish authors have not written to give their people the abundant knowledge of ancient Palestine which has long been the common property of all Semitic scholars, but to present the sectarian apologetic long ago invented by the traditional orthodox Jew. They merely repeat that interpretation of ancient Palestinian history which orthodox Jews have circulated for two thousand years. Less than one-sixth of the book is devoted to the whole period before the exile, and that small section ignores all the historical and sociological data considered in this volume. The book claims to be "the history of the entire people; of the mass," but ignores the spread through many racial masses. The term "proselyte" does not appear in the index. The many racial Targums seem unknown.]

MARSHALL, *Sir* JOHN. (Director-General of Antiquities for India.) "Where Greeks Once Ruled in India: Excavations at Taxila," in *Illustrated London News,* November 11, 1922, pp. 754-758, 782. [An Aramaic inscription of the 5th century B.C. shown: early Achaemian period. More of Taxilia in December 4, 1926.]

——— Prehistoric India. [At first erroneously styled Indo-Sumerian.] Discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, Indus Valley. Articles in *Illustrated London News,* September 20, 1924, pp. 528-532. Compare article by Sidney Smith and C. J. Gadd, comparing with Sumerian, in October 24, 1924. Further articles by Sir John Marshall, February 27, 1926, March 6, 1926, January 7 and 14, 1928; and in London *Times,* January 4 and 5, 1928.

——— "Scytho-Parthian and Buddhist India," in *Illustrated London News,* February 24, March 31, April 7, 21, May 5, 19, 1928.

MARTIN, *Dr.* W. A. P. A Cycle of Cathay. New York, 1896.

MASTERMAN, E. W. G. "Beth Shemesh and the Recent Excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund," in *The Biblical World,* August 1913. ["Great Stone," 1 Samuel 6:14, a Moslem shrine to-day.]

MAUDE, AYLMER. A Peculiar People: The Doukhobors. New York, 1904.

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MEIGNAN, *Cardinal.* "Les Juifs au Milieu des Grecs sous Alexandre le Grand et ses successeurs," in *Le Correspondant,* vol. 139, pp. 645-661.

——— "Les Juifs Captifs en Chaldée," in *Le Correspondant,* vol. 135, pp. 3-22. [The Cardinal mentions a number of traditions of migrant Jewish tribes, but makes no critical study, and seems wholly uninformed upon the facts presented in Chapter VI of this volume.]

MENDELSSOHN, SIDNEY. The Jews of Africa; especially in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. London and New York, 1920.

——— The Jews of Asia; especially in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. London and New York, 1920. [The Jewish compiler was not a trained historian, though inclined to a broad view of the past. A five-page list of works consulted is included in each volume. But the most of the material in this present study was entirely unknown to him. He died three years before his compilations were published.]

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——— "Die Gemeinde der neuen Bundes im Lande Damascus," in *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft,* 1919. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, No. 9.

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——— "Early Spread of Christianity in India," *ibid.,* 1926, pp. 435-510. [Total failure to collate the facts as to a pre-existent Judaism, presented in Chapter XII of this book. His skeptical conclusions are nullified by them, and by Farquhar, above.]

MISHEW, D. The Bulgarians in the Past. Lausanne, 1919.

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Möller, Georg. "Die Ägypter und ihre Libyschen Nachbarn," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft,* 1924, pp. 30 ff.

Mommsen, Theodore. Provinces of the Roman Empire. New York, 1899.

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——— "Le Culte des Saints dans l'Islam," in *Hibbert Journal,* July 1909.

Montet, Pierre. "Les Fouilles de Byblos," in *L'Illustration,* July 28, 1923; December 15, 1923; May 3, 1924. Compare *Illustrated London News,* October 20, 1923; January 5, February 2, October 13, 1924. Also *Scientific American,* October 24, 1924; New York *Times,* November 8, December 23, 1923.

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Montgomery, James Alan. The Samaritans. Philadelphia, 1906.

——— "The Book of the Himyarites," in *Jewish Quarterly Review,* October 1923, pp. 151 f.

——— "A Lost Jewish Sect," in *The Biblical World,* December 1916, pp. 373-383. [The Zadokite community in Damascus.]

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——— History of Religions. New York, 1927. 2 vols. [The first volume was issued in 1913. In vol. II the veteran scholar devotes 106 pages to Judaism of which only 11 are given to the whole period before the literary and ethically constructive prophets. The great scholar has not told a thousandth part of what he really knows about that critical period. Nothing that he has chosen to say or omit can be legitimately construed as in conflict with the purpose and data of this study.]

——— "Covenanters of Damascus," in *Harvard Theological Review,* October 1911.

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——— "The Book of the Covenant," in *Hebrew Union College Annual,* vol. v. Reprinted, Cincinnati, 1928. [Exodus 20-23 is later than the "Kenite" document (899 B.C.), but has some of the same elements.]

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——— "Notes on the Races of the Jews." [A paper presented to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1884. "In this paper an account is given of the race-elements which at various times have become part of the Jewish nation. The author criticizes the popular opinion that the two divisions of Sephardim or Spanish-Portuguese Jews and Ashkenazim or German-Polish Jews, correspond with the tribal divisions of Judah and Benjamin respectively: this opinion he considers to have no historical foundation." (Report, p. 917).]

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——— "Egypt as a Field for Anthropological Research," in Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1923, pp. 175-195. London, 1924.

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NOYES, CARLTON ELDREDGE. The Genius of Israel. A Reading of Hebrew Scriptures Prior to the Exile. Cambridge [Mass.], 1924. [The writer ignores the ethnological data provided by modern archaeology, ignores the commingling of many racial elements in ancient Israel and its wide dispersion by commercial colonies and deported garrisons, and ignores the proselyte from Exodus to Malachi. So he concludes that the full spiritual fruit of (his imaginary) Israel was produced before the exile.]

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OSBORN, *Rev.* A. M. "Were the Ten Tribes of Israel Ever Lost?" in *Methodist Quarterly Review,* July 1885, pp. 419-440.

OTTLEY, ROBERT LAWRENCE. A Short History of the Hebrews to the Roman Period. Cambridge, 1901. [A little sketch, with the limitations of thirty years ago. The student will find it of no value for any consideration of the data presented in this volume.]

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——— China and Religion. London, 1905.

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PATON, LEWIS BAYLES. "Origin of Yahweh-Worship in Israel," in *The Biblical World,* vol. 28, pp. 6-21, 111-127. [The arguments in favor of an old German speculation that Moses was taught Yahu-worship by some Kenites about Mt. Sinai. No evidence of such Kenite Yahwism has ever been produced. The articles are full of mistaken assumptions, not worth the trouble of refuting to-day.]

PAULY-WISSOWA. Real-Encyclopädie. Articles upon Argonauts, Ascanius, Askaene, Caria, Crimea, Kimmerians, Krim-Scyths, Miletus, and Sarmatians, are of especial importance.

PEDERSEN, JOHANNES. Israel. Its Life and Culture. London and Copenhagen, 1926. [Not historical, but a collection of topical essays upon phases of ancient Israelite society. Not one touches the material in this volume. The method suggests the abstractions of Robertson Smith. Professor Pedersen first published in Danish in 1920. Ten years have added much to our knowledge of the ancient world, which Professor Pedersen should have used in this English edition. The composite character of the ancient Hebrews gets no practical recognition. The reader is left with the impression of a peculiar segregate Israel. The topical essays in consequence are frequently at variance with archaeological, sociological, and historical data.]

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PERITZ, ISMAR G. Old Testament History. New York, 1915. [Considering the abundant new historical material then available, the book seems the least satisfactory modern attempt at a Hebrew history. The data in this volume make Peritz's early Israel impossible. On page 87 he says that the religious conceptions of the Hebrews prior to Moses "are no longer discernible, for the superior force of the Jehovah religion drove the other from the field." The statement suggests entire ignorance of the many scholarly volumes upon the subject, and of the unanimous complaint of the prophets that the religion of Yahu had not driven the older cults from the field. Contrast this with W. Carleton Wood, below, whose work was published the next year.]

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——— "Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 1898, part ii.

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——— "The Birth of Egyptian Culture," in *Illustrated London News,* July 8, 1922, pp. 63-65.

——— Gerar. London, 1928.

——— "Treasures Found Where Isaac Dwelt" (Philistine discoveries at Gerar), in *Illustrated London News,* July 2, 1927.

——— "The Home of David's Pelethites: Discoveries at Beth-palet," in *Illustrated London News,* June 30, 1928.

——— "Shepherd Kings of Egypt," London *Times,* May 2, 1929. [Twenty-four tombs of Hyksos kings found at Beth-Palet.]

——— "Lords of the Philistines," London *Times,* July 1, 1929.

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Pieper, Max. "Zum Hyksos Problem," in *Orientalische Litteratur-zeitung,* 1925, col. 418 ff.

Pittard, Eugène. Race and History; An Ethnological Introduction to History. London and New York, 1926. (The History of Civilization series, edited by C. K. Ogden. Translated from the French by V. C. C. Collum, Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.) [The author is Professor of Anthropology in the University of Geneva. See Chapter VII, this volume.]

Pietschmann, R. "Die libysche Länder und Volker," in *Jahresbericht über die Morgenlandische Studien,* 1878, pp. 82-92. Leipzig, 1883. [A bibliography of more than 100 books and articles, chiefly French, of recent researches in North Africa. None of them have been accessible for this work.]

R. Pietzschmann and Socin, A. Das Westliche Nord Afrika. [As above, for 1877, pp. 175-184. 117 publications listed.]

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Pognon, R. Inscriptions Sémitiques. Paris, 1907.

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Praetorius, F. "Bemerkungen über die Agau-Sprache," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft,* 1869, pp. 642-6.

Prentice, William K. "The Achaeans," in *American Journal of Archaeology,* April-June, 1929, pp. 206-218. [Prof. Prentice recognizes that the Akaiwasha of the Egyptian inscriptions and the Akhkhiyawa of the Hittite inscriptions are the Achaians of Greek literature. But he thinks that they were not a Hellenic people, but a very different folk (from Pamphylia) who eventually merged with the Greeks. This does not alter the fact that they were a prominent component of the Israelite kingdom.]

Price, Ira Maurice. The Monuments and the Old Testament. New rewritten Edition, with Maps and new Illustrations. Philadelphia, 1925. [There were seventeen editions previously between 1899 and

1923. The work is invaluable for its presentation of important monumental evidence. But it does not use the important and revolutionary discoveries of the past fifteen years, nor any study of the component cultures and institutions of ancient Palestine; hence it is not quoted in this volume.]

——— The Dramatic Story of Old Testament History. New York, 1929. [Dr. Price crowns many years of research and teaching and writing of ancient Oriental history with this volume. The title is shrewdly chosen. He recognizes that the Old Testament does not give what a modern historian would call an ordered and proportioned history. Ancient compilers have given us a collection of dramatic incidents from ancient Palestine, omitting a hundred times as much as they gave. Dr. Price accepts their cue and gives vivid and dramatic statement to the episodes they have collated. He makes skilful use of the material afforded by the cuneiform inscriptions, compelling obscurantist readers to an unconscious readjustment. But the questions considered in this volume lie outside Dr. Price's plans; hence his work is not quotable for the present purpose. He repeats on page 306 the popular error that the Israelites deported by Sargon were probably soon amalgamated with or absorbed by the peoples where they were slaves. But he adds: "The finding in these days of the so-called lost ten tribes of Israel is a mere figment of the imagination and not worthy of the serious effort of any real scholar."]

Price, Julius J. "The Jews in China," in *The Monist,* 1916, pp. 113-125. [The author recognizes that Judaism came into China through Turkestan and Persia, that Jews of Kaifeng were officially complimented in 956 and 958 A.D., and that several were prominent in literature and governors of provinces. But in his new citations from the Chinese records he is influenced by Alexander Wylie, who confused Chinese Judaism with Manichaeism. Hence Price's new citations have not gained general acceptation.]

Prorok, Byron Kuhn, *Comte de.* "The Excavations of the Sanctuary of Tanit at Carthage," in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution,* 1925, pp. 569-574: four plates. [Thousands of urns containing ashes and bones of children were discovered. The Moloch sacrifices continued to the days of Augustine.]

——— "Excavations at Carthage in 1921-22," in *Art and Archaeology,* 1923, pp. 38-45, and 1925, pp. 37-45.

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——— Exploration of Turkestan: The Basin of Eastern Persia and Sistan. Washington, 1905.

Purinton, Herbert Ronelle. The Achievement of Israel. New York, 1927. [Undertaking to sketch the history of Israel, using some books of the last generation, Purinton repeats the old traditional conceptions of the early Israelites and ignores all that ex-

ploration has been showing us as to the racially composite character of the early Yahwists. As a scientific historical presentation the student will reject it.]

RAMSAY, *Sir* WILLIAM MITCHELL. Letters to the Seven Churches. New York, 1905.

——— Historical Geography of Asia Minor. London, 1890.

——— The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia. Oxford, 1895, 1897.

——— "The Sanctuary of Men at Antioch," in *Contemporary Review,* vol. 102, pp. 368-378; *Expositor,* August 12, 1911; August 31, 1912; September 1912.

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RATZEL, FRIEDRICH. The History of Mankind. Translated from the 2d German edition by A. J. Butler. New York, 1896-8. 3 vols.

RAWLINSON, H. G. Intercourse between India and the Western World. Cambridge, 1926.

READE, WILLIAM WINWOODE. Savage Africa. New York, 1864.

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REINACH, THEODORE. "La Charte Ptolemaïque de Cyrène," in *Revue Archéologique,* 1927, pp. 1-32. [Noticed in Chapter VI, this volume.]

REISNER, GEORGE ANDREWS. "The Lost History of Ethiopia," in *Illustrated London News,* January 27, 1923, pp. 126-131, and February 10, 1923, pictures; and New York *Times,* April 1, 1923. [Excavation of the lost capital Napata.]

——— "Recent Discoveries in Ethiopia," in *Harvard Theological Review,* January 1920, pp. 23-44.

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RENAN, JOSEPH ERNEST. Le judaisme comme race et comme religion. Paris, 1883. [Renan's conclusion, that there never was a Jewish race, is well known.]

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coming into Palestine with an ideal *Mishpat* or body of judicial decisions, ample for all social emergencies, while the long settled and cultured peoples of Palestine had none. Israel's debt to the older culture had to be considered.]

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ADDENDA

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INDICES

INDEX OF SCRIPTURE PASSAGES

GENESIS

1:1-5 574
2:5 f. 561
2:7 562
2:8 551, 577
3:24 562
4:14 563
4:15 556
4:16 567
4:16-22 261, 567
4:16-29 688
4:26 561
5:10 ff. 177
8:4 310
9:1-7 580
9:4 580
9:27 634
10 94, 365
10:1-5 264
10:2 268, 269, 293
10:3 293
10:6 23, 696
10:7 93
10:13 f. 23, 95
10:15 f. 23, 88
10:21 f. 41
10:22-24 289
10:24 ff. ...3, 45, 46, 47
10:27 94
10:28 46
10:30 326
10:32 101
11:3 564, 565
11:16-23 688
11:27, 31 50
11:31 55, 56
12:6 ...38, 429, 475, 703
12:8 475, 703, 704
12:16 519
12:27 50
13:3 f. 475, 703
13:3 f., 18 580, 703
13:8 475, 580
14 159
14:6 89
14:13.... 37, 49, 475, 510, 703
14:14 499, 550
14:18 123
15:3 550
15:8-21 701, 702
15:13 693
15:18 69, 694
16 498
16:1 f. 519, 540
16:3-7 66
17:1 703
17:4, 16 36
17:5 51
17:23-27 160, 550
17:26 f. 542
18:1 475, 703
19:30-38 50, 112
20:1 66
20:16 612
20-21 29
21 498
21:1-21 434
21:31 66
21:31-33 203
21:33 475
22 475
22:3-5 429
22:3, 5, 9, 14 ..315, 703
22:17 51
22:20 f. 50
23 53, 89, 159
23:4 478
23:2, 19 69
23:6-11 159
23:11-15 419, 478
24:3, 7, 15, 24, 27, 37 f., 48 50
25 50, 51
25:4 177
25:12-18 498, 519
25:15 160, 501
25:20 50
25:25 85
26:17 499
26:23 ff. 704
26:34 f. 53, 89, 158
27:43 50
27:46 53, 158
28:1 50
28:3, 35 703
28:5 50
28:7 f. 50
28:8 f. 158
28:10 ff. 704
28:11 f. 429, 703
28:16 ff. 703
29:31-34 519
30:3 f., 8 f. 163, 540
30:31 ff. 519, 528
31:3, 18, 24 50
31:19-35 519, 704
31:43-32:8 84
31:47 50
32, 33 100, 691
32:12 57
32:13 f., 18, 20 f. 31
32:24 ff. 12, 13
32:28 435
32:30 f. 163
32:32 410
33:10 31
33:18 429
34 85
34:2 87
34:13 506
35:4 38, 429
35:6-15 704
35:11 703
35:27 f. 704
36 ...100, 101, 559, 693
36:2 f. 158
36:2, 20, 24 90
36:3 90
36:6 f. 90
36:10 f. 158
36:20 ff. 79
36:22, 30 80, 89
36:30 80
36:40 101
37:28 612
38 532
39:14 37
40:15 37
41:12 37
41:45 31, 475
41:46 694
43:11, 15, 26....31
43:14 703
43:32 37
47:13 693
48:3 703
48:22 85, 87
49:10, 13, 22, 24-26 ..98
49:14 20
49:20 180
49:24 98
49:25 703
49:26 430

EXODUS

1:15 f., 19 37, 569
2:6, 11 f. 37, 569
2:15-22 73, 473
3:8 ff 35
3:13 ff. 35, 451, 561, 568, 578
3:18 35
4:14, 27 ff. 100
5:3 35
5:5 478
6:3....35, 231, 451, 475, 561, 568

7:1 f. 100
7:16 35
9:1 35
9:13 35
10:3 35
12:19 478
12:34, 39 608, 659
12:38 95
12:40 694
12:44 496
12:48 f. ...173, 476, 530
13:43 542
15:9 536
15:17 35
16:10 616
19:6 36
20-23 580, 689, 701
20:10 474, 496
20:12 493
20:24 ff. ...71, 600, 604
20:34 403
21:2 49
21:8 522
23:29 f. 500
24:16 f. 616
25:5 85
26:14 85
31:1-5 405
32:26 ff. ..486, 487, 515
33:9 616
34 580, 689
34:31-36 413
35:7 85
35:23 85
35:30 100
37:6-9 105
38:8 491
39 85
39:19 85
39:34 85
40:34 616

Leviticus

2:5 f., 13 338
6:22 163
9:23 616
11 580
17:4 ff. 411
17:12 474
19:27 f. 556
19:33 f. 173
20:3 f. 478
21:1 478
21:7, 13 f. 523
22:11 542
22:12 471
22:18 173
23 414
23:32 414
23:40 321
24:10-16, 22 173
25:23 480
25:34 528
25:35, 47 474, 476
25:39 477
25:39, 46 49, 477
25:44 499, 542
25:45 477
27:29. 241, 490, 492, 651

Numbers

1:53 429
3:7, 8, 28, 32, 38 429
3:12 f., 40 ff. 497
3:20, 33 680
4 505
4:3, 35 491
4:23 491
4:29 f. 491
4:32, 47-49 496
4:47 491
5:12 f. 541
5:17 338
6 497
8:5-20 502
8:14-18 493
8:16 473
8:18 497
8:19 473
8:24 491
9:14 f., 29 173
11:4 95
13:8 692
13:16 13, 175, 690
13:22, 28 29
13:29 66, 82
14:10, 22 616
16:19 616
18:2, 4 473
18:6 473
19 489
19:17 ff. 338
20:22-29 100
21:18 10
21:21-32 85
22-25 112
23:1, 14, 29 413
25:6 ff. 463
26:57 f. 680
27:21 615
30 521
31 172
31:30, 47 501
31:35 8
32:12 158
35 517
35:2-5 528
35:6 526
35:9 ff. 520
35:25 517, 526

Deuteronomy

1:1 38
1:7 38, 69, 82, 88
1:7, 19 f. 82
1:16 474, 476
2:12 89
3:14 699
3:17 38
4:6 f. 36
4:20 695
4:43 527
4:49 38
5:14 474, 496
6:4 447
7:1-4 52, 91
7:1-16 702
10:18 478
11:24 69
11:30 38
12:1-15 71
12:2 ff. ...103, 230, 698
12:3 275, 703
12:18 530
12:29 f. 696
12:30 ff. 245
13 53, 105, 159, 651
13:6 ff. 443, 456
13:12-18 52
14:26, 29 530
14:29 173, 476
15:12 ff. 35, 49
16:11 173
16:11, 14 476, 530
17:15 f. ..195, 460, 699
17:19 f. 640
18:1-8 494, 496
18:3 488
18:6-8 ...109, 168, 473, 592, 613, 652
19 517
20:10-15 539
20:16 f. 159
21:10-15 172
22:8 471
23:2 466, 538
23:2 f., 7 f. 163, 166, 195
23:3 ..52, 110, 166, 480
23:7 f. ...100, 140, 166, 248, 499
23:12 f. 535
23:15 527
23:17 f. 492, 519
24:10-15 476

24:19 ff. 476
26:1-5 457
26:3-6 467
26:5 50, 54, 173
26:12 f. 476
28:30, 32 536
28:43 474, 476
31:39 574
32:15 f. 430, 433
33:5, 26 433
33:8 ff. 123, 456
33:9-11 495
33:13-19 99
33:20 20

JOSHUA

1:9, 17 115
3:17 36
4:1 36
4:19 ff. 71
5:9 692
5:11 65
5:13-6:5 ...76, 568, 691
6:26 74
8:14 38
9:1 87
9:7 87
9:15-27 504
9:22 f. 471
9:27 f. 501
10:2 88
10:2, 7 691
10:13 36
11:3 87
11:21 f. 29
12:5 699
12:9-24 76
12:24 698
13:3 66
13:11 699
14 100, 691, 693
14:6-14 158
14:12 ff. 29, 69
14:15 510
15:4, 47 694
15:13 ff. ...29, 100, 693
15:59 692
17:14 ff. 175, 692
19:5 695
19:38 104, 692
19:41 494
20:8 527
20:16 528
21:1-7, 34-40 ..106, 674
21:3-7 106
21:6, 27-33 73
21:7, 34-40 680
21:9-19 100
21:11-42 528
21:18 104
21:38 527
24:2, 14, 23 13, 40, 115, 175, 231, 475, 561, 568, 691, 693

JUDGES

1:7 f. 88, 698
1:9-15 693
1:16 179
1:19 273, 702
1:27-33 68
1:33 104
2:1 f. 71
2:20 36
3:3 54, 87, 89
3:19 71
3:31 104, 207, 598
4:1-3 273
4:17 179
5:14 10
5:17 98, 212, 229
5:30 536
6:24 f. 602
7:12 51
8:26 ff. 413
9:46 ff. 437
10:3 ff. 175, 514
10:6 31, 112
11:1-3 532
11:30 ff. 602
11:31 ff. 490
12:4 175, 692
13:7 497
13:14 ff. 71, 602
14 518
15:1 f. 324
15:3 518
17 510
17:11-4 413
17:5 704
17:6 213
17:7 f. 473, 475
17:9 473, 492
17:13 515
17:16 601
18:1 213, 601
18:1-6 413
18:3 413
18:7, 24 54
18:7, 27 f. 229
18:14, 17, 20 704
18:29 13
18:30 f. 35, 73
19:1 213, 601
20:28 615
21:19 ff.
21:25 213, 601

RUTH

1:1 f. 473
1:16 f. 496
1:20 f. 703
2:13 519
3:9 519, 522
4:7 f. 246, 523

1 SAMUEL

1:9-28 540
1:11 497
1:24 f. 473
2:1 559
2:17 31
2:18 413
2:22 f....461, 490, 491, 502, 519
2:27 ff. 491
2:35 f. 471, 503
2:36 498
3:11 ff. 460
3:12 f. 491
4:4 105
4:6 35
4:9 35
4:17 364
4:21 f. 607
6:15 493
7:8 71
7:13-17 ...12, 36, 66, 71
7:17 602
8:4 11
8:20 ff. 11
9:1 ff. 17
9:3 ff. 364
9:9 511
9:11-25 495
9:11 ff., 19, 25 ..72, 587
10:1 ff. 364, 495
10:1-3 615
10:3 414
10:5 72, 689, 698
10:5, 10 ff. 36, 698
10:8 71
10:20 11
10:25 102
11:14 f...30, 36, 71, 102, 689, 692, 698
11:7 ff. 364
12:12 134
12:26 f. 114
13:2 f. 689
13:3 36
13:7 ff. 36, 71
13:19 121

14:11 36
14:21 36
14:24 ff. 490
14:34 699
14:35 115
14:47 30, 692
14:38-45 526
15:3 ff. 364
15:12 f., 21, 32 f. ...71
15:15 115
15:21 115
15:30 115
16:13 509
18:1-4 111, 485, 556
19:13, 16 704
19:18-24 72
19:19 509
19:20 ff. 512
20:8, 11, 17, 42.111, 485
22:1 f. 527
22:1-4 111
22:18 413
25:41 519
27:5 509
29:3 35
29:4 520
29:9 509
30 20
30:8 615
30:13 f., 29-31 53
30:14 93, 514, 693
30:26 f. 53, 93
31:8 f. 696

2 Samuel

1:24 30
2:1-4 693
2:1-4, 8-11 102
2:8 f. 689, 692
2:13 689
3:1-11 102
3:3 699
4 102, 689
4:11 485
4-5:5 102
5:6 ff. 88
6:2 105, 493, 528
6:9 ff. 100, 509
6:13 71
8:2 111
8:14 f. 101, 181
8:17 679
8:18 497
9:12 529
10:1-3 111
10:1-5 520
10:6 699, 26
10:17 11
11:1, 11 11, 12
12:12 12
12:28 f. 12
13:37 699
14:17, 23 115
15:1-6 102
15:3-6 313
15:8 699
15:18-22 496, 514
15:28 37
16:21 f. 12
17:4, 10, 13 12
17:16 37
18:2 514
18:6 691
19:8-11, 41-43 12
19:18 37
19:37 f. 514
20:1 ff. 12
20:14-22 12, 26
20:23 514
20:25 679
21:1-14 494
21:4 501
21:19 229, 507
23:8 ff. 612
23:27 104
24:2-9 12
24:5 f. 53
24:6 64
24:7 88
24:23 90, 115

1 Kings

1:15 48
1:32, 38 f., 44..439, 496
1:35 163
1:38, 43 f. 514
2:15 13
2:26 f., 35 104, 471
2:36 104
3:1 102
3:1-5 72, 494
3:5 689
3:13 698
4:5 514
4:7 f. 507, 543
4:7 ff., 21 ff. 95
4:21, 24 39, 698
4:30 f. 506
5 102
5:7 54
5:27 13
7:1-6 103
7:8 102
7:13 ff. 102, 405
7:14 ff., 23 ff. 705
7:27-30, 33, 37, 46..705
8:12, 21 412
8:41-44 480
8:65 694
9:10-19, 26 ff. 102
9:15 ff., 24 102, 195
9:16 67, 688, 698
9:20 ff. ...12, 35, 49, 53
9:23 95
9:26 f. 30, 101, 181
9:27, 10:1 ff. 344
10:1-13, 15, 22, 28 ...30
10:11 f. 330
10:13 f., 22, 26-29..102
10:14 f. 95
10:22 329, 330
10:22-25 31
10:26 95
10:23 698
10:27 328
10:28 195, 273
11:1 30, 195
11:1-8, 33 173
11:5 ff. 103, 212
11:14-22..100, 101, 514
11:14-25 173
11:16 13
11:21 f. 520
11:22 181
11:23 514
11:26-40 104, 514
11:29-40 113
11:31 11
11:40 688
12:1 13
12:2 f., 20 688
12:10 f. 114
12:13 113
12:16-18 13
12:21-24 113
12:31 602
13:31 602
14:1-5 615
14:25 190, 688
14:25-28 106
14:31 113
15:12 f. 105
15:20 ff. 73, 106
16:7 52
16:24 429
16:31 ..54, 106, 212, 323
17:9 ff. 476
17:29 602
18:10 476
18:19 495
18:30 ff. 72
18:36 13, 123
19:17 476

20:20 13
20:31 ff. 22
20:34 9, 30, 103
21:9 ff. 443
22:10 f. 702
22:11, 24 233
22:47 f. 101, 181
22:48 103

2 Kings

2:3, 5-7, 15 ff. 512
2:5 f., 16 ff. 652
3 101
3:4 94
3:7 ff. 181
3:10, 27 702
4:1-7 543
4:38 ff. 512, 652
4:38-44 512
4:42 414
5:2 ff. 218
5:5 f. 615
5:9 ff. 101
5:11 115
5:17 f. 6, 702
5:17-19 476
5:19 110
6:1-7 512, 652
7:6 274
8:1 f. 473, 485
8:1-6 543
8:7 ff. 476, 702
8:12 539
8:20 ff. 100
9:1 f. 476, 509
9:7 ff. 476
10 53
11 608
11:4, 19...55, 264, 273, 514
11:14, 18-20 478
11:17-20 55
11:18 506, 507
12:9 515
12:17 f. 106
13:1-8 8
14:7 100
14:12 20
14:13 f. 106
14:17 f. 101
14:22 101
14:23-27 275
14:25 ff. ...12, 107, 369
15:13 ff. 107
15:16 539
15:20 13
15:29..20, 73, 107, 635, 642, 674, 681
16:7 107
16:7 ff. 106, 635
16:9 ff. 56, 119, 681
16:17 f. 106
16:18 411, 412
17:6..11, 109, 287, 320, 347, 457, 624, 625, 668, 670, 682, 683
17:7 22
17:20, 34 13
17:23 674, 675
17:24 ff. 118, 482
17:26 ff. 494
17:28 645, 677
17:30 ff....186, 350, 598
18:13 ff. 106
18:18 679
18:25 702
18:26 173
18:31 f. 120
19:1-14 115
19:9 191
22:5 f. 109
22:8 ff. 72
22:14 241
22:19 586
23 71
23:5, 15-20 53
23:7....492, 507, 540
23:12 411
23:13..52, 54, 106, 166, 173, 212, 507, 584
23:15 ff. 704, 705
23:17 197
23:29 280, 287
23:31 ff. 596
24:8, 12, 15 609, 610
24:11-16..106, 343, 457, 609, 611, 612, 656
24:17 506
25:1-6 276
25:4 38
25:25 598
25:27 613
25:27-30 610

1 Chronicles

1:39 80
21:34 f. 514
3:17 613
4:18 514
4:21 176
4:39-43 177, 501
5:1-10 175
5:11 ff. 175
5:18 ff. 175
5:26 674
9 676
9:15 506
11:19 f. 100
12:8-15 180
13:2 528
15:16 ff. 509
16:29 197
16:38 509
21:29 689
23:14 73
25:4, 16 506
29:15 480

2 Chronicles

1:12 698
5:8-15 438
5:18-22 501
9:10 330
9:22 698
11:1-4 105
12:1 105
15:3, 8, 13 105
15:8-15 473
15:12 f. 651
16:38 509
17:11 93
20:7 604
20:20-25 501
20:21 197
24:26 114
25:11-16 501
26:7 501
28:6-15 178, 501
29-31 106, 439, 674
29:12 73, 106, 439
29:34 106, 674
30:5-10 586
30:14 439
30:22 439
30:25 439
31:1 439
32:31 452
33:11 108
35 670
35:21 452
36:9 f. 610
36:17 571

Ezra

1:2 229
2 677
2:2 678
2:7 678
2:31 678
2:36-39 608, 611
2:41 639
2:50 501

2:55 344, 492
2:55-63 344
2:59-63 184
2:61-63 615, 677
2:70 677
4-6 130
4:2 482
4:7 f. 141
4:9 108, 109, 482
4:10 f. 39, 699
4:10 f., 16 f., 20 699
4:13 122
4:17-20 39
5:3 ff. 141
5:6 699
5:12 229
6:1 ff. 141
6:6 39
6:16 678
6:19 229
6:20 f. 678
6:21 459, 482
7 678
7:1-6 622
7:6, 11 f. 679
7:7 678
7:10, 13 678, 679
7:11 ff. 141
7:14 451
7:21, 25 ..229, 679, 699
7:23 ff. 229, 526
7:24 ..122, 393, 507, 527
7:25 39, 699
8:15 658
8:17 611, 679
8:17-20 501
8:20 502
8:24 f., 29, 35 679
8:35 678
9:1 478, 679
9:1 ff. 488
9:3, 5 ff. 523
9:10 184
10:1, 25 679
10:1-5, 18 ff. 488

NEHEMIAH

1:2-4 141, 622
2:1 622
2:1-6 130, 622
2:4, 20 229
2:7 ff. 141
2:8 639
5:1-13 502, 543
5:12 f. 523
5:14 622
5:19 644
7 677
7:1-4, 11 676
7:7 678
7:44 639
7:65 622
7:1-8 412, 628, 680
8:1, 4, 9, 13 699
8:9 622
8:15 321
9:1 478
10:1 622
10:28 502
11 676
11:17 506
11:21 502
12:18, 25, 35 506
13:13 506
13:23 ff. 523
13:14, 22, 31 644
13:28 514

ESTHER

1:1 332
3:8-13 140, 408
4:11 10
4:15 f. 140
5:2 10
6:7 ff. 556
8:9 332, 630
8:9-14 140
8:15 408, 556
8:17 472
9:2 f., 6, 15 f., 27 f..140
9:27 472

JOB

1:3 101
1:15-19 676
6:19 94
22:15, 20 703
31:31 ff. 479
33:6 163

PSALMS

15 480, 481, 484, 496
18:9-13 105
29:2 197
39:12 f. 479
45:6 f. 22
46:1 164
51:5 706
68:17 105
74:4-8 587
78:58-68
80 322, 576
91:13 90
94 478
96:1 164
96:9 197
106 475
115:11-15 481
118:1-4 481
120:5 588
135:20 481
137 120
137:1-4 607, 616
146:9 479

PROVERBS

2:16 ff. 531
7 520
7:5 ff. 531
22:17-23:11 193
31:11, 23, 28 520
31 46

ISAIAH

1:3 f. 576
1:12 413
2:2 476, 481
2:6 515
2:12 ff. 578
3:12 ff. 578
3:15 477
3:25 ff. 536, 537
5 576
5:8 ff. 478, 578
6 579, 606, 616
6:3 196
7:23 612
9:1 36, 73, 677
10:1-4 478, 518
10:13 469
10:20-23 669
11 578, 679
11:11 189, 476, 600
11:11, 15 172
11:15 f. 9
13:16 536, 703
14:1-3....472, 473, 478, 569, 669
14:5 10
18 172, 189
18:1 f. 191
18:2 452
19:11 101, 506
19:17 f. 189
19:18.57, 205, 476, 593, 598, 600, 640
19:18 ff. 218
19:18-25 172
19:23 f. 476
19:24 f. 218
21:11 f. 94, 111
22:6 56
26:2 476
27 669

27:11 ... 189
27:13 ... 9, 172
29:1 f. ... 110
29:19-22 ... 443, 703
29:22 ... 49
30:4 ... 452
30:18 ... 616
30:20 ... 114, 482
32:1 f. ... 578
33:2 f. ... 478
33:7 ... 452
34 ... 100, 172
36:13-17 ... 477
37:9 ... 190, 191
40-55 ... 99, 573, 625
40:1 f. ... 574
40:9 ... 451
40:27 ... 607
41:1, 5 ... 569
41:1-4 ... 577
41:2, 25 ... 575
41:4 ... 574
41:4, 13 ... 574
41:8 ff. ... 576
41:18 ... 577
41:22 f. ... 574
41:26 ... 576
42:4 ... 569
42:6, 8 ... 574
42:10 ... 569
42:11 ... 577
42:15 ... 569
42:21 ... 580
43:3, 11, 15 ... 574
43:9 ff. ... 574
43:10 ... 574
43:13 ... 574
43:14 ... 571
43:20 ... 577, 607
43:23 f. ... 579
44:5 ... 482
44:7 ... 574
44:24 ... 574
44:26 ... 574
44:28 ... 575, 577
45:1, 13 ... 575
45:4 ... 696
45:3, 5, 7, 8, 19, 21 ... 574
46:11 ... 575
48:1 ... 653
48:12 ... 574
48:15 ... 575
48:20 f. ... 577
48:21 ... 577
49:1-6 ... 570
49:4 ... 580
49:12 ... 369, 370, 376, 576
50:1 ... 575
50:4 ... 509
50:5 ff. ... 574
50:10 ... 581
51:3 ... 573
51:4 f. ... 570
51:7 ... 574, 580
51:9 f., 15 ... 573
51:18 ... 575
52:3 ... 573
53 ... 431
53:1 ... 574
53:3-6 ... 495
54:6 ... 575
54:9 ... 573
56:3 ... 158, 472, 501
56:3-7 ... 479
56:6-8 ... 472
56:7 ... 525
58 ... 414
60:6 ff. ... 96
62:4 ... 519
63:1 f. ... 85
63:1-6 ... 100
63:16 ff. ... 479, 703
65:11 ... 177
66:20 f. ... 31, 472

JEREMIAH

1:1 ... 104, 598
1:5 ... 570
1:5, 10 ... 476
1:11 ff. ... 670
1:14 f. ... 276
1:13-16 ... 108
1:18 f. ... 478, 570
2:5 ... 116
2:21 ... 576
2:26 f. ... 412
2:27 ... 493
2:28 ... 175
2:28-34 ... 113
2:34 ... 53
3:6, 8, 11 f., 18, 22 ... 669
3:6, 14, 19, 22 ... 670
3:11 ... 116
3:16 ... 100, 105
3:17 ... 481
3:18 ... 278
3:21 f. ... 108
4:1, 15, 19, 31 ... 670
4:2 ... 476, 482
4:5, 31 ... 108
4:6 ... 276
4:19-31 ... 109, 141
4:22 ... 576
5:1-5 ... 232
5:1-5, 21 f. ... 576
5:5, 17, 31 ... 478
5:15 ff. ... 108
6:1 ... 108, 276
6:20 ... 579
6:22 f. ... 108, 276
7 ... 207, 232
7:6 ... 478
7:16 ... 478
7:8-11 ... 525
7:12 ... 578
7:17 f. ... 90, 104, 113
7:18 ... 608, 659
7:21-28 ... 116
7:30 f. ... 215
7:30-34 ... 113
7:32-8:2 ... 705
8:1, 5, 10 ... 478
8:1 f. ... 113
8:1-3 ... 613
8:8 f. ... 579
8:13-17 ... 108
8:20 ... 522
9:2 ... 522
9:17-22 ... 108
9:25 ff. ... 110, 160
9:26 ... 557
10:16 ... 576
10:22 ... 276
11:4-10 ... 116
11:13 ... 230
11:18-12:6 ... 598
12:14 ff. ... 576
12:14-17 ... 482, 670
13:20 ... 276
14:20 f. ... 575
15:12 ... 276
15:15-21 ... 598
16:10-13 ... 116
16:15 ... 278, 670, 671
17:1-4 ... 116
17:19 ... 478
17:26 ... 670
19 ... 113
19:1 ... 478
19:1-3 ... 613, 705
19:5 ... 215, 242
19:5, 6 ... 113
20:1-6 ... 611
20:2 ... 412
21:11 ff. ... 578
22 ... 578
22:2, 4, 13 f. ... 478
22:3 ... 477
22:24, 28 ... 609, 610
22:24-30 ... 610
22:28 ... 619
23:1-8 ... 671
23:5 f. ... 578
23:8 ... 278

23:25-32 611
24 592, 609
24:1 609
24:5 571
25:9 276
25:12 571
25:17, 26 112
25:15-27 110
25:20-23 95
25:23 94, 95, 557
26:20 ff. 476
27:1-8 112
28:10-14 112
29 ...141, 190, 476, 610, 671
29:1-7 132, 612
29:8, 25 612
29:4-7 120, 612, 676
29:8-32 577, 612
29:21 233
29:21, 24 f., 29 612
30-31 671
31:5, 12 576
31:8 278
31:9 671
31:17 671
31:21 671
32:7 ff. 654
32:12 598
32:8, 44 412
32:9 612
32:22 576
32:35 215, 242
32:36-44 671
33:1-8 671
33:7-14 677
33:26 49
34 499
34:8 ff.....120, 502, 578
34:9-14 35, 49
34:13-22 477
35 179, 185
36:20-23 108
36:22-32 670
37:1 609
38:7 344
38:19 52, 163, 477
39:4 38
39:11 612
40:1, 2 115
40:2, 3 702
40:5 ff. 163, 612
40:11 ff...110, 162, 176, 468, 598
40:13-41 163
41:3 598
42:2 f., 5 115
44 196, 207
44:9 f., 15-21 116
44:15-19..104, 113, 115, 659
44:15-30 90, 598
44:30 209
46:9 94, 95, 195
46:20, 24 276
47:2 276
48:27 f. 671
49 94
49:6 469
49:14 451, 452
49:7 f., 13, 17, 20 ff., 28 ff. 94
50:1, 8, 25, 45 571
50:3 278
50:3, 9, 41 277
50:5 472
50:1, 8, 25, 45 571
50:10 571
50:33 f. 671
50:42 276
51:4-6 671
51:4, 54 571
51:11, 48 277
51:24, 35 571
51:27.269, 293, 297, 636
51:31 141
51:59 f. 617
52:4, 11 276
52:7 38
52:15 f. 130
52:27 ff. 705
52:28 f. 120, 614
52:31-34 610

Lamentations

3:51 536
4:5 536
5:10 536

Ezekiel

1:1 504, 615
1:2 609
1:1-3 615
1:3 571
1:10 105, 607
1:10, 28 607
1:15 ff. 615
1:24 615, 703
1:28 616
3:12, 23 616
7:27 478
8:1 615
8:4 616
8:3-12 411
8:3-18 113
8:12 609, 611
8:16 173
9:1-6 556
10:4, 18 f. 607, 616
10:5 703
10:14 105
11 592
11:15-18 13, 675
11:17 672
11:22 f. 616
11:24 571
12:1 615
12:13 571
12:19 478
12:22 f. 478
13:18 ff. 519
14:1-11 615
16:3-8 503, 540
16:3, 45...27, 55, 89, 90
16:8 522
16:10, 13 369
16:20 215
16:21 215
16:24, 31 230
16:27 541
16:29 571
16:31 113, 175
16:46 27
16:46-59 112, 672
17 119
17:1-10 576
17:15 452
17:51 f. 116
18:6, 11, 15 ...316, 521
19 578
19:2 27
20:1-4 615
20:7 f. 475
20:18, 27, 30, 36 116
20:30 521
20:31 215
20:33-44 672
21:26 434
22:7, 29 479
22:9-12 521, 531
22:31 478
23:2 27
23:3 f. 475
23:14 571
23:15 571
23:16 571
23:37 215
23:42 111
25 162, 577
25:1-14 112
27 30
27:10 94, 95
27:12-14, 17 f., 25 ..274
27:13 282, 294

27:14 277
27:15, 20 93, 94
27:19 ff. 94
27:21 93
27:22 93
28 672
29 672
30:4 95
33:2 f. 478, 615
33:2-7 429
33:21 141
33:24-29 112, 162
33:30-33 615
34 343, 578
34:11-16, 23-31 672
35 162
36 672
36:1-7 112
36:17 162
36:20 ff. 215
36:24 ff., 31 672
38:1-4, 15 276
38:6 269
38:2-6, 15 277
38:13 94
39:1 f. 277
40-48 579
40:38-43 411
42:13 411
42:14 522
43:1-6 411
43:7-9 ...113, 197, 412, 492, 613, 705
44:1-3 411
44:7 ff. 515
44:6-16 496, 505
44:9-14 501, 509
44:15-31 439
44:19 522
45:2 529
45:16-22 478
46 411
47:8 38
47:22 476
48:15-17 529

DANIEL

1:6 f. 122, 503
1:7 504
2:16, 18, 20, 28, 37, 44 229

HOSEA

1:4 f. 53, 500, 578
2:2 27
2:8 696
4:1 f. 53
4:5 27
4:6 240, 505, 576
4:12-14...531, 541, 578
4:14 492, 519, 521
5:1 578
6:1 575
6:8 f. 53, 578
7:11 107
8:5 105
10 578
10:3-8 369
10:6 107
10:14 578
12:1 578
12:2 123
12:12 13, 71
13:2 105
14:1 575

JOEL

1:9, 13 31
1:15 703
2:1-11 84
3:6-8 94

AMOS

1:3, 13 539
1:5 56
1:9 8, 119
1:11 f. 101
2:6 578
2:7 f. 492
2:6-8 443
2:9 88
3:9 f. 443
3:9-15 275
3:12 72, 369
4:1 578
4:1-3 275
5:5 578
5:10-15 443
5:11 f. 578
5:18 f..52, 275, 578, 668
5:26 175
6:1-6 275, 478
7:9 578
7:17 532, 536
8:2 ff. 478
8:4 ff. 275
8:14..186, 578, 598, 704
9:7 55, 696
9:14 469

MICAH

1:1 162
1:5 613, 700, 705
1:7 492
3:1 ff., 8-12 700
4:1 f. 476
4:2 481
6:7 215
7:20 49, 703

NAHUM

2:1 119
2:9 127
3:9 195
3:17 636

HABAKKUK

2:1 429
3 577

OBADIAH

20 112, 282

JONAH

3:4 619

ZEPHANIAH

1:1 f. 578, 668
1:8 f. 505
2:5 f. 66
3:8 f. 482
3:9 132
3:9-12 190

HAGGAI

1:1, 12, 14 676
2:2, 21 676
2:10-14 607

ZECHARIAH

1:2, 4-6 116
2:6 278
2:11 472
2:12 676
3:8 679
3:9 f. 617
4:13 f. 617
5 617
6:8 278
6:12 679
7:4 ff. 607
7:9 ff. 478
8:13 668
8:16-19 607
8:23 661
9:10, 13 668
9:23 134
10:6-12 668
11:7 ff. 10
12:10-14 187
12:11 321

MALACHI

2:4 495
2:8 495

2:14 ff. 522
3:5 478, 481
3:16-18 481

1 Maccabees

1:20 438
1:28 438
2:6, 23 438
2:42 438
2:46 438, 460
2:49 431
2:67 438
3:7 438
3:35 438
3:49 497
5:2 438
7:13 438
8:22-31 438
10:23 f. 438
10:23-36 438
11:30-51 438
14 438
15 438

2 Maccabees

5:24 539
6:4 f. 539
14:6 439

Baruch

1 613
1:3, 9 609
1:4 614
1:4-8 614
3:36 680
4:4 680

1 Esdras

1:43 612
1:45 612

4 Esdras

13 2, 675, 682

Epistle of Jeremy

43 520

Sirach

Prologue 34
26:21 355
36:11 f. 680
47:19 ff. 680

Assumption of Moses

8:3 539

NEW TESTAMENT

Matthew

1:11 f. 609
2:20 520
3:7 460
3:9 123
7:27 123
9:36 538
12:38 f. 587
16:1 f. 587
23:15 166, 167
23:33 460
24:3 587
26:67 460

Mark

7:11 527
8:11 f. 587
11:17 525
14:60, 64 443

Luke

2:1-4 677
2:36 532
20:21 f. 527

John

4:5 442
4:27 470
7:49 470, 538
7:50 441
8:33 527

Acts

2:9 ff. 374, 627, 633
2:11 6
6:9 465, 627
7:6 693, 465
8:27 6, 196, 344
9:1 f., 13 f. 454, 525
10 465
12:21 413
13:4-12 454
13:13 ff. 454
14 454
15:14-21 581
15:21 454
16:12 f. 454
17:1 f., 10 ff., 17 ...454
18:1-11 454
18:12-17 470
18:18 454, 497
19:8 ff. 454
20:17 ff. 454
21:19 ff. 454
21:20-26 497
23:12 f. 497, 651
26:7 682
26:9-12 525
28:14 455
28:17 ff. 455
28:30 ff. 218

Romans

2:17 ff. 454
4:13 ff. 454
7:10 454
8:16 454
11:1 465
15:25 452

1 Corinthians

1:26 466
9:1 508
9:15 ff. 452
12:28 451
16:1-4 452

2 Corinthians

3:12-16 413
5:20 452

Galatians

1:1 508
2:9 357
3:28 466
4:28 434
5:1 508

Ephesians

4:9 451

Philippians

1:12 ff. 218
3:5 f. 465

Colossians

3:11 466

Philemon

15 508

1 Timothy

1:4 184

2 Timothy

2:24 f. 575, 619
1:12 659

Titus

3:9 184

Hebrews

3:1 452
7:1-3 123
13:14 132

James

2:1-9 357

Revelation

2:2 ff. 454, 588
2:9 ff. 454
2:13 454, 588
2:24 454, 588
3:9 454, 588
7 682
9:4 556
13:16 ff. 556
14:9 556
16:20 556

TOPICAL INDEX

No separate list of proper names is given in this book, since only those specifically connected with important topics are of value to the general reader. A large number of names wholly unknown to the general reader are not included in this index, for no purpose would be served by indexing them. Some definition of many proper names that are indexed has been recognized to be necessary. The Index of Scripture Passages is complete; and any proper names that occur in a cited text can be located by using that index.

A'amu, probably Egyptian form of *Aram,* Aramaeans; grouped with Aperiu (Edomites?) 493, 692, 695

Aaron (Aharôn, "mountaineer"), Aaronites, 100, 165

'Abarah (Arabah), "other-side land," 37, 38 (*see* Eber); Abaris, 44

Ab-beth-dîn, bit dîni, Assyrian "chief justice," 26

'Abd-Ashirta, 61, 62

'Abdê-hannabî, *see* Ezekiel

'Abd-el-maut, 472; *see* Tomb-slaves

'Abd-er-Rahman III, Moorish king has slave-army (Mamelukes) and slave-officials, 548

'Abdi-Khêba, Hurrian commander at Jerusalem, 62, 80, 88, 90, 99

Abennerig, king of Charax Spasini, 168

Abi-athar, pre-Christian Jewish priest at Mtzkhet, 289, 290

Abimaël, 46

Abi-Milki of Tyre, 65

Abkhasians, of the Caucasus, 285

Abouna, Abyssinian patriarch, 198 f., 529

Abraham, Abram, 49; corruption of Abu-Ruham, 51 *note*

Abrahams on the Jewish slave trade, 549

Absalom, 12

Abtalion, and Shemaiah, 169, 468, 498, 634

Abu-Karib, Yemenite king, 182 f.

Abu Shahrein, Eridu, 77, 565, 566

Abydos Jews, 599

Abyssinia, *see* Aksum, Frumentius, Falashas, Kamants, Tabiban, Asylum, Menelik

Academies, Babylonia, *see* Chapter XXV; education democratized, 652

Achaians (Hivites) in Palestine, 53, 87, 88, 89, 91, 263; in Black Sea, 262, 263, 270, 689

Adâl, Adaïel, 23, 46, 95

Adam, spoke Aramaic (!), 642

Aden, Gulf of, 45, 47, 94, 177, 188, 341; Jews of, 18

Adiabênê, Azab-ênê, 168-70, 375, 623, 634, 644, 683

Adler, E. N., on Caucasus Jews, 313, 314; on Bokhara Jews, 21; on Chinese Jewish liturgies, 408; on Cochin Jews, 353; on David Rubbêni, 353; Aneyzeh Beduîn, 20

Adoption of captives, 541, 542; of slaves, 540; invalid if proselyte ritual was defective, 544; of outcasts, waifs, 540

Adoption of wayward Jewish girls, 531

Adulis, ancient Red Sea port for Abyssinia, 46, 95, 197, 329

Aegaean culture in Palestine, 63, 67, 68, 69, 91, 271

Afghans, a mixture of races and cults, 358, 362, 365, 366; the Baní Israíl, 359; Afghan descent from Saul, 1, 363, 364; Afghan traditions examined, 357-367; no early Afghan records known, 358; Afghan Baní Israíl in the Ghor, 362, 365; practices suggesting Palestinian origin, 359; Greek cities excavated, 362; Greek survivals among pagan Afghans, 361

Agau, Abyssinian aborigines, some became Falashas, 196, 200, 600

Agrippa, boasts priestly ancestry, 434; wide spread of the Jews, 135, 373; Jews of Adiabênê will not help Jerusalem against Romans, 683; Paul to, 682

Agum-kak-rîmê ("the beneficent"?), Kassite king of Babylon, 121

Ahab, king of Israel, 22, 94, 106, 476, 527, 702

Ahaggaren Berbers, "free-robbers," 41, 236

Ahava (now Hit), 612, 658

Ahaz, king of Judah, 22, 107, 119, 681, 700

Ahijah, Ahî-Yah, the Shilonite, 104, 113
Ahmose I, expels Hyksos, 79, 690, 694, 697; Ahmose II, 209
Aitugama of Kadesh, 129
Aizênas, Greek king of Axum, 196
Akabah, Gulf of, 92, 100, 112, 117, 177, 180, 181, 275
Akh-khi-ya-wa (Achivi, Achaians), 88, 89
Akhund, Persian sanctuary-head, 394, 414, 518
Akizzi, of Katna, 64, 129
Akkadian language, the Semitic speech that succeeded Sumerian (Akkad or Agadê north of Babylon being the first Semitic capital), often called Assyro-Babylonian, 56, 61, 62, 63, 452, 636, 638, 639
Aksum, Axum, ancient secular capital of Abyssinia, 181, 197, 198, 199, 329
Alabarch, Arab-arch, head of Jewish community at Alexandria, 23
Albright, Dr. W. F., 49, 57
Alam, Alamî, 492
Alans, 296, 298. *See* Geloni
Aleppo, 26, 76, 78, 90, 354, 623
Alexander the Great, 361; concessions to Jews, 136, 138, 193, 217, 260, 333, 591, 626; his "walls," 301, 382; in Afghanistan, 361
Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, 442
Alexander Jannaeus, 160, 163
Alexandria, asks restoration of charter, 133; Jews numerous, 133, 216; Great Synagogue, 455; Jewish shipping, 298, 334; Jewish "tribe," Makedones, 135, 162, 537; Jews massacred in Cyrene rebellion, 215; Jewish brides seized by pagans, 534
Alfonso X of Castile, on Judaizing of negroes, 247
Algum trees, Almug, 330
Ali, tomb at Kerbela makes it a sacred city, 125 f.; worshippers of Ali, the Ali ilâhî sect, 626
Allûf ("duke" of AV, in Gen. 36), 101
"All Israel," significance of term in Old Testament, 11, 12
Altars, allowed any where, 71 f., 585 ff.; in houses, 601, 602; in open fields, 602; stone set up as, in Christian Egypt, 594; tomb-doors, 227; Berber Degets, 602; Turkoman platforms, 391; Falasha, 186; Kamant tree-sanctuaries, 201; Chinese Jewish earth-flats, 403 f.
Amaziah, king of Judah, savage crushing of Edom, 101
Amazirgh Berbers, 234
Amêl-Marduk, king of Babylon, honors King Yekan-Yâ, 613
Amen-em-hat II, Pharaoh, 64, 493
Amen-hotep (Amenophis) I, 690, 693; Amenhotep II, 66, 80; Amenhotep III, 64, 129, 568; Amenhotep IV, *see* Ikhnaton
Amharas, southern Abyssinians, 199, 487
Amisus, Greek colony on Black Sea, 265
'Amm, 'Amm-cultus, 98, 114, 163, 176
'Amm-ha-ārets, 470, 478, 510, 576, 620
Ammon, Ammonites, 30, 50, 52, 102, 107, 110, 112, 114, 162, 163, 165, 166, 172, 428, 432, 440, 468, 471, 539, 612, 680
'Ammu-names, 97, 114, 164, 176
Amor (Egyptian for the Lebanon area), 65, 69, 76, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87
Amorites, 38, 40, 62, 67, 81, 82, 84, 86, 89, 91
Amurru, "Westland, Westerner," 40, 61, 65, 66, 68, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 89
Anak, Anakim, 29, 69
Anaku, "tin-land"(?), now called "Greece," 29, 69, 82
Anan ben-David, organizes Karaism, 443; repudiates cock-sacrifice, 626
Ananias of Charax Spasini, 168, 582 (Noachian?)
Anat, Anath, Queen of Heaven, 90, 103, 104, 113, 207, 598, 599, 701
Anat-bet-el, Anat-Yahu, at Elephantiné, 598
Anatolia, 60, 63, 64, 76, 79, 150, 151, 264, 271
Anbar, El-Anbar ("the granaries"), 655, 657, 658, 661; *see* Nehardea, Sud
Anderson, J. G., geologist in China, on Hurrian antiquities, 368
Andrée, R. (ethnologist), on his assumed Jewish type, 144
Aneyzeh Beduin, some think them Israelites, 20, 152, 179, 180

Anglo-Israelism, Anglo-Saxon, 1, 721
Anileus and Asineus (Anilai, Asinai), Jewish brigands in Babylonia, 137, 138, 656
Anittash, earliest known "empire-builder" in Hittite region, 74
Annas (Hanan), 460
Ansairiyeh, of northern Lebanon, 76, 83
Anshan, Anzan, kingdom whence Cyrus sprang, 625, 650
Antipater, father of Herod the Great, 163
Antiochus the Great, favors Jews, 134
Antiochus Epiphanes, persecutes Jews, 436, 438, 590
Antiochus Epiphanes of Commagênê, 162
Aperiu, Aperu, 85, 695
Apes, Solomon's, 320, 330
Apion, Josephus criticizes, 140, 292
Apologetics, false, 667, 686, 708 f.
Apostles, Jewish *Shalîakh,* 159, 451-54; continued by Christian church, 159, 451-54; Babylonian *Shapiru,* 452; Greek and Latin terms, 453; Jewish, were inquisitors, 454; Christian, seek first the synagogues and proselytes, 454
Apries, Pharaoh Hophra, Jer. 44:30, 209
Arabia , Israelites migrate to its northwest, 175; Simeon migrates to Edom, 178; Yahwist survivals impossible, 175; Judah and Moab, 176; relations with Kataban, 176-77; Yathreb Judaized, 178; Aneyzeh and the Kheibar Jews, 180; Arab trade, 93-96, 180-82; Jewish kings of Sheba, Hadramaut, Yemen, and Himyar, 182-84; Arabs placed in Samaria, 177; Yemen Jews, 184, 185, 218; Arab Christians, 180; Arab Berbers, 211, 220; Arabia and India, 319, 324-26
Aram, 50
Aramaean features imaginary, 10
Aramaeans, not Hebrews, 49, 50, 51 *note,* 54, 172 f., 701; Syrian tribes, 96; many tribes at the head of the Persian Gulf, 50, 572, 621, 642, 643; none of these are in the Old Testament, Abram's tribe is not named, 50, 552, 688; in Palestine absorbed by the ancient Hebrew culture, 50, 56, 205, 494; of Elephantiné were "Jews," 137, 597, 622; of Damascus make war on Palestine, 8, 22, 107, 172, 274, 275; oracles invented to justify their supremacy, 69, 701 f.; claim pre-eminence at national festivals, 54, 173, 457, 460; crusade against older non-Aramaean Hebrews, 704; arrogance ruinous, 54, 705; of Herodotus, 280; Aramaic-speakers in Central Asia, 370-75
Aramaic-Hebrew Inscriptions, 58, 59
Aramaic, in India, 332, 335, 336, 340
Aramaic Script, its origin, 322 f.; in India and Central Asia, 322, 332, 333, 373
Aramaic Translations, *see* Targums
Araunah of the Jebusites, 90, 115
Archipelago of Oases, 225 ff.
Aretas (Hareth), king of Petra, 161
Areus, king of Sparta, reports Jewish nobles there, 135, 136
Argob (Trachonitis), Judaized by Zamaris, 138, 139, 167
Argonauts, commercial pioneers in the Black Sea, 43, 261, 262, 267
Arianda, satrap of Egypt, 361
Aristeas, on Ptolemy's liberating Jewish slaves, 9, 132, 207, 214, 538
Aristobulus, propagandist Asmonean king, 160, 167
Ark, *see* Bezaleel
"Arkan of the North," worshipped by Rameses II, 692, 702
Armenia, 265, 269, 280; name from Har-Mannai, 297; Matiênê, 298; Hurrian aborigines, 150; Askanian invaders, Haiks, come with Mysians, 262; they call themselves Khaldi, Haldi, 269, 280, 281, 306, 308; Iranian invasions, 276, 278, 281, 289; Hebrew settlements in, 9, 282; migrations to the Caucasus, 310, 311; Jewish dynasty in, 289, 314
Arnobius, on Scythians, 295; on Christianity in Persia and India, 374, 386
Arnon, in Moab, 111
Arpak-shad (Arrapkha of the mountain), 41, 42, 45, 288
Arrapha, Arrapkha, 41, 77, 78, 276, 288; is Kerkuk, 564
Artaban, Parthian king, 656; Persian commander at Elephantiné, 194
Arthur, Rev. William, on Malabar Jew traditions, 336

Artatama, Iranic king of Mitanni, 76

Artaxerxes Ochus, deports Jews to the Caspian, 136

Arvad, on coast north of Gebal, 27, 30

Aryans (Indo-Iranians, not "Europeans"), Hittites not, 75, 77; Hurrians not, 151; Aryan-Iranian gods made state-gods of Mitanni, 76, 77

Arzaret, 675

Asa, king of Judah, 101, 105

Asaph, Asaph ud-dowlah, Persian official, of Jewish origin, 639 f.

Ascanius, *see* Ashkan

Asher (place, tribe), 17, 20, 21, 24, 68, 98, 212, 229, 372

Ashguz, Ashguzai (Scythians), 40, 269

Ashima, Ashimat (cf. Ashim-bet-el), 598

Ashkan, Askan, a race-adjective, *see* Askae

Ashkenazim Jews, adaptation of Askênos, 268, 269, 277, 293-96; adaptation of Ashguz less probable, 295 f.; Askênos proselytes spread into Central Europe, 297

Ashtart, 102, 104; for names compounded with, *see* Names

Ashur (the city), 24, 78, 276, 642, 644

Ashur, Ash-shur (the god), 25, 130, 172

Ashur-bani-pal, king, 39, 108, 109, 122, 433, 482, 527, 643; destroys Babylon, 516

Ashur-uballit, last king of Assyria, 108

Ashur-ah-iddin, king, *see* Esarhaddon

Assianoi, Asioi, Assaioi, Scythian tribes, 307

Askaë, Askaï, race-name of Phrygians, Mysians, Bithynians, Haldians, etc., 293, 294

Askaënos, Askênos (Hellenized race-name) = Ashkenaz, 293

Askatai, Askatangkai, 40

Askelon, 65, 587

Asmoneans, *see* Chapter VIII, and 500

Asnapper, *see* Ashur-bani-pal

Assuan, Syene, 137; *see* Elephantiné

Assyrian, colonies, 24, 30, 177; tolerance in religion, 118, 119; Christians, 169-71

"Assyrian characters" (script), various, 633-37; translations, *see* Targums

Assyrians, not destroyed, 170

"Assyroid-face" (Hurrian), 153, 170, 171, 172

Asterio, Isterio, Falasha name for the Yôm Kippûr commemorations, 187, 198, 608

Asylum, receives any refugees, 514, 520; circumcision debated, 161; protégés may become locally powerful, 514; protégés may be made the sanctuary-garrison, 516; Carian temple-guards, 515; Philistines, guards, 515; protégés demand restoration of a destroyed asylum, 516; asylum-women protect the men they accept, 516, 520; Levitical cities in Palestine, 517, 528; Philo on asylum-cities, 517, 518, 524; chief asylum-priest supreme judicial authority, 517; officials or attendants descendants of the founder, or of the asylum-baal, 517; robe-asylum frauds, 522; asylum-marriages temporary, 518; "Barley marriages," 519 f.; Beena-marriage, 519 *note;* protégé-status terminated by death of asylum-head, 518, 520, 526; temporary self-devotion of women, 518, 520 f.; harlots at church-councils, 521; priest-robe harlots, 522; in monastic district of mediaeval London, 523; asylum-owned properties are also Asyla, 524; Asyla antagonize secular authorities, 524, 525; the verbal, 525; criminals escape punishment by conversion, 525, 526; sacred cities dens of criminals, 525; Wasambara Asyla, 202, 526; slaves escape by taking asylum, 526, 527; Asyla become thieves, 527, 528; Asyla and commerce promote intermarriage, 527, 528; suburbs, *migrashîm,* for the refugees, 528; Asyla prevent unification of a secular state, 529, 652; Asyla rule Abyssinia, 529, 530

Atargatis, Athtar-'Atha, identified with Aya, 658

Atéti, Galla goddess of fecundity, 488

Athaliah, 199

Athênê, Greek goddess, identified with the Palestinian Anath, 598 f.

Atmu, Temu, god of the setting-sun, in Egypt, 598
Augustine, St., on North Africans, 206, 229
Autran, Charles, on Phoenicians, 60, 63
Ava, Awa, ancient sacred capital of Abyssinia, 198 *note;* 723
Avalites, on Gulf of Tajurra, Habr Awal, 45, 46
Awellimiden Berbers (Uled Lemta, Lemtuna), 237
Axum (Greek spelling), *see* Aksum
Aya, queen of Heaven, in Babylonia, 657, 658, 659 *note*
Aziru, Hittite vassal, 22, 62, 65, 83, 86, 128, 129
Azov, sea of, 265, 266, 267

Baalîm, include the political lords, 109
Baalism, as a society-builder, 221; prevents centralization, 529, 652
Ba'al-Shamayim, "Lord of the heavens," antiquity and distribution of the cult, 183, 191, 192, 228, 415
Ba'al-compounds, *see* Names
Ba'al of Lebanon, 103
Ba'al-peor, 112
Bacher, Dr. Wilhelm, on Targums, 628, 630, 631, 642
Bactra, *see* Balkh
Bactria, 374, 377, 386
Badakshan, and Wakhan, provinces of the Hindu Koosh region, "Sons of Alexander" there, 24; Demetrius conquered, 334; Nephthalites reported as "Naphtali," 382, 384, 385
Badges, *see* Chapter XX; distinctions in clothing, 553, 554, 555; brand or tattoo, 554, 556; distinctions by locks of hair, 160, 220, 348 f., 556, 559; Nabatean and Berber origin, 557, 559; wreaths or fillets, 556; hair-locks the residence of protecting spirit, 559 f.
Ba-Fiot, of Loango Coast, Negro Jews among them, 249
Bagohi, Persian governor of Palestine, 490 B.C., 596
Bagratid dynasties of Armenia and Georgia, 289, 314
Bahram V, Sassanid king, persecutes Jews, 375, 382, 661
Bahutsîm Jews, of North Africa, "outsiders, nomad vagrants," 221
Bainû Kainuka'a, Arab Jews of Mohammed's time, 179; influenced by Karaism, 447; Bainû Nadir, 124, 179
Balak, king of Moab, with Og and Sîhon, 85
Balkh (ancient Bactra), center of immemorial trade-routes, 272, 319, 331, 334; Hazara Mongol Jews in the vicinity of, 383, 384; Tokharians once dominant in, 397; Yezd-bouzid from, 397; Olopun, Nestorian pioneer in China, from, 400; Christian bishopric in, 397
Bamah, bamôt, *see* High Places
Bamboo Books of Chinese Antiquities, 379
Baní Israíl (Afghan form of Benî-Israel), 360; Ghilzai Turkomans, 358, 363; Hazara Mongols, 358, 365; Kirghiz Mongols, 365; Rajpût ancestry, 358, 365; Yusofzais, 363 f.
Bar-Rekub of Sam'al, inscription is Hebrew, 58
Baraki Rogan, a colony of Barcans?, 361
Barca, in Cyrene, 209; Barcans deported, 361; *see* Baraki Rogan
Bar-Daisan, on Christianity in Asia, 374
Bar-Hebraeus, on Syriac Versions, 645
Bar-Rekub of Ya'di, 58
Baruch, letter to Yekan-Yâ, 613 f.; praise of Israel, 680
Bashan, 39, 82, 106, 175
Bastet, Egyptian cat-headed or lioness-headed goddess, 598
Bathsheba, Buti-Khêba, 90
Battus, Libyan term for king, 208
Beating the Kapporeth, *see* cock sacrifice
Beeltethmus, *bêl têmê,* 141
Beena-marriage, temporary unions, 324, 519 *note*
Beirût, 38, 61, 86
Bellew, Dr. H. W., on the Afghan Baní Israíl, 359-67
Benî-Israel, not "descendants" of Israel, 27, 28, 33; as a sectarian term: "We are Benî-Israel, but not Jews," 17, 24, 33, 193, 353 f., 363, 429, 450; of Bombay, their traditions of origin, 17, 317, 344; of a pre-rabbinic type, 353; oppressed by white modern Jews, 354, 356; eager for education, 356, 357
Ben-Hadad, and Âhab, 22, 30

Benî-Kedem, of Edom, 94, 101
Benî-Hamor, of Shechem, confused with "Amorites," 85
Benjamin Nehavendî, 29
Benjamin of Tudela, 17, 18, 19; reports Jews in Persia, 17, 20, 171, 371; on Jews of Kheibar, 19 f.
Benjamin II, on Kerbela pretensions, 126; on untaxed soldiers, 131; Ethrog, 322; on Jewish mission finances, 125; on Cochin Jew legend, 348; on Yemen influence in Cochin, 348 f.; Hindu slaves become Jews, 355; "Hagarites," 383; Tartar Jews, 402; Hawaïa Chinese Jews, 423; Amare widows brought to strangers, 532; the *sheliakh ha-kolēl,* 453; Persian tomb-asylum, 518; Wolad Sara, 434
Bent, J. Theodore, on shrines of Yehâ and Aksum, 197, 198, 723
Berbers, 210; Somali Berbers, 46; in North Africa, a mingling of several ancient peoples, 204-12, 217; "Arabs," 220; fuse with Phoenicians and Greeks, 205, 208, 209; dominant racial element in both Greek and Roman colonies, 209 f., 217; Yahwism Berberized, 213, 214; adopt Cretan-Philistine traditions, 236 f.; localize Hebrew saga-heroes, 233, 234; Berber oases in the Sahara, 219, 225; tribes Judaized, 222-24; Berber Jews and Moslems indistinguishable, 219, 222; social organization, 236, 237; Berber brigandage, 214; no social solidarity, 221; Berber Jew character, 238, 239; Berber Judaism crosses the Sahara, 242
Besuchis, Besechana, Massikê, 658
Beth-Anath, in Galilee, 104
Beth-Palet, Hyksos capital in South Palestine, 694
Beth-Shean, strategic fortress, 63, 66, 68, 85, 109, 113, 198, 278, 696, 701
Beth-Shemesh, pre-Israelite Levites, 493
Beth-Zabdai, Bezabde, modern Jezirat, 659
Bezaleel, Edomite maker of the ark, 85, 100, 117, 405; winged "Riding Oxen," 105
Binding a brotherhood, ceremony of, 485
Binding, Levitical, 487-89
Bithynia, Bithynians, 262, 264, 265, 268, 273, 283
Bit-Yakin, of the Sea Land, 572
Blackfriars (Dominicans), of London, 523
"Black Jews" of Cochin and Bombay, 344, 346, 354, 356
Blau, Dr. L., on Targums, 629 f., 632, 633
Blunt, Lady Anne, *tsiddîk* binding, 485
Boas, Dr. Franz, on non-persistence of somatic characters, 147; on the spread of race-commixture, 157
Bochart, on Ashkenaz, 293; on Ophir, 326
Boëthos, arrogance condemned in the Talmud, 460 f.
Boghaz-Keui, ancient Hattu-Shash, 73, 78, 83, 88
Böhl, Dr. Franz M. Th., on mingled races in the Hebrew kingdom, 92
Bokhara, caravan depot, 131, 272; Jews of, 16, 17, 21, 142, 315, 371, 383
Bombay Jews, 317, 327, 344, 345, 346
Book of the Covenant, 701
Bosphorus (at Constantinople), 260, 262
Bosporus, Kimmerian, 265, 268
Bozrah, 94
Brahmî Script, developed from Hebrew-Phoenician, parent of Sanskrit and other Indian scripts, 323, 330 *note,* 387, 401, 687
Brahmin claims of antiquity, 686
Brazil Jews, come to West Indies, 248 ff.
Brides of the Dead, 490
Buchanan, Angus, on Sahara conditions, 214, 225, 226; on Uled Naïl, 534
Bulan, Khagan of Khazars, 259, 300
Bulgars, 299, 300
Burchardt, on Yemen Jews, 185
Burnell, Dr. A. C., on antiquities of India, 325, 354
Bury, G. W., on female shrine-guardians, 490
Buz, in Arabia, 94
Buxtorf, what a rabbi must not do, 470
Byblos (Gebal), ancient Egyptian dominance there, 43, 61, 63, 67, 83, 93, 103, 286; port of communication with the Caucasus-Koban

regions, 43; Hebrew language influenced by that coast, 61-63
Byzantium, Greek colony, 266, 282
Byzantine Empire, of many Hellenized peoples, 267, 299
Byzantine emperors and persecution of Jews, 298 f.; of Samaritans, 448

Cabinda negroes, Loango coast, 246
Cabul, Kabul, city and river, 358, 361, 362, 363, 383
Cahan, *see* Cohen
Cain (Kayin, "smith-folk"), 563, 567
Caleb, Calebites, Edomite clans, 53, 85, 99, 100, 693
Caligula, 433, 434, 655; addressed in behalf of the Jews, 373
Caliph, = *bêl-pahâti,* 121; Khalify, of a religious order, 509; and Jews, 179, 554 f.
Canaan, = coast-land, coast-regions, 65-67; in North Africa, 57, 205, 206
Canaan (a people), Kena'na, Kenahhi, 22, 65; a political "son" of Egypt, 22
Canaanites, = coastland peoples or colonists, 34, 65-67, 229
"Canaanitish" language, 57, 58, 206, 229; coast-land influence in producing it, 61-63; is "Phoenician," 65
Canton Jews, 421-23
Caphtor, Crete, Kaftara, 29, 55, 82
Cappadocia, Katapatuka, 25, 26, 263, 269, 276, 277, 280, 589
Cappadocian Tablets, 24, 31, 57, 101, 239, 350, 404
Capsian culture, or people, 61, 68
Captive women, legal status of their children, 532, 533, 538, 543
Caracalla, persecutes Samaritans, 442, 448
Caravan-roads to the Far East, 272, 288, 319, 320, 363, 373, 379, 380
Carchemish, Gargamesh, 74, 78, 82, 92, 287, 294
Caria, Carians; allied with Judah, and guardians of the temple at Jerusalem, 55, 67, 264, 266, 271, 272, 273, 515
Carthage, 57, 206, 208, 211, 228-33
Casiphia the Makôm = Casp-Yâ, 501, 611, 612, 655, 658, 679
Casluhîm, = Oasis-strongholds?, 23
Caspian Sea, called Kolzum by Jews, 398; trade-routes by, 276, 320, 398; "Cities of the Medes," south of it, 1, 136, 287, 320, 332, 347, 362, 370, 373, 374, 381, 394, 622, 623, 626, 637, 650, 649, 682
Castes in Hindu Judaism, 355
Catabathmos of Cyrene, 204, 205, 216
Caucasus, mountains, 43, 44, 258, 260; metallurgy, 261, 262, 266, 286; peoples, 305-16; Judaism not rabbinic, 288, 313, 315
Cave-Dwelling Jews, *see* Gharian
Census of Chinese Jews, 409
Cerealis, Roman general, 162
Chada, Japanese Jews, 423
Chahar Mahal, "Four Regions" (of eastern Elam), 624, 625
Chaldeans, = "coastlanders" = Kaldu, Kaldi, Kasdîm, 571 f., 621
Chalybes, = Khaldi, Haldi, a people of Armenia, 281; confused with "Chaldeans," 306, 308. *See* Khaldi
Chandra Gupta, Hindu king, 333
Chang Chiao, "Master of Religion," of Chinese Jews, 405, 406
Chanuka festival, unknown to Falashas, 187; to Cochin Jews, 339; to Chinese Jews, 414
Chao Ch'eng Chien, reassembles Chinese Jews, 409, 417
Chao Ying Cheng, great Chinese Jewish governor, 417
Chasîdîm, *see* Zealots
Chardin, Sir John, on Caucasus "High-places," 315
Chebar River (Narû Kabarû, "Grand canal"), 504, 615
Chechenzes (of northern Caucasus), 305, 309
Chemosh (Kamush, Ka'ush), *see* Kemosh
Chen Yuang (Professor in Peking University), on Chinese Judaism, the danishmands, 393, 394; on the Moslem Män-la and the A-hung, Akhund, 394, 405; on eminent Chinese Jews, 395, 417; patronymics, 406, 409, 410; on origin of Li clan, 406; Yen becomes Chao, 406; on official notices of the Kaifeng community, 395; on ancient use of Hebrew names, 410, 418; on sacrifices not Chinese, 403, 413; on ancestor-worship, 413 f.; on veiled leader of worship, 413; on citizens of other towns, 417

Chen, W. Y., on Kaifeng Jewish practices, 413
Chemul, Symulla, Timul, on Bombay coast, 344
Chersonesus, Crimea, 265
Cherubîm, winged "Riding Oxen," 105, 113, 562, 578, 705
Chiera, Prof. Edward, on Nuzi, 77, 78, 128
Child-sacrifices, 202, 215, 216, 241
China, prehistoric Hurrian traffic with, 368; Aramaeans in, in 8th century B.C., 369; Sinim of Old Testament, 369; in the prophets, 369; Ghetto communities in, 397; reached by Iranian traders, 370; overland route to, through Central Asia, 370
Chinese "Israelites," the Kaifeng community from several immigrations, 398; from Hsi-Yü, Chinese Turkestan, 399, 400; the Three Tablets, 398; not Jews or Itzuloyie, 402, 403, 415; Sung Dynasty immigrants, 401, 408; Bokhara Jews "commanded" to enter China, 408; invited to Kaifeng, 408; ancient silk-farm concession, 407; sacred quarter?, 407; boundary tablets, 407; officials, the Chang Chiao, 405, 406; the Wu-ssu-ta, 404; the Lie-wei, Levite, 405; the Sinew Extractor, 410, 411; the Kaifeng sanctuary, 411-412; order of service, 413, 414; pre-Babylonian features, 411, 412; Kaifeng flooded, community almost destroyed, 408; remnant reassembled, 409; sacred books restored, liturgy becomes composite, 415, 416; census taken, 409; only seven clans represented of original seventeen, 409; use of Hebrew names abandoned, 410, 418; recent efforts to conceal identity, 418; present status of community, 418 f.; Anglican Mission rallies, 419
Chinese Judaism, destroyed, the Hang Chow massacre of 884 A.D., 420; revolution quelled by Moslem aid, 420, 421; Moslem arrogance crushes Judaism, 421; present strength of Islam in China, 421; Mongol emperors favored Jews, 421; Canton mosque with some Kaifeng traditions, 421, 422; Canton Jewish community, 422, 423
Chinese, legends of Moses, 391, 392; no traditions of Palestine, 401, 402; Patriarchs were Tajiks, 392; nothing rabbinical or Babylonian, 392, 404, 405 *note*
Chinese Turkestan, center of silk trade, 386; extent of and Chinese name, 380, 399 f.; relation to India, 400; Jews from there enter China, 399-401; localized Hebrew traditions in, 401, 402; communities and synagogues in many cities, but no coördination, 396; seaport Jews from Arabia and India, 415; Jews in imperial decrees, 396, 397, 415; service exemptions refused them, 393, 394; official records sometimes ignored them, 395
Chronicler, The, his sympathies distinctly northern: northern Levites direct reforms at Jerusalem, 105 f.; Judah related to Moab, 176; Simeon turns Arab, 178, 501; approves foreign *nethînîm,* 501; Israel rallies to Jerusalem when Asa reforms, 651; all Israel rallies when Hezekiah and Josiah reform, northern Levites being better than Jerusalem priests, 670, 674; cf. Ezra's Israelite Levites, 678, 679; ignores Zerubbabel movement, 676 *note*
Chronicles of Cochin Jews, 342, 347
Chrysostom, 187, 467
Church Councils, prohibit intermarriage of Jews and Christians, 550; prohibit Jewish slave trade, 544-47; attended by harlots, 521
Chu-wu, Canton Chinese Jews, 394, 415; *see also* Shuh-hu
Cilicia, 81, 89, 589
Cinyps Valley, Tripoli, 211
"Circumcising Syrians," 279-82
"Cities of the Medes," 1, 109, 145, 343, 370, 379, 558; *see also* Caspian
Citron (Persian) ethrog, Kedrat, ha-dar, 321, 322
City of refuge, *see* Asylum
Claudius, expels Jews from Rome, 470; rescript to Alexandria, 133
Clotaire II, on Jews, 547
Coast-lands, 569 f.; *see also* Canaan, Chaldeans
Cochin Chronicles, 347, 361, 370
Cochin Jews, 317, 338, 339, 340, 341, 343, 346, 352, 353, 356

Cock, tarnegol, dar-lugal, from India, 320
Cock-sacrifice, "beating the Kapporeth," 584, 626
Code Hammurabi, 103, 482, 532, 543, 541
Cohen, Cohanîm, 228, 240; compare Asia Minor terms, Koan, Kuanis, Kauein, 486; Cohanîm ha-leviim, "Associated Priests," 509 f.; abhorred by Berber Jews, 240, 601; Kahinat, "priestess" the dominant figure, 240 f.
Colchis, Kolkhids, Akhal-tzig, 42, 262, 279, 281, 282, 284-287
Compass, cardinal points of, not in cuneiform astronomy or geography, 623; cf. Ezekiel 37:9
Commagênê, Kummukh, 162
Coniah (Jeremiah 22:28), 609; *see* Yekan-Yâ
Constantine, 298
Constantinople, 298
Constantinople Jews, 298, 588
Constantius, Emperor, 448, 545
Cook, Bishop A. W., Rabbi Haling Hank Lenht, 255
Copper and bronze, their antiquity, *see* Caucasus Metallurgy, and 567
Copper-plate grants of Cochin Jews, 349-351; of St. Thomas Christians, 351, 352
Cossacks, capture Jewish women, 533
Cosmology, ancient oriental, 228
Cotton, 262, 318 f.
Courier-posts, courier service, 141 f.
Covenants, with Yahu, 691, 696; mean reciprocity in respect for the gods of each party, 119, 568
Covenanters of Damascus, 590
Cowper, H. S., on Tripoli Jews, 227
Cranganore, Korunallur, Kodunallur, 324, 335, 339, 343, 354
Cretans, 693; *see* Pelishtîm
Crimea, 266, 267, 268, 291, 292, 296
Crim-Tartars, 267, 304
Croesus, 271
Ctesias, 320
Ctesiphon, on Tigris (opposite Seleucia-Opis-Akshak, *q.v.*), 138, 656, 660
Cumanus, Roman procurator, 441
Cumont, Franz, taurobolium, 64
Cursing texts, Egyptian, 'Ammu-names, 97; Zebulun, 28
Cush (= Nubia), 94, 95, 178, 190, 195, 283
Cybele, goddess of Hurrian origin, 90, 91
Cyprus, Jewish revolt, 215
Cyrene, founding, 208, 209; mingled population, 208-10, 217; tribal organization, 217; revolt against Persia, 208; Barcans deported, 332; Jews in, 132; charter, 133; revolt of Cyrenian Jews, 9, 215
Cyril of Alexandria, 651
Cyrus, 271, 570, 575, 617, 625, 650, 666, 676
Cyzicus, 265
Czar Nicholas I, persecutes Molokani, 302

Daggatuns, 219, 222, 224, 237, 238
Daghestan, 41, 309
Daghestan Jews, 290 f., 311
Damascus, 8, 72, 102, 590
Dan, tribe and sanctuary, 53, 72, 73, 92, 98, 105; of Deborah's song probably of the Sidonian period, 212, 229
Danâkîl, Dikkîl, Diklah, 46, 47, 487
Danishmands, *see* Chen Yuang
Danube, trade-posts on the middle river, 268, 270
Dariel Pass, "Caucasian Gates," 290
Darius Hystaspes, new inscriptions, 283; trade-routes, 320; policy toward Jews, 332, 343, 595; deports Barcans, 332, 361; Milesians, 271; Cyrenian refugees in Numidia, 208; India, 332; a royal peddler, 333
Daughter, "daughter-cities," a political-social term, 27 f.
David, King, policy toward pre-Israelites, 53 f., 102; all included in his political Israel, 12, 53, 88, 102, 112; Philistine employee, 93; policy toward Edomites and Philistines, 53, 100, 101, 181, 693; allied with Moab and Ammon, 110-12
David Rubbêni, 20, 353
Davidson, John, on Pelishtîm, 234
Days of the week, planetary names in Germany, "Saturday" not accepted, Jewish term preferred, 296 f.
"Day of Yahu," (AV "day of the Lord"), 52, 668
Deborah, 213, 229
Debra Libanos, Abyssinian priest-school, 489

Dedan, Arabian commercial center, 93, 94, 95, 97, 174, 178
Demetrius I, concedes asylum-status of all temple-property, 134, 524; employs Jewish garrisons and bodyguard, 134
Demetrius II, Nicator, 432
Demetrius, Greek king of the Panjab, 333 f., 386
Deniker, J., on several physical types of Jews, 153; an Assyroid (Hurrian) type prominent in some places, 153, 171, 360, 370, 378; Scyths are Iranians, 295
Deo-dâr, "god-tree," sacred cedar of India, 322
Derbent, pass, 290; Jews, 290, 311
"Devoted" children, *see* Levites, *and* Nethinîm
Dhu Nuwas, Jewish king of Himyar, 182, 183
Dickson, Captain Bertram, on Kurdish Jews, 17
Dikkil, Diklah, 47
Dilmun, = Bahrein, 572
District or tribal traditions, as credible as "Pan-Israel" traditions, 56, 70
Dioscurias, Greek colony at east end of Black Sea, 265, 304, 308
Dixon, Prof. Roland G., on Jews as a race, 148
Dön-me, Jewish sect, 510
Door-sacrifices, 227, 602 f.
Dougherty, Prof. R. P., on Assyrian modes of writing, 635-37
Doukhobors, of Russia, 301
Dravidian peoples, India, 317, 318, 322, 687
Dozy, Dr. R. P. A., on slave-trade with Moors in Spain, 547; on Moorish ostracism of converts to Islam, 464 f., on Aneyzeh Beduin, 20
Dumah, Adumu, 94, 98
Duppi-Teshup, Hurrian king in Amurru, 22, 86
Durân, Padre, of Tezcuco, 2
Durânis, "Pearl-people," of Afghanistan, 17, 360, 363
Dushratta, Tushratta, king of Mitanni, 76

Ebal, Obal, in Somaliland, 46
Ebal and Gerizim, Palestine, 38
É.A. (= "House of water"), ideogram for the God of the infinite all-surrounding cosmic sea, 562; associated ideas, 562; known in Babylonia in the Hammurabi period, 562; in Elam, 562; in Mitanni, 562; seal found at Beth-shean, 563; necessarily known in Egypt, 568 f.; "Yahu" may be the pronunciation, 562; *see also* Eridu
É-anna ("Heavenly House"), temple at Erech, 503
Eber, as mythical ancestor of *'Ibrim* ("Hebrews"), 34, 39, 41; verb *'abar* "to cross over," 37; *'Ibri* "other-sider," 37; *'Ibrî* of Palestine, 37; *'Ibrî* and *Iberes* of mountains of Kurdistan and Armenia, 41, 42, 262, 288; of South Arabia, 45, 46; of Spain, 48; Hyperboreans, 43, 44
Ebir Nâri, Ebirtân (Assyrian phrase, "beyond the river"), 39, 48
Ecbatana, Agamatana, modern Hamdhan, 625
Eden, Edinna, 561, 573, 577
Edom, Edomites, a dominant element in southern Judah and in pre-Israelite Trans-Jordan; the ark, tabernacle, and Aaronites of Edomite origin; long control of the Red Sea and caravan trade, 30, 85, 89, 93, 96, 99, 100, 101, 117, 162, 163, 165, 172, 181, 274, 403, 432, 440, 468, 506, 693. *See also* Beni-Kedem, Aaron, Caleb, Jerahmeelites, Bezaleel, Kenites
Eeliauts (Iliâts), Persian nomads, 131
Elam, the mountain region east and southeast of Babylon, Hurrian antiquities in lowest culture-strata, 77, 565
Elamites, "highlanders," 40; (term not ethnographic; several successive peoples so designated); Hurrians found Susa, 43, 77; Proto-Elamites I were Hurrians, 566; Elamite Targum, *see* Targums
Eleazar of Galilee, at court of Adiabene, 168
Elephant and sources of ivory, 328-31
Elephantiné, Jewish garrison at, 137, 172, 189, 190, 193, 228, 595-99; temple at, 595; proselyting activity, 596, 599, 622
Elijah, 476; Elisha, 476
Ellis, W. T., and the Bagdad rabbis, 684
El-Obeid, 565

Elphinstone, Mountstuart, on Afghans, 1, 121
Emperor-cultus, and Jews of Rome, 122
Enemessar, EN.NAM-Ashur, pre-royal title of Sargon II, 314
EN.KI., Sumerian ideogram, "Lord of the Cosmos," 562 f.
Ephesus, Jewish community, 587, 589; grouped with Sardis, Pergamus, and Seven Churches of Apocalypse, 454, 589
Ephah, 'Rwafa, in Midian, 96, 177
Ephthalites, origin and various forms of name, 381; confusion with Naphtali, 382-84
Eponyms, feminine, 27, 28, 33, 498, 532, 537; *see* Habr tribes
'Ereb ("west" coast of the Red Sea: AV. "Arab"), 95
Eridu (now Abu Shahrein), seat of worship of E.A., 77, 439, 562, 565, 566, 571, 572; ancient name, Khabur, 566
Esarhaddon, 39, 182; rebuilds Babylon, 516
Esdras, Fourth, 310, 675, 682
Eshmun ("The Named One"), Phoenician god of the unspoken name, 232
Essai Historique on Surinam negro Judaism, 248
Essenes, origin, 512 f.; fanaticism, 442; Philo on, 512
Esther, adaptation of Ishtar, 122, 230
Ethrog, *see* Citron
Eth-Baal of Tyre, 106
Etiush, Etaush, Tush, 286
Eusebius, on Ashkenazim, 295
Exile, return from, 668-72
Exposed infants adopted, 540
Ezekiel, priestly activity in Babylonia, 615; claims *shekînah* authority, 607, 616; denounces the royal *bamôt* of Palestine, 613
Ezekiel's shrine, servants of, 503 f., 505
Ezra, cursed and hated by Yemen Jews, 18, 184; his command to "return" or repent refused, 185; unknown to Falashas, 194, 200; is Aitzula, in Chinese tradition, 406; seems Grand Scribe of a priestly order, 679; hence Sa-pan *(Sopher)*, is a Chinese Israelite official, 395; is also a *Shelîakh*, 451; accepts descendants of slaves of Pashur as priests, 611; accepts *nethînîm* or temple-slaves of Gentile origin, 501; knew he brought an army of proselytes with him, 458; welcomes any proselytes in Palestine who will sever all previous ethnic ties, 459; knows that Arabian and Elamite colonists are included, 482; uses Targums for his ministry, 622, 628; acknowledges no loss of tribes, 680; but hates and bans proselytes of Ashdod, Samaria, and Ammon, 457, 458; especially detests Sanballat, 447; protests of the ostracized proselytes, 479; prophet-protests, 480; west-of-Jordan kings protest, 699; Nehardea his Casiph-Yâ, 655; writes Persian Jews that their privileged status is assured, 332

Falashas, not Semitic but Agau, 186, 200; traditions of several migrations, 196; not descendants of Arabian Jews, 188, 189; Yahwism reached Abyssinia by the Nile routes, 190-93; sanctuaries, 196-98; Israelite colonies in Nubia, mentioned by Isaiah and Zephaniah, 189, 190; Falasha Judaism has nothing post-exilic or Babylonian, 186, 187, 506; province-priests council, 187; Asterio-Yôm Kippûr, 187, 198
Faria y Sousa on Judaism in Portuguese India, 337 f.
Farmankowsky, excavates Olivia-Olbia, 270
Farquhar, Dr. J. N., on the St. Thomas legend, 335-37
"Far-side ports," south of Gulf of Aden, 46
Fasts, Jewish in exile repudiated, 607 f.
"Father," as political or diplomatic term, 21-28
"Fatherless" children (= bastards), their status, 532, 533, 538; Ptolemy's "frees such to God," 538; first-born may be such and given to a shrine, 540; disowned in Cochin, 540 f.
Fatima, daughter of Mohammed, 124
Feast of Tabernacles, Chinese, 412; Falashas have no booths, 187

Feist, Dr. S., original Jewish race recognizable on ancient monuments, 146; submerged and lost in the armies of proselytes, 146; on the Jews of Yemen, 151, 185; on North African Jews, 222, 234, 238; on Benî-Israel of Bombay, 339; on Jews of Kaifeng, 415 f.; on Yemenite side-locks, 558; on Yemenite polygamy, 185
Felix and Festus, Roman procurators, 441 f.
Fetter Lane (London), asylum for criminals, 523
Finlay, Rev. J. B., on Wyandotte Indians, 4
First-born sacrificed, Carthage, 215, 241; *see also* Levites, Nethinim
Firûz-Shapûr, Pirûz-Shapûr, Peri-Sabor, 660
Fishberg, Dr. Maurice, that Jews incessantly intermarry with Christians, 152; type of North African Jews, 219; Daggatuns, 237; West Indies Negro Jews, 252; Daghestan Jews, 311; Black Jews of the Panjâb, 346; badges prove that Jews are not a distinct race, 553
"Five Castes," Anjuvannam, in Cochin Judaism, 349-52
Flood-Story, tidal wave (?), drowned Hurrian city, 563 f.; none in Palestine or North Africa, 573
Ford, Rabbi Joshua, negro rabbi in Harlem, 254
Forrer, Dr. Emil, 80
Foucher and Barthoux (of Institute of France), excavations in Afghanistan, 361 f.
Four hundred years of Egyptian oppression, 693-97
de Foucauld, Charles Comte, on Pelishtîm, 19, 234
Frankish kings, 547
Friedrich, Prof. Johann, on Anittash of Kushshar, 74; on other Hittites, 87
Frumentius, pioneer of Christianity in Abyssinia, 198 f.
Fulas, Futas, Fulbes, Fellata (Hamitic peoples who have crossed to West Africa), 211, 223

Gad, 19, 20, 177, 180
Gaetuli (Roman name for peoples south of Atlas mountains), 204, 208, 210, 219
Gallas, 132, 487, 488; Galla and Gola, 132
Galling, Kurt, on Mycenaeans at Gezer, 67
Gaon, Gaonîm, Babylonian Academy Heads, 445, 611, 616, 626
Garamantes, negroid peoples south of Tunis, 210, 223
Garcia, that Ophir was Peru, 43
Gaster, Dr. Moses, on Samaritans, 431, 443, 447, 448
Gavin, Prof. Frank, on Jewish liturgy, 581
Gath, Gintu, 19, 234
Gebal, *see* Byblos
Gedar, Kedhur, in Edom, seized by Simeon, 178
Geloni, Gilâni (= Alâni, Budini?), 270, 374, 386
Genealogies, Yemen Jews burn their, 184; wrangles in the Talmud over, 457
Genesis, book unknown in North African legends, 233 f.
Georgia (in Trans-Caucasia), 288
Georgians (Karthli, Karthvel), 41, 280, 289, 290, 305
Genghis Khan, 15, 362, 371, 377, 381, 382, 388, 389, 407; had Jewish troops, 372; was hailed as a Messiah, 11, 383; terrible destroyer of life, 130, 385; not a persecutor, 385; invites Jews to his domain, 421; breaks Iranic control of western Asia, 385
Gêr, 189, 195; synonymous with "Levite," 472, 473; translated "proselyte" in Septuagint, 474; either native or foreign visitor, and guest of the local god, 473, 475; not a "State" protégé, 475; any *goî* may be a *gêr*, 476, 482; discrimination against, rebuked, 476, 477, 478, 481; complaints of the proselytes, 479; the *gêr tôshab* or "resident" socially shunned, 480; *gêr tsedek*, "full proselyte," socially accepted, 168, 189, 476, 485; *see also* Yirê Adonai, Mushkênu
Gerar, Philistine metallurgical center, 695
Gerizim Sanctuary, 38, 429, 431, 436-37, 439, 448, 449
Gezer, Mycenaean tombs found at, 67; Hurri deported thence by Thothmes IV, 568; captured by

Pharaoh, 65, 67; in El-Amarna Letters, 62
Gharian mountains, in Tripoli, Cave-dweller Jews, 224
Ghat, oasis, 19, 225, 234; Jews are Pelishtin, 225, 235
Ghetto, historic origin, 31, 103; inbreeding in, 154, 156, 158
Ghilzai Turkoman Baní-Israîl, 358, 363, 364
Ghor, high mountains of Afghanistan, ancient Israelite colonies in, 360, 362, 363, 365
Ghriba, "Lonely" shrines of Berber Judaism, 602 f.
Gibbor, clan eponym, 359, 532
Gibborîm (picked troops, most skilful warriors), 88, 120, 609, 612, 656, 691
Gibeon, Achaian (Hivite) colony, eventually absorbed by Israel, 53, 87, 89, 494, 501, 691
Gideon and Judith (Falasha royal titles), 199
Gift of tongues, 170 f.
Gilead, Gileadites, 175
Giles, Prof. H. A., on Chinese Moses legends, 391 f.
Gilgal, *see* Altars, Places for worship
Gintu, 234; *see* Gath
Glaser, Dr. Edward, on Ophir, 327 *note;* on South Arabian inscriptions, 97, 183
Glory of the Lord, *see* Shekînah
Gog (Guggu, Gyges, king of Lydia), 269, 277
Gog and Magog, Syriac designation of all Central Asia, 277, 278, 386, 301
Goî (pl. *goyîm;* nation, gentile), 36, 476, 482, 677
Golden Fleece, 262
Gomer, 268, 269, 276, 293
Graberg von Hemsö, reports Berber "Philistine" Jews, 19
Graeco-Scyths, Graeco-Getae, 269
Gray, G. B., on Hebrew proper names, 35, 175, 231, 568, 609
Grant, Dr. Asahel, on Nestorian lost tribes, 17, 171
Groves, Sacred, of modern Jews, 315 f.
Great House, Per-ao, Pharaoh, 70
Gregory the Great, Pope, on Jewish slave-dealing and intermarriage, 546 f.
Greek Colonies on Black Sea, 264-66; intermarriage with natives, 266; in Cyrene, *see* Cyrene; in Afghanistan 361 f.; Greek kingdoms in India, Yavánas, 333 f., 386; Greek "city tribes," 135, 140, 213, 217; Greeks did not penetrate Asia Minor before Alexander, 271
Gudea, Sumerian king, trades with Bashan, 82
Gudnaphar (Gundoporus of the St. Thomas tradition), Scytho-Parthian king, 335
Gunther, Dr. Hans F. K. (ethnologist), Jews are not a race, 146

Habbân and Apostle Thomas, 335
Haberîm, priestly graduates, 509 f.
Habesh, Abyssinians, 199
Habr-tribes, Somaliland, 28, 45, 46, 47
Hadad the Edomite, 101, 181, 514
Ha-dâr, hadas, 321 f.; *see* Citron
Hadramaut, Darmût, 45, 46, 47, 48, 96, 182
Hadrian, Emperor, ravages Palestine, 9
Hagar-Sarah-Ishmael, tribal and slave-born relations, 28, 160, 498, 540, 543; *see* Wolad Sarah, *and* Hagarites
"Hagarites," 383; *see* Hazara
Haifa, harbor and city, 63, 99
Haiks, *see* Armenians
Halah, Khalah, the modern Holwan, 1, 282, 284, 623-25, 682
Halévy, Joseph, on Sinjirli inscriptions, 58, 59; on Falashas, 188, 189
Hallets (caravan stations), in Upper Nile regions, 190
Halman, *see* Halah
Halys river (Kizil Irmak), 74, 277, 280, 282
Ham (= Khêmi, "Black land"), 22, 23, 41
Hamath, great commercial stronghold, thirty miles north of the modern Homs, 73, 107, 275
Hamdhan, *see* Ecbatana
Hamilton, Captain, on legend that Nebuchadrezzar's empire reached Cape Comorin, 343; that white Jews in Cochin are modern arrivals, 354
Hamitic peoples, 188, 191, 200, 202, 210, 211, 223, 488, 534
Hamor of Shechem, 85

Hammurabi Code, *see* Code of Hammurabi
Hammurabi's Sippara canal, 657
Hannibal, 57, 58, 206
Hanun, king of Gaza, 107
Harem becomes the tomb-guard, 490
Harlem negro Jews, 254
Harran, 35, 50, 70, 100, 122
Hat-Hor, goddess, 209
Hatshepsut, queen, 329
Haûd, Hûd, 47, 48
Haussas, Hamitic, 448 *note;* Nassarawa cities, 504
Hazret Sekunder, Alexander the Great, 24
Hazara ("thousand") Mongols, 358, 365; "Hagarites," 383; Jewish Hazara, 16, 384
Heber, mythical ancestor of Hebrews, 34; *see also* Eber
Hebrew language, in pre-Israelite Palestine, 49, 56, 57, 205; essentially Phoenician, 57 f., 59, 206, 281; shaped by coastland influences, 61, 63; called "Canaanitish," 58, 65, 229, 281
Hebrews, not "Israelites," but contrasted with "Israelites," 36 f., 49; not descendants of Eber or Heber, *see* Eber; not known in 4,000 Punic inscriptions, 34; no "Hebrew-kingdom" in the Old Testament, 34; mixed pre-Israelite Palestinians, 35 f., 49; Yahu a god of some pre-Israelite Palestinians, 35; later enslaved by Israelites, 12, 49, 53 f.; their culture absorbs the Israelite, 56-59, 61, 69 f., 205 f.
"Hebraic Faces," Afghanistan, 17
Hebron, 53, 69, 100, 102, 159, 162, 165, 510
Hédar Sion festival, Abyssinia, 197
Helena, queen, her conversion, 168; her sarcophagus, 644
Heliopolis, On, 189, 590, 591, 598
Hellenes-Skythai, *see* Mix-Hellenes
Hellwig, Dr. Otto, on Wasambara asyla, 202
Helmund, lake and river, 272, 320, 334, 363
Heraclea, 264
Heraclea Axiopolis, 271
Heraclius, emperor, 299, 300
Heri, ancient people of Kakhetia, probably confused with the Hurri, 288
Herndon, Lieut., Indian "Servants of the Church," 507; *see* "Levites"
Herods, Herod family, Herod the Great, 163, 164, 460; Herod Agrippa, 135
Herodotus, Scythians in Palestine twenty-eight years, 108; Cilicians descended from Agenor, 89; tribal organization of Cyrene, 217; Carians and Mysians, 264; all South Russians are Scythians, 267; the Geloni or Budini, 270; "Syria" whole region from eastern Black Sea to Egypt, 279; "Cappadocian Syrians," 280; "Syrians of Palestine," 280; Colchis and Colchians, 284 f.; "Egyptians" in Colchis (the Tushes), 286; garrison of Daphnae (Tahpanhes) sent to Bactria, 332; Berber Africa 211, 217
Hertz, Dr. Friedrich, no ethnic antipathies or characteristics, only cultural antipathies, 155
Herzfeld, Prof. Ernst, on archaeology of Persia, 565
Hesse-Wartegg, on Berber Jews, 227; called "Hole-dwellers," 234
Hesi-necht, of Beth-shean, 104
Heth, a "son" of Canaan, 23, 34; *see* Hittites
Hezekiah, 108, 115, 118
Hiempsal, royal historian of North Africa, 208
Hierapolis (modern Jerablus), Mabug, 91, 319
"High-Places," of Palestine, 72, 113, 197, 494-96, 613, 652, 698, 703 f.; Armenia and Caucasus, 315, 316; Kamants, 201; *see* Paganism of Israel, *see also* Levites
High-priest pretensions, 434, 435, 518, 524, 525
Hillah, near ruins of Babylon, 663
Hillel I, on illegitimate children, 534, 537
Himly, Karl Georg, on the Canton Mosque, 421
Himyarites, 181-83
Hindiyeh canal, once the main Euphrates, 653
Hindu alphabets, from Palestine, 322
Hinduism is Dravidian, 687
Hinnom, 113
Hippolytus, on Sadducees, Essenes, and Sicarians, 442
Hiram of Tyre, 405, 584

Hittites, 53, 55; term not ethnographic, 22, 73, 74; various peoples had the hegemony, 32, 74; different city-dynasties, 74, 75; the language, 75; trade, 273
Hivites (=Achivi-Achaians), 18, 49, 53, 70, 87, 88, 263, 689; *see also* Gibeon
Hiung-Nu, 377, 401
Holdich, Sir T. H., on Afghan Bánî Israel, 1 *note,* 17, 359 ff., 363
Holwan, famous Talmudic Israelite colony, 624, 625; *see also* Halah
Ho-Nan, Chinese province, Kaifeng the capital, 368, 395, 396, 418, 420, 565
Honorius, abolishes Jewish militia-privilege, 141, 142
Hophra, Pharaoh, 209
Horî, Horites, Khorri, 79 f., 89 f.
Horonite, *see* Sanballat
Hoshea, Joshua, 13, 175
Hosten, Rev. S. J., on the St. Thomas legend, 337
House of the Forest of Lebanon, 103
Hrdlicka, Dr. Ales, on Hurrian type, 79
Hsi-Yü ("West-land"), Chinese Turkestan, 370, 380, 399 f., 452
Hûd, 47, 48
Hudson, G. F., on Ossetes, 307
Huguet, Dr., on Mzabi Berbers, 151, 211
Huldah, prophetess, 72, 241
Huns, White, language found at Khocho, 387
Hungary invites Khazar Jews, 303
Huriâ, Georgian form of Yehudâya ("Jews"), 289, 309
Hurri, Hurrians (or Harri?), aboriginal in Asia Minor, 77 f.; spread down east side of Tigris to Persian Gulf, across Elam and Persian tableland to northwest India, 78 f., 565; throng into Mount Ephraim in post-Hyksos times, 67; dominate Palestine till Egypt calls it "the land of Hurru," 79 f.; in the northern Lebanon, 86 f.; confused with Amurru "Amorites," 81-83; several Pharaohs colonize, from Palestine in Egypt, 80, 567-69; Judt calls them Aryan-Anatolian and thinks they are the "original Jewish race," 150, 151; their language not Aryan or Indo-European, 59, 75, 77; some words in the Old Testament, 59, 60; no independent kingdom known as yet, 77; Khabirû, Kashi, and Mitanni may be three branches of, 80 f.; allied with Hivites, 88 f.; push into Edom(?), 89 f.; Kheba their heaven-goddess, 90 f.; Abdi-Kheba a Hurrian, 62 f.; ware in prehistoric China, 368 f.; the "proto-Elamite I," 566
Hwei-Hwei, Chinese name of Uighur Turks, 376 ff.
Hyksos, or "Shepherd Kings," Indo-Iranic horsemen from Central Asia, 76; overrun Asia Minor, using the conquered aboriginal Hurri of Mitanni as soldiery, 60, 76 f., 79 f.; twenty-four tombs of kings found at Tell Fara, eighteen miles south of Gaza, 694; from this stronghold region they ruled both Palestine and Egypt, 694 f.; traditions of Egyptian oppression, 697
Hyperboreans, "Beyond the Mountains" (any mountains used as a topographical delimitation), 43; communication between Delos and the Ibrî or Abari beyond the Caucasus, before 2000 B.C., 44, 258
Hyrcanus, John, captures Seleucid stronghold of Samaria, 435; assumption of kingship strongly resented, 435 f.; Sadducees support, 436; taunted with slavery of his mother, 536; adjustment with spiritual lords of Shechem and Gerizim, 436 f.; Sadducean priests conceded precedence at Jerusalem, 438 f.; annexes border-brigands, 160 f., 440
Hyrcanus II, 161

Iberians, Iberes, of the Caucasus, 42, 44, 288; of Spain, 48
Ibi-Sin, king of Ur, 24, 84
Ibn-Khordadbeh, on Jewish trade-routes, 398; on slave-dealer routes, 548
Ibn Lo Bagola, Judaized Yoruba Negro, 245
Idumea, extent in post-exilic times, 161-63
Idumeans, scorned as "half-Jews," 161, 166; their voice in Jerusalem affairs, 163-65
Ikhen-aton, 65, 83, 129, 569, 690

Ilmormo, Gallas, 132, 487; *see also* Galla
Ilu-bidi, king of Hamath, 107
Imeria, Imeretia, "other-side" land, 42, 262, 306 f.; long dominantly Jewish, 289
Immuring sacred books, Genizah, 647, 648
India, Indus, from "Sindhu, Scinde," 327, 563; was any country on the Erythraean Sea, 331
Indian (Tamil) words in Old Testament, 330, 331
Indo-European, Indo-Germanic peoples, 59, 75, 91, 92, 144, 161, 262, 263, 269, 277, 279, 286, 294, 588
Indo-Iranic peoples, 75, 76, 79, 80, 91, 92, 109, 144, 161, 588
Indra, Mithra, Varuna, 76
Inquisition, Spanish, in Canary Islands, 247; Portuguese, in India, 339, 340, 353; Jewish, 454, 525
Inter-marriage of Jews and Christians, 550
Ionians, Javan, Ionian colonies, 264-66, 267, 271
Iranians, Iranic, 264, 266, 269, 270, 276, 279, 287, 291, 292, 306, 307, 310, 312, 376, 379
Iris River, 282
Isaiah of Babylon, has no Palestinian traditions, 569 f., 572-79, 669
Isidore of Charax, "Parthian Stations," 623, 658
Isis, Egyptian goddess, 598, 599
Ishtar of Arbela, 169, 634
Ishmaelites, a name for Christians, 498; *see also* Hagar
Ismael ben-Phabi, 435, 460
Israel, a political term only, 13, 53, 54, 55; origin and meaning of name unknown, 12-14, 433 f.; contrasted with Hebrews, 35 f.; original territory in Palestine, 36; of the prophets, 55; all peoples of the kingdom were "Israel" for foreign conquerors, 55; pre-Palestinian Israelite traditions, 687, 688; history appended to the traditions of ancient Hurrians of the Sea-Land, 689. *See also* Traditions Fused, Wood of Ephraim, *cf.* Chapters XXVI, XXVII
Issur, 536; *see* Mari ben-Rachel
Itureans, Beni-Jetur, annexed by Asmoneans, 160, 166, 167, 432
Ivory, *see* elephant
Izates, king of Adiabene, 168; *see* Helena

Jacobs, Joseph, on status of Jews, 154
Japanese Judaism, 423
Jason, Yason, 261; *see* Argonauts
Jastrow, Morris, 665
Jaussen, Père, on Arabian antiquities, 94
Jebusites, 70, 90, 91
Jehoahaz, 275, 596
Jehoiachin, Jechoniah, Coniah, *see* Yekan-Yâ
Jenné, sacred Nigerian city, 244, 521 *note*
Jephthah, founds a clan, becomes its Gibbôr, 532
Jerahmeelites, 53, 99
Jeroboam ben-Nebat, 33, 71, 72, 73, 104, 113, 578
Jeroboam II, 58, 107, 275, 369
Jerome, on spread of Judaism, 217; on Sepharad, 284
Jerusalem, in El-Amarna Letters, 62, 80, 88; capture by Khabirû credited to Judah, 88; became a Jebusite sanctuary, 90; always more pagan than Israel, 105-10, 113; incessantly Arabized, 93-96, 100; Philistine-Carian-Cretan guards, 55, 99, 264, 273, 274; never the Israelite cultus-center, 585-87; the Judah-kingdom split by a Moabite-Ammonite-Arab-Aramaean faction, 104-14; Yekan-Yâ party the anti-Arab-Ammon faction, 612, 614; results in Yekan-Yâ and Nehardea being arrayed against the Zedekiah-Zerubbabel Jerusalem party, 676 *note*. *See* Ammon, Edom, Aramaeans
Jewish Berber character, 239
Jewish Cave-Dwellers, *see* Slouschz, Hesse-Wartegg, Troglodyte Jews
Jewish harlots, Tunis, 531, 535
Jewish Inquisition, *see* Inquisition
Jewish spies and informers, 141
"Jewish nose," 148, 156; imaginary, 552
Jewish sea-kings, of Lower Red Sea, 181
Jezebel, 106
Jezirat, island in the Tigris, 659
Jezreel, 63, 66
Joab of Carthage, 232 f.
Joash, king of Judah, 114, 275, 513

Jochebed, Ya'u-Kebed, mother of Moses, 568
John II of Portugal, exiles Jews, 246, 249
Jonathan, grandson of Moses, 35, 73
Joppa, in El-Amarna period, 62
Jordan, separates "Other-Siders," 37-39
Joseph, shrine at Shechem, 429, 586; superior to Levi and Judah, 430; Josephite Messiah, 431; *see* Yusofzais
Joseph Maghrebî, reforms Bokhara Judaism, 18, 21
Joseph Rabban, Cochin, becomes head of the "Five Castes," 349-51; his date, 371 A.D., 352; family retains headship over 1000 years, 352 f.
Josiah, 70, 71, 108, 109, 110, 276, 279, 280, 287, 669, 702, 705
Joshua son of Nun, 19, 206, 233; *see* Hoshea
Jost, on Jews of India, 343
Judaism, of St. Thomas Christians, 337, 338; of Socotra Christians, 338, 339; of Abyssinian Christians, 188, 194, 197
Judas of the Gaulan, 440
Judas Maccabeus, 162
Judges of Israel, little record extant, 26, 700
Judt, J. M., on the original "Israel," 150, 151
Julian, Roman Emperor, 661
Justinian, ends Samaritan community, 449; persecutes Jews, 218

Kabod Yahu, "glory of the Lord," 607, 616
Kabyle, Kabail, 209
Kadesh on the Orontes, 53, 62, 64, 82, 86, 87, 92, 129
Kadesh-Naphtali, 66, 87
Kadphises II, Kushan king, 400
Kaftara, *see* Caphtor
Kahinat ("priestess") of Berbers and Carthage, 257 f.
Kaifeng Jews, *see* Chinese Israelites
Kainan, Kataban god, 177
Kaiwan, "Saturn," an Israelite god, 175
Kakhetia, in Trans-Caucasia, capital is Tiflis, 305, 309
Kaleb, king of Abyssinia, 183
Kamants of Abyssinia, 19, 201, 601
Kamnuria, Kanuria, mediaeval Jewish kingdom in West Africa, 223, 226, 243
Kandakê, Nubian queen-mother, 196
Kanesh, Kanish, a Hittite capital and its language, 25, 59, 75, 174
Kan Ying, Chinese ambassador to Rome, 379 f.
Kabboloth Kinyan, *see* Robe protection
Kara Korum, "Black Sand," in Turkish Central Asia, 377, 380, 389
Karaites, a Jewish sect, 267, 268, 303, 431, 443-46, 626
Karkisiya, Circesium, 662
Karthli, Karthvel, *see* Georgians
Karu, garu, "port," Assyrian trading-post, 24-26, 101
Kashans, *see* Kushans
Kashshu, Kashi, Kassites, 80, 81
Kataban, in Southwest Arabia, 96, 97, 114, 177
Katapatuka, 277; *see* Cappadocia
Katna, city ten miles N. E. of Homs (Emesa), 62, 64, 82, 87, 90, 129
Ka'ush, an Edomite god, 164, 165; Ka'ush-malaku, king of Edom, 107, 164; Kaush-gabrî, 39, 164
Keane, Dr. A. H., several distinct somatic types of Jews, 153
Kedar, Arabian tribe, 93
Kemarîm, Kemaryâ, "priests" (Aramaic term), 228
Kemosh, Chemosh, Moabite god, 104, 172
Kena'na, Kenahhi, 65; *see* Canaan
Kenites, Edomite clan, 53, 99
Kenyon, Sir F. G., on Claudius' rescript, 133 f.
Kerait, Kirghiz, and Prester John, 389
Kerasus (Cerasus), Kerasun, Greek colony on Black Sea, 26, 281
Kerbela, sacred city, refuses to pay taxes, 125 f.
Kerkuk, in region of Neolithic Hurrians, 77, 128, 543, 564, 565; *see* Arrapha
Kertch Straits, 268
Kerr, Dr. Robert, on Moorish morals, 521
Khabirû, Habirû, active as guardsmen and ritualists, and probably a Hurrian people, 80, 124, 127, 128, 129 f., 486, 569, 690; pioneers of a Hittite scheme of occupation of Palestine, 65, 83, 86 f.; capture

Jerusalem, 36, 88; Shechem surrenders to, 691; "Sar of the Yahu troop" in Joshua 5:13 f. probably a Khabiri, 691 f.; name possibly connected with Eridu, 566
Khabur River, 1
Khaldi, Haldi, Haïk, Askanian people of Armenia, 269, 280, 281, 289, 306, 308, 622
Kharoshthi script, 322, 333, 373, 387, 401
Khatti, *see* Hittites
Khattu-shash, a Hittite capital, now Boghaz Keui, 73, 75, 77, 78 f.
Khazar, empire a mingling of many races or stocks, 257 f.; conversion of court, 679 A.D., 259, 300; a Greek-speaking Judaism in that region more than a thousand years earlier, 259 f.; long previous Hellenization of the Black Sea coasts, 261-71; kingdom overthrown by Russians, 301; subsequent Jewish revival, 301; invited by Hungary, 303; many retire to Central Asia, 301, 370, 389. *See* Chapter XI
Kheba, Hurrian heaven-goddess, 62, 90; Kombê, Kombabos, Kubaba, Kubêbê, Kubêlê, Kubi, Kubilis, 90 f.
Kheibar Jews, 19, 179
Khêmi, *see* Ham
Kheta, Egyptian form of "Hittite," 73, 74, 75
Khevsurs, 305, 308, 309
Khiva, Kwarezm (classic Chorasmia), 16, 379, 381, 661; Persian Jew colony, 371, 381, 661; mixed Jewish peoples, 16, 18, 70, 371
Khnum, an Egyptian god, 193
Khocho, ancient trade-emporium, northern Turkestan, 387, 389, 397, 398
Khorrai, Khorri, *see* Horites
Khosrou Nushirvan, Sassanid king, 300, 382
Khosrou Parviz, 300
Khuzistan, alluvial plain, N. E. coast of the Persian Gulf, 561
Kifil, tomb-shrine of Ezekiel, 503 f.
Kilammav, king of Sam'al, 58
Kikia, Ushpia, legendary founders of Nineveh, 78, 81
Kimmerians, 258, 264, 268, 269, 277, 280, 291, 293, 588; *see also* Bosporus, Gomer
"King-jars," 697 f.
"Kings in Palestine," many non-Israelite, 195, 698
Kingsborough, Lord, on Indian "Lost Tribes," 4
King's son, complimentary title, 22
Kirghiz Mongol Jews, 311, 365, 372, 385, 389
Kish, father of Saul, in Afghan tradition, 1, 363, 364
Kish, greatest ancient city of Babylonia, 78
Kisra, Nupe form of Kaisar, became Pharaoh of the Exodus, 251 f.; *cf.* 196
Kizzuwadna, ancient kingdom in Asia Minor, 76, 77, 91, 92
Knossos, Cretan capital, 263
Knudtzon, J. A., translator of El-Amarna Letters, 61, 86
Kobad, Sassanid king, 300, 343, 382
Koban, Kuban, region along northeast of Black Sea, 43, 266
Kohathite Levites, reformers, 106
Koraysh, Kuraish, Arab tribe of Mohammed's time, 179
Kos, Koze, Ka'ush, Edomite god, 164
Kostobar, Idumean priest, 164-66; brother-in-law of Herod the Great, 165
Kraetschmar, on Maccabees, 434
Krause, on change in shape of skull, in Germany, 147
Krauss, Dr. S., on Targums, 42, 630, 631-42
Kreppel, Dr. J., on North African Jews, 238; Dahomey, 244; Chinese Jews, 372; disapproves non-European Jews, 459
Krim-Scyths, Krim-Tartars, Crimean Karaites, 267
Kuban, *see* Koban
Kubaba, Kubebe, Kubi, Kubilis, *see* Kheba
Kuë (Lycaonia?), horse-country, Solomon's trade with, 273, 294, 588
Kufa, 653; Benjamin of Tudela's account, 663
Kul Tepe, ancient Kanesh, *see* Kanesh
Kuraidza, Judaized Arabs, 124, 179
Kushans, Kwei-Shuang, Yüeh-Chi, 335, 373, 377, 382, 386, 400
Kush-shar, capital of an ancient kingdom in the Hittite country, 74
Kutais, modern capital of Imeria, in Georgia, 20, 289, 305, 314; records of former Judaism, 20, 314

Labarna, founder of first kingdom of Khattu-shash, 74
Labaya, Hurrian governor of Shechem, 80
Lamlam, Jewish kingdom west of Timbuktu, 223
Lachish, 62
Landberg, Comte de, on South Arabian dialects, 47
Landsberger, Prof. Bruno, on Cappadocian Tablets, 24 f.
Land-Exchanges between tribes, 121
Langdon, Dr. Stephen, on Khabirû, 83
Languages, eight in the Hittite tablets, 75; seventeen in the Khocho discoveries, 387
Laodicea, Latakiyeh, Ladikiya, 27
Laufer, Dr. Berthold, census of Kaifeng Jews, 409
Leaden "devotion tablets," 617
Lebanon regions, 61, 62, 65, 67, 82, 83, 86, 89; *see* Amor, Amurru
Leki, Leksik, Lesghi, *see* Lesghians
Leo Africanus, on Sahara Jews, 222 f.
Leptis Magna, now Lebda, Tripoli, 211
Lesghians, peoples of northeast Caucasus, 305, 310
Le'ummîm, clans with a female eponym, 537
Levi, Levite, "bound" or pledged person, 472, 485, 487 (*see Gēr*); Lawini, 487; Weli, 487; Lu'y, 486, 493; Lawiat, 489; Lewân, 487; Luvi, 486; Luva, Luba, 487, 488; Libân, 489; laibon, 489; sun-temple levites, 493; high-place levites, 494, 495, 496, 500; warrior levites, 486, 487, 515, 542; foreigners levites, 472, 494, 496, 505; women levites, 172, 489-92; *gêrîm* levites, 515; slave levites, 496, 498, 499, 504; captives made levites, 172, 496, 501, 504; donated levites, *see* Nethînîm; first-born made levites, 497, 499, 502; because they were foundlings, 540, or of pauper mothers, 503; voluntary or self-pledged levites, 495, 496, 517; tomb levites, 490, 503; levitical cities, 505, 517, 651; "devoted" cities made "levite," 504; Shiloh levites, 491; social distinctions among levites, 497, 498, 499, 508, 511; boasts of levite ancestry, 496, 497; the "Mattan" levite, 506; levites untaxed, 507, 526, 527; three stages in making shrine attendants, 509; levite "temple weavers," 507, 508; no "slave levites" in the early church, 508; rabbins are *Haberîm,* 509, 511; levite Messiah, 506, 510; Berber Jews abhor levites, 601; Essenes were Shamash-cult levites, 512-13; northern levites reformed Jerusalem, 105-06, 438 f., 670, 674, 679, 680
Libit-Ishtar, king of Nisin, 84
Libya, Libyans, classic term for eastern North Africa, 9, 23, 83, 87, 132, 153, 195, 204, 208; the modern Berbers, 210; a source of ivory, 329, 331; *see* Berbers, Cyrene
Lidzbarski, Sinjirli inscriptions, 58, 59
Lihyânî, ancient Arabian dialect, 96, 176, 177
Linfield, H. S., on Babylonian Jews, 597, 637, 638, 641
Lithuania, Karaite Jews are Krim-Tartars, 304
Literary antecedents, Rome contrasted with the Orient, 658 f.
Littman, Dr. Enno, on Abyssinian liturgies, 194
Livingstone, David, Ambaka Negroes, 252
Lloyd, Abbott, on Kaifeng Jews, 407, 418
Loango Jews, 246, 249-51
Loesche, Dr. Pechuël, Mavûmbû Jews, 249
Loewe, Herbert, on Elephantiné colony, 200; on Jewish race, 156; on congregationalism, 529
Logia of Jesus, 594
Lost Tribes, the prophets predict no loss, 667-72; they admit no loss, 670 f.; they declare some deportees already returning, 670, 671; the post-exilic Chronicler knows of no lost tribes, 670; all center round a deportation to Babylon and the return, 669, 671; no post-exilic reference admits any loss, 674-85; none asserted in Ezra and Nehemiah, 679; Josephus knows of none, 681; none in the New Testament, 682 f.; none in the Apocryphal books, 680; none asserted in 4 Esdras 13, 682; none admitted by modern Oriental Jews, 684 f.

Lost Tribes Hunters, their false assumptions, 4-8
Lot, Lôtân (Egyptian Rutennu), 81
Löwe, Heinrich, on the language of Jews, 205 f., 649
Lud, in Africa, Adul?, 23, 46, 95
Lugal-banda, king of Dêr, 128
Lugal-zaggisi, king of Erech and Gishban, 82
Lulahhi (Leleges of the Greek?), a people of the Hittite country, 87, 124, 129
Luvi, Lu'y, an ancient liturgic language, 75, 486
Lydda, 432
Lydia, Lydian, 94, 102, 268, 269, 277

Maacah, Aramaean city-state, 26
Macalister, R. A. S., on Gezer, 99; compares Mycenaean and Carian, 67; on Philistine direction of Edomite immigrants, 99
Macrones, Soanai, Svans, 279, 281, 282, 285, 306
Maccabees, 431, 432, 434, 438 f.; *see also* Asmoneans, Zealots
Madagascar Jews, 202, 424, 425
Maël, Mau'il, Mawäil, Malaô, 46
Maeotians, 267
Mahanaim, old Israelite capital, 692
Mahapillas, Mappillas, of South India, 324 f.; Jewish then Christian, then Moslem, 325
Maimonides, on Onias temple, 593
Makedones, Jews of Alexandria, 135
Makepracta, fork of Euphrates at the Median Wall, 658
Malabar Christians, 324, 325, 338, 341
Malabar Jews, 18, 324, 336, 337, 341, 342, 346
Malayālam, the language of the Black Jews of Cochin, 317, 337
Maltzan, on Yemen Jews, 185
Mamelukes, slave-soldiery (e.g. Gen. 14:14 f.), 130, 499, 548, 550
Mamzir, "bastard" (Jewish term), 502
Manasseh (the tribe), 17, 20, 343, 370, 372
Manasseh, the king, 106, 108
Manda, Medes, Aryans, 75, 276, 277, 287
Män-la, Chinese Moslem for Mûllah, danishmand (Persian) is the Chinese Jewish official, 395 f.
Mann, Dr. Jacob, on Pumbedita, 662
Mannai, Minni, Armen, 277, 293, 298
Manu, Hindu law-compilation, 318
Manuscript works miracles, 18
Maoza-Malcha, "Royal Fortress," near Nehardea, 658
Mappillas, *see* Mahapillas
Mar, "lord, master, saint" (Syriac), Mar Ukba, Mar Zutra, 641; Marvan Sabrisho, 351 f.; Mar Ilya, 18, 307
Marco Polo, 378, 389, 393, 394, 406, 410, 420
Marduk, rising-sun god, 122, 230
Margoliouth, D. S., on ancient Arabia, 45, 96, 97, 98, 176, 183; Khocho Jewish letter, 390
Mari ben-Rachel, rabbi, 536, 537
Marib, ancient capital of Saba, 183
Marriage of children, 156, 157
Marshall, Sir John, prehistoric cities in the Indus Valley, 262, 318 f., 321 f., 335, 563, 687
Masai, Hamitic people of East Africa, 1, 131, 136, 489, 488 *note*
Masruk, Jewish king of Himyar, 183
Massowah, Red Sea port, 95
Masterman, E. W. G., on Beth-Shemesh, 494
Massu, mossyn, *see* Mossynoikoi
Mata Mehasya, on Bahr Nejef, 663
Matiênê, one classic name for Armenia, 298
Matmata, in South Tunis, plateau of "Hole-dwellers," 224, 227 f.
Mattan, Mattan-Yah, 506, 507
Matthew Paris, 383, 521
Matthews, Bishop A. W., negro rabbi, 254 f.
Mattiwaza, Iranic king of Mitanni, 76
Mauritania, 217, 221, 223
Mazoi, Egyptian mercenaries, 131, 136
Mavumba, Mavûmbû, negro Jews, Loango coast, 246, 249
Ma-Yomba, inland people, Loango coast, 249
Medes, 109, 277, 287; Medo-Persians, 260, 277; any Iranic Aryans, 287
Median Wall, 612, 657, 658
Median Gates (Zagri Pylae), 624, 625
Mediaeval Exegesis, 666
Medîna, "judgment-place," 94
Megasthenes in India, 333
Megiddo, 62, 66, 80, 274
Meignan, Cardinal, on Lost Tribes legends, 17, 372, 382

Melkart, "king of the city," Tyrian sun-god, 230
Melkites, Arab Christians, formerly Jewish?, 180
Mekka, sacrifices there, 586; side-locks worn, 558; trade center, 94
Menahem, king of Israel, 187
Menander, Greek king in India (Buddhist Milinda), 334, 386
Menelik, son of Solomon and Queen of Sheba, 197, 199
Merarite Levites, reformers, 106
Merneptah, Pharaoh, 65, 491
Meroë, Merawi, capital of ancient Nubia, 191
Meropius, reaches Abyssinia, his son Frumentius first patriarch, 198
Merv, Antiochia Margiana, 272, 373, 384
Meshech, Moschi, Mushki, Mysians, 74, 91, 96, 262, 268, 273, 287, 294, 588
Meshrifé, Meshrifeh, site of Katna, *see* Katna
Messiah, from Joseph, 429-31; is Cyrus, 575; from Levi, 510, 200; from Mongols, 11, 372, 383; a Tartar, 388; a Mattan or Theodore, 200, 506
Metallurgy, Armeno-Caucasian, 43, 261, 263, 286, 567
Metan, city whence name Mitanni was derived, 81
Meyer, Eduard, on Israelite garrisons in Egypt, 585; on Hyksos, 76; on Horites, 89
Me'unim, people of Ma'on, Arabia, 178; some Nethînîm, 501
Midian, region east of the lower part of the Gulf of Akabah, 8, 92, 93, 96, 112, 177, 485, 539, 577; Midianite maiden captives, become Nethînîm, 8, 172, 501, 502, 539
Milcom, Ammonite god, 104
Miles, Col. S. B., on Jewish slave trade, 548
Miletus, 264, 266, 271
Mingana, Dr. A., any country on the Indian ocean was "India" for early Christian writers, 331; ancient India dialects not suitable for the gospel, 340; claims copperplate charter proves the founding of a Christian colony, 349; Pahlawi the reliance of early Christians in Central Asia, 375; land of Christian Turks in Central Asia was Idicon, 386; pseudo-Philoxenus manuscript, 388; Jewish dynasty at Arbela, 169
Mingrelia, Mingrelians, at east end of Black Sea, 306
Minkhah, introduction presents, 31
Minns, E. H., on Scythians, 291
Minoan culture, 60, 63, 67, 93, 102, 210, 235, 236, 261, 263; *see* Tarshish, 102
Mitanni, 76, 80, 81, 90
Mitayos, church-servants, in Spanish America, 507
Mithra, Persian sungod, 76
Mithridates, "Gift of Mithra," king of Pontus, 292
Mix-Hellenes, children of Greeks by non-Greeks, 269, 271, 296
Mizraim, Egypt, 23, 94, 694, 695
Moab, 30, 50, 52, 93, 102, 110, 111, 112, 162, 163, 173, 176, 428, 468, 471, 539
Mocha, in Yemen, 94, 184; *see* Mahapillas
Modin, home of the Maccabees, 432, 438
Mogador, Jews licentious, 535; Jewish quarter directed by four merchants, 125
Mohammed and Jews, 179; *see* Hud
"Molokani," Russian "heretics," some Judaized, 302
Mommsen, on Roman colonies, 213, 214
Monkish pre-history, 697
Monobaz, 168, 169; *see* Helena
Montgomery, Dr. James A., on Judah's geographical position, 72; on Samaritans, 431, 443, 447-49; on Book of the Himyarites, 183
Moors ostracise Moslem proselytes, 464 f.
Mordecai, 122, 230
Morgenstern, Dr. Julian, on Beena Marriage, 519 *note;* on false apologetics, 686
Mormon, Book of, 2
Moses-Legends in China, *see* Giles
Moses of Chorene, on Pakraduni, 15; Jews in Van, 9
Mossyna, Mossynoikoi, "tower people, 26, 281, 306
"Mother-cities," metro-polis, 26 f.
Moussai, "Moses-folk," Persia and Turkestan, 33, 372; Beni Moussa, 28, 222, 234
Mowr, 16; *see* Merv
Mountains: Mount of Anointing (= Mount of Olives), 106, 109, 112, 173; Mt. Carmel, 62, 63; of

the Moon, 318; Ararat, 310, 675; Zagros, 20, 40, 48, 81, 343, 568, 623, 626; Pamirs, 272, 378, 379, 380, 385, 386, 400; Hindu Koosh, 18, 24, 384; Gharian, 226; Amanus, 107; Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, 160 (*see* Amor); Nefoussa, 226; Suram, 42, 305; Mount Ephraim, 63, 67, 175
Mtzkhet, ancient capital of Georgia, 284, 288, 289, 305
Muhâtet-el-haj, pilgrim camp in Moab, 111
Mu Kung, Duke, conquers Chinese Turkestan, 379 f.
Mu Wang, Chinese emperor 984 B.C., 379
Müller, D. H., on Yehâ inscriptions, 198 *note,* 723; on Lihyâni, 97
Murshilish I, Hittite king, conquers Babylonia, 80; Murshilish II, 86, 127, 128; Murshilish III, 22
Mushkaya, Muskaya, Assyrian form of Meshech; *see* Meshech
Mushkênu, of Code Hammurabi, resident alien, 482 ff., 543; *Meskîn,* Arabic, 483
Musil, Alois, on Arabian localities, 93-95, 177, 178; on hair badges, 94 *note,* 95
Musiris, Muchiri-Kotta (later Cranganore, *q.v.*), 335, 336, 340, 342, 344, 345, 351; cosmopolitan, Aramaic lingua franca, 336
Mycenaean, 67, 68, 263
Mysians, *see* Meshech
M'zab, M'zabi Jews, 151 f., 211, 219

Naaman accepts Yahwism, 6, 110, 115; secures Yahu oracles?, 701 f.
Nabateans, 96, 160, 161, 432
Nabopolassar, 108, 276, 287
Nabu-shar-ahê-shu, Assyrian governor of Samaria, 108
Naddîn, Suaheli "self-donated" one, hireling, 492
Nahr, Nehar, "river," Nahr malkâ, malkat, malik, 657-59; Nehar Pekod, Paukûd, Pukûd, 657; Nehar Anak, d'Anak, 657; Nahr Ridhwâniyeh, 655, 657; Nahar Mitsraim (AV "river of Egypt"), 694; Nehar d'Aya = Nehardea, 657
Names, of Elephantiné Jews, 137, 596; Hebrew proper names, 35, 175, 231, 568, 609; Punic, Carthage, 57, 229, 230; Samarian, 91, 231; Baal-names, 231; Hurrian, 129; El-Amarna, 69, 91, 114; Yahu-phoric names, 231, 232; *see* 'Ammu-names; do not tell race or character or creed, 16, 232, 233; pagan names to be obliterated, 230, 275
Napata, ancient Nubian capital, 191
Naphtali, the tribe, 17, 20, 24, 680; legend, 381-84, *and see* Ephthalites
Naphtuhîm, 23
Naram-Sin of Agadê, Akkad, 24, 29, 127
Narses, son of Sassanid Yezdegird I, colonizes Jews at Khiva, 661
Nasibîna, *see* Nisibis
Nasatya, twin gods, Hindu, 76, 77
Naukratis, Greek colony, in Egypt, 209, 232
Nazir, Nazirite, 430, 497
Nebuzaradan, 115
Nebuchadrezzar, 103, 110, 112, 120, 176, 189, 196, 259, 276, 288, 342, 343, 361, 609, 612, 614
Necho, Nekau, Pharaoh, 109, 192, 195, 276, 280, 287, 596
Negro Jews, Berber Judaism crosses the Sahara, 242; Senegambia Judaism, 243; Dahomey, 244; Nigeria, 244; Mavumba, 245; Canary Islands, 247; West Indies, 248; Loango, 249; Haussas and Nupes, 251; Angola, 252; New York, 253
Nehardea, first Jewish Academy in Babylonia, 137, 138, 610, 612, 653 ff.
Neha-vend, "Noah's Home"; a mountain in Persia, 573
Nehushta, 113
Neit, Nût, Libyan sky-goddess, 207
Nephîsîm; Nethînîm levites, 501
Nestorians, 17, 33, 374, 375, 376, 388, 397; Nestorian monument by Yezd-bouzid, 397
Neubauer on Persian Jewish ritual, 313
Nethînîm, those donated to temple service, 492, 493, 496, 497, 501, 502, 506, 511, 527
New Covenant people, *see* "Zadokites of Damascus"
Nigeria, survivals of Judaism, 244, 251
NIN.É.GAL. of Ur reaches Katna, 64
Ning-hia, Ning-hsia, capital of Kan-suh, China, Jewish colonies in, 396, 397, 415, 416, 417, 423

Nineveh, legendary founders, 78; destroyed, 108 f., 118, 127, 276
Nino, Nuno, nun-pioneer of Christianity in Georgia, 289
Nippur, center of cult of Ellil or Bêl, 389
Nisibis, Greek form of Assyrian "Nasibîna," fortress-city 100 miles east of Harran, on an upper branch of the Khabûr, 137, 138, 656
Noah, his deluge, 252, 573
Noachians, Yahû worshippers, 480, 525, 573, 580, 582, 688; Noachian Code, 454, 580, 581; cannibalism prohibited, 581; rabbinism ignored, 582; no beasts are unclean, 580; the Decalogue Noachian, 581, 582
Nomad conditions fatal to Judaism, 175, 176, 213, 242, 385, 456, 708
Northland, in Jeremiah, all central and northern Asia Minor; earlier, "The land of the Hittites," 276 f.
Northmen as slave-dealers, 547-48
Nubas, survivors of ancient Nubian empire, 190-92
Nuba lovers of any girl provide a dowry for their paramour, 534
Nubia, 6, 22, 28, 132, 209, 216, 283, 285, 286, 318, 329, 591, 595, 600
Nupes of Nigeria, with Haussas: Jewish survivals, 251; devoted or harâm cities become "levitical," 504-05
Nûkh, Elamite form of "Noah" (Nu'akh), 573
Nukhashshê, region at northeast curve of the Mediterranean in El-Amarna times, 129
Numidia, Sallust's account, 205, 208, 211
Nun, Uled, southwest Morocco, 233
Nuzi, city in ancient Arrapkha, near modern Kerkuk, 78

Obadiah on Sepharad, Sephardîm, 282-284, 287
Obal, Ebal, Abalites, on Gulf of Tajurra, 46
Oases in Sahara, 225
Oath, Oriental, when binding, 119
Odenatus, king of Palmyra, 655, 659, 661
Og and Sihon, 84, 85
Oldest Hebrew manuscript, 390
Olives, Mount, *see* Mount of Anointing
Olivia, on the Bug, in southwest Russia, 270
Olopun, Nestorian pioneer in China, 387, 400
Omar, Caliph, 179
Omri, Israelite king, 94, 107, 212, 323; kingdom known by his name, 55, 82, 107
Onias II, 135, 592; Onias IV, 592, 593; the Oneion, 189, 590-94
Ophir, Sophir, Sophara, Suppara, 34, 326 f., 345
Oppenheim, Samuel, on West Indies Judaism, 248 ff.
Oracles predicting Aramaean supremacy, 69, 701-02
Origen, on Samaritan-Sicarians, 442
Oromaj, *see* Gallas
Orontes river, 53, 62, 64, 73, 86, 117, 275
Osses, Ossetes, Iranians of the West Caucasus, 18, 285, 306, 307
Ouighour, Uighur Turks, 377, 386; Idi-Kut a nickname of kings, 386; Judaism among them, 388
Ouled Naïl, Uled Naïl, a Berber sorority whose members earn dowries by prostitution, 534
Ourga, sacred city of Mongolia, (Khurae, "the Enclosure") 391
Ovid, knows the Hyperborean Abaris, 44
Oxus River (Ak-Su, "white water"), 272, 382, 385

Paganism of early Israel, 100, 114, 115, 118, 175, 230, 231, 451, 475, 561, 568, 609. *See* High Places
Paganism of the patriarchs, 475, 703, 704
Pahlawi, Pehlewi language, corruption of "Parthian," 374: lingua franca for Central Asian commerce, 378, 380 f., 398, 401; Christian canons and liturgies in Pahlawi, then in Syriac, 375 f.; this Persian the language of north China Judaism, 408
Pakhtues (Herodotus) the "Piedmont" tribes of Afghanistan, 360
Palmyra, 655, 659, 661
Pamphylia, 589
Panammu, king of ancient Ya'di, 58
Pantikapaion, Greek colony by the straits of Kertch, 265
Paphlagonia, 282
Parandata, Pherendates, Persian satrap of Egypt, 193
Parker, E. H., Iranian trade routes through Central Asia, 379; Chinese garrisons at Khiva, 90 B.C.,

380; Chinese decrees that Jewish clergy must pay taxes, 393 f.
Parthia, Parthians, 292, 334
Parthian proselytes, 292, 349
Parthenius river, now Sangaria, 264, 273, 282; "Circumcising Syrians" there, 279-82; Solomon's trade-posts?, 273, 588
Pashur, a priest-enemy of Jeremiah, 611; priest-line a "slave line," 611
Pathros, "southland," 24, 189; Egyptian name of Thebaid, *see* Thebaid
Peacocks suggest Israel's contact with India, 326, 329, 330
Peet, Prof. T. E., on the Onias temple, 593
Peleg, Assyrian *palgu*, 46, 47
Pelishtîm, Pilistîn, Plishtîn, "Philistine," various North African communities, often Judaized, 19, 225, 234, 238; early marriages, 156
Pelliot, Prof. Paul, on oldest Hebrew MS, 390
Peraea, Greek translation of *'abarah*, *see* 'Abarah
Peôt, long temple-locks of hair, 151, 220, 222, 348
Pergamus, Jewish colonies there, 136, 587, 589, *see also* Sardis
Periplus, ship captain's guide for the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, 45, 46, 95, 327, 334, 342, 345, 369
Persia, Persian empire, 260; annexes Greek-speaking Jews, 260; influence of Sargon's Israelites in early Persia, 623, 625, 627
Persian Jews, generally without Talmud, not Babylonic, 288, 628; persecution by Sassanids, 375 f., 170, 343, 345; fill Central Asian trading-posts, 378 ff.; their liturgy and dialects in the Caucasus, 313; Persian Targums, 637 f., 374, 638, 644, 646; the Asaph ud-dowlah, 639; liturgy and official titles in northwest China, 393-94, 416; garrisoned the Caucasus passes, 314, 315; the Crimea, 268; drift from south to north, 313
Perumal, Permaul, "great man," title of the ruler of the Cheras, 352; *see* copper-plate grants
Petra, 94, 98, 177
Petrie, Sir W. M. F., on Gerar, 694; on Beth-palet, 694; on Onias temple, 593, 598; on Levites, 493; Hermopolis, 192, 193
Pfeiffer, Prof. R. H., on "Edomite Wisdom," 101 *note*
Phanagoria, Greek colony, Taman peninsula, 265, 398
Pharnabazos, Farnabaz, Georgian patriot, 289
Phasis River, now Rion, Argonaut traditions, 265, 272, 279, 285
Philistia, Philistines, 19, 35, 55; settle in Palestine in time of Rameses III, 236,695; protectorate over Edom, 12, 93, 99, 100; guardians of Southern Kingdom, 54, 102; one-fourth of modern Palestinian Jews are of Philistine type, 149, 515. *See* Pelishtîm, Beth-Shean
Philo of Alexandria, on wide spread of Judaism, 216; on Levites, 517; on asylum cities, 463; on temple-owned asyla, 524; on place of sacrifices, 594; on status of high-priest, 434, 517; on meaning of "Israel," 433; commends Phineas, approving Sicarianism, 463; urges cordial reception of all proselytes, 462; commends child marriages, 157
Philostorgius, church historian, on "Syrians" in Abyssinia, 181; "Hebrew" spoken by Sahara "Syrian" cave dwellers, 281; elephant extinct in North Africa by fifth century, 330 *note;* Himyar baalism, 182
Philoxenus of Mabug (?) on Central Asian circumcisers, 388
Phineas, Numbers 25:6 ff., a Sicarian model, 463
Phoenicians, 54; any "red-skin" people, 60; language essentially Hebrew, 57, 59, 206, 281; legend of provenance of Tyrians, 23, 31, 54, 60, 61; their spread along North African coasts, 212 ff.; their alphabet in South India, 322, 336; in Malaysia, 323
Phyrgians, 74, 91, 92, 262, 268; Phrygian Jews, 134, 136; *see also* Askaënos
Piankhi, Nubian Pharaoh, 721 B.C., 80
Pish-kuh, Pusht-i-kuh (Persian terms), 40
Piruz, Perozes, Sassanid king, 347, 375, 382
Pittard, Professor Eugene, on physical types of Jews, 149
Places for worship, Turkoman, 391, 404

Ploughing for rain, in Georgia and the Caucasus, 305, 309
Pognon on "Aramaic" inscriptions, 58, 59
Poznanski, Dr. Samuel, on Karaites, 444
Poona Benî-Israel, 17
Popenoe and Johnson on Ghetto inbreeding, 154
Po-ssu, Chinese form of Parsi, Persia, 370, 399
Prester John, 389 ff.
Priests: "Associated priests" (AV, "the priests the Levites"), 496, 509, 586, 609-610, 651; active in Babylonia, 608-616; high-priest pretensions, 434, 435, 518, 524, 525; priestly temple guards, 608; legitimacy of ancestry, 496, 497, 611; modern Berber Jews abhor priests, 240, 601; robe frauds, 522 f.; rabbinism displaces priest-craft, 509, 511
Proselytes, proselyting, *see especially* Chapters XV, XVII; a multitude in the Graeco-Roman period, 455; unclean spirits dwell in those partially proselyted, 466; proselyte synagogues in the New Testament, 454; proselytes socially ostracised, 456; Christian church equalized, 465; snobbery in the Talmud, 457, 467; proselytes not orthodox, 463; Moslem ostracism of proselytes to Islam, 464-65. *See* Levi, *"Gêr"*
Proto-Elamites, now known to be Hurrians, 318, 320, 321, 566, 688, 689
Proyart, Abbé, on mission-survivals on Loango coast, 250
Psalms of Solomon, 461
Psamtik I (26th dynasty of Egypt), 9, 108, 132, 190, 192, 195, 207; Israelite garrisons, 9, 132, 190, 195, 207, 214, 287, 596; Psamtik II, 9, 137, 207, 209, 595, 596.
Pshavs, a pagan people of the Caucasus, 308
Ptolemy, Soter deports 100,000 from Palestine, 9, 132, 668; charters Cyrene, 133, 193; Ptolemy Philadelphus liberates them, 132, 538; Ptolemy colonies in Libya, 9; Ptolemy and Cleopatra, 592; Ptolemy Lathyrus deports many, 9; Ptolemy Euergetes, 600; conquers Aksum, 193, 196
Pumbedita Academy in Babylonia, 653 ff.
Punt, Put, Phut, modern Somali land, 47, 94, 95, 98, 180, 195, 329
Pukhtu, Pushtu, the language of the Iranian Afghans (of the Pakhtues, *q.v.*), 360
Purânas, Hindu "Antiquity" collection, 318
Purîm festival, unknown to Falashas, 187; or to Cochin Jews, 339; or to Chinese Jews, 414

Queen of Heaven (cf. Anat, Neit, Isis, Aya, Kheba), 62, 90, 115, 207
Queen of Sheba, Saba, 182

Ra'amah, in southeast Arabia, 93
Rabbah of Ammon, 12, 114
Rabbân, a "great rabbi," 622; Rabbân Gamaliel, 458, 468, 469, 646, 660
Rabbân Simeon ben-Gamaliel, 187, 631, 632, 633
Rabbân, Joseph, and Rabbâni heads of the Cochin Jews, 347, 350-53
Rabbis, Abba Arecha (Rabha), 609, 628, 631, 662; Abayi, 616; Akiba, 629; Amemar, 661; Bar Kappara, 633; Chen, 662; Dimê, 661; Elhanan, 662; Eliezer, 632; H. Frankl, 588; Isaac, 592; Gamaliel, 469; Hananel, 640; Hillel I, 468, 534, 537, 543, 654; Hisda, 640, 646; Huna, 646; Hyya ben-Abba, 544; Ishmael, 629; Jehoiakim, 662; Jehûdah, 458, 633, 662; Jehudah ha-Nasî, 630, 639, 641, 642; Jeremiah, 632; Jochanan, 544, 633; Jose, 638; Joseph, 458; Joshua, 468, 469, 632; Judah ben-Tema, 157; Manasseh ben Israel, 2; Mari ben Rachel, 536; Markowitz, 467; Meir, 629, 630; Moses, 662; Nachman ben-Jacob, 659, 663; Rava, 592; Samuel, 631, 663; Shammai, 468, 654; Shimi ben-Hyya, 544; Simeon, 123; Simeon ben-Gamaliel, 187; Shela, 663; Shemuel, 537; Tanhuma, 629; Thospaa, 458; Zadok, 543
Rab-shakeh, 120, 543, 702
Rab-tebahhîm, "Chief of sacrificers," or, "of executioners," Hittite *sagasi*?, 486
Ra-em-ka, "Sheikh el-beled," 10
Rages, in Media, now Raï, near Teheran, 287, 313

Rajput Christians, 337; Rajput Jews in Afghanistan, 358, 366
Rameses II, 64, 66, 80, 85, 87, 92, 113, 690, 695
Rameses III, 68, 85, 87, 89, 281, 491, 569, 696
Ramsay, Sir W. M., 134, 136, 282 *note*, 306
Ramoth-Gilead, 527
Ratzel, distinction between Benî-tribes and Ûlad-tribes, 27 ff.; M'zabi Jews are Berbers, 152, 211; Mavumba negroes of Loango coast, 152, 246; Loango coast once Christianized, 250
Rawlinson, H. G., on ancient commerce with India, 319 f., 330 f., 386
Reade, W. Winwoode, on negro appropriation of English achievements, 426; negro account of origin of the white race, 255; debauched girls preferred, 534; San Thomé Jews, 246; negroes who call themselves Portuguese, 251
Rebekah does not like Hittite girls, 158
Rechabites, Beni Arhab, says Wolff, 18, 185
Reclus, Élisée, cult of Tanit survives among M'zabi Berbers, 152; Berber Jews of the Sahara are aboriginal; the Gaetuli, 219; so-called "Arabs" of North Africa are generally nomad Berbers, 220; Khazar dominion had greatest ethnic commingling, 257 f.; Tûshes the best artisans in the Caucasus, 286; Karaites of Crimea are Crim-Tartars, 304; Caucasus tribes preserve Jewish traditions, 305; Svans the most backward, 308; Khevsurs, Chechenzes, Lesghians, 309
"Red-skins," 60, 85, 692, 695
Refuge-cities, *see* Asylum
Rehoboam, 17, 113, 114, 196, 445, 680
Renan on ethnic types of Jews, 152
Reinach, Theodore, on Jews, 218; on proselyting, 455
Rekh-mara, 328
Resh Golah, "Head of the Captivity," 132, 661; Resh Galuta, 201
Rib-Addi, of Gebal, 65, 80, 128
Ridhwâniyeh canal, at Nehardea, 655, 657
Riley, Captain James, on Jewish *shalîakh* collections, 124 f.; Morocco Jews not distinguishable from non-Jews, 535; on Berber-Jew morals, 238, 535; on adoption of captives, 542
Rimmon, a god of Damascus, 110
Rim-Sin of Larsa, 127
Ripley, Prof. W. Z., there is no "Jewish race," 148; Ghetto inbreeding, 156
Robe-protection, and frauds, 522 f.
Robertson, J. M., on "The Illusion of Race," 155
Rodkinson, Michael, on Karaites, 445, 446; on Targums, 632 ff.
Romans in the Red Sea, 182, 341
Rome, Jews in, call the emperor "divine," 122; had no literary traditions, 649; its language hated by rabbis, 632, 633
Rostovtzeff, Prof. M., Khazars not militarists, 258; Argonaut traffic, 263; Kimmerians were Thracians, 268; prehistoric South Russia was Kimmerian, 291; Iranian Scyths and the Greeks mutually influenced each other, 291; Greek-Scythian kings in the Crimea, 295
Ruth, oath-bound, "levited," to the Yahu-cult, 496
Rutennu (Egyptian for Lôtân, Lot) Palestinians, 80, 81

Sabaeans control caravan trade, 30, 93, 96, 182; they reach South India, 325
Sachsse, Eduard, on meaning of "Israel," 12-14, 433 f.
Sacrifices, permitted anywhere, 71; Tyrian, Sidonian, 584; colonial, 593; no place specified in Deuteronomy, 585 f.; among 106 sanctuaries named in the Old Testament, 585, 589 f.; royal choice?, 586; industrial conditions fix place, 586 f.; places for sacrifice at Sardis, 587 f.; Ephesus, 589; Damascus, 590; Oneion at Heliopolis, 591-94; in Christian Egypt, 549; at Elephantiné temple, 595-600; among Falashas, 600; in Berber North Africa, 601-603; Berber sanctuaries in homes, 601, 602; the "Lonely" shrines, 602; trilithic necropoles suggest door-sacrifices, 603; Wachaga door-altars, 603; sacrifices of Chinese Judaism, 403 f., 413 f., 604; of West African negroes, 605; sacri-

fices repudiated by the prophets, 579, 607
Sadducees, 431, 432, 436 f., 438-40, 460, 461
SA-GAZ: "robber?" "Sinew-cutter?" Khabirû, 13, 81, 83, 129, 691
St. Maris, partiarch, 643, 683
St. Maris liturgy, 594
St. Mark liturgy, Alexandria, 594
St. Paul, 434, 454, 465, 466, 469, 683
St. Thomas, *see* Farquhar, Habbân, Hosten, Judaism of St. Thomas Christians
Sakai, Iranians ("Scythians"), founders of the "Indo-Parthian" kingdom in northwest India, 292, 322, 334, 342, 377, 387 *note*, 400
Sakkût (NINI.IB), a god of the pre-Palestinian Israel, 175
Sallust, on Cyrene, 20 f., 208; Africa, 205; Numidia, 211
Sahurê, Pharaoh, his navy and traffic, 47
Salaman, R. N., on Jewish Philistines, 149 f.; on Jewish eugenics, 156; several somatic types of Jews, 149, 154
Salamânu of Moab, 107
Salome, sister of Herod, 164
Sam'al, kingdom at northeast curve of the Mediterranean, 58
Samarcand, ancient Sogdiana region, 272
Samaritans, *see* Chapter XIV *and* 298, 332; not most pagan but most conservative of Yahwists, 428, 431, 443; Gentiles confound *Shamerîm*, "the conservers," with the town *Shameraïn*, *Shamerîna*, "Samaria," 428 f.; claim descent from Joseph, and Messiah from Joseph, and hate Judah, 429, 430, 443; fervent proselyters; 300,000 proselytes from Persia, 332, 430, 446, 447; sanctuary at Shechem, Mt. Gerizim, 437; military propagandists, 440; produce Sicarianism, 441 f. *See* Maccabees, Karaites, Sadducees, Zealots, Sicarii, Asmoneans in Chapter VIII
Samaria, 72, 73, 91, 231, 428, 429, 432, 435, 436, 442, 448
Sambaz-tac, Sameztac, Sambaztag, Sambstag, Sambstig, Sampstag, Samstach, Samstag, 297
Samkarsh, 265
Samuel the prophet, 12
Sana'a, chief city of Yemen, 94, 184, 185
Sanballat the Horonite, two Sanballats confused, 446 f.; a Lawini, 487
Sanbat, Falasha form of Sabbat, 186, 201; *see* Days of the Week
Sanibu, king of Ammon, 107
Sanskrit, 320, 322
San Thomé Jews, 246, 249
Sapor I, of Persia, 375, 655
Sapor II, 4, 170, 375, 658, 660, 661
Sar of the host of Yahu, 76, 568, 691, 705
Sardinia, Jewish garrisons sent to, 139
Sardis, ancient name, *Sfard*, 283; Jewish temple there, 284; the *Sepharad* of Obadiah 20 is origin of Sephardîm, 282-84; all adjacent Asia Minor an ancient sacred land, 588
Sargon of Akkad, 29, 31, 43, 69, 82; Sargon II, Assyrian, 8, 9, 12, 20, 107, 108, 111, 112, 120, 122, 177, 178, 276, 343, 482, 623
Sarmatians, 266, 267, 269, 292, 307, 313; overwhelm Scythians, 295; their art in China, 381
Sarpanit, "silvery-bright lady," Babylonian moon-goddess, wife of Marduk, the Rising Sun, 122
Sarts (cf. Tajik), settled people, as contrasted with nomads, 378
Sassanid kings persecute Jews, 170, 343, 345, 375
"Satan's Seat," inquisitor's headquarters, *see* Inquisition
Saturday, *see* Days of the Week
Saul, king of Israel, 1, 17, 30, 36, 71, 102, 115, 364, 698
Sayce, Prof. A. H., 60, 81, 89, 90, 129, 193, 318, 486
Schools, Levitical, 489, 651; Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, 652; in Babylonia, learning was democratized, 652. *See* Chapter XXV
Schoff, Dr. W. H., on date of Periplus, 45 *note*, 342 *note;* on St. Thomas legend, 337; on India products, 45, 318, 321; on migration westward, 199
Schroeder, Dr. Paul, on "Canaan," 68; on Hyperboreans, 43; Canaanites are Phoenicians, 65
Scinde, Sindhu, Hindu, Indus, 327, 563 *note*

Scribes, Assyrian, a tablet-writer and a skin-writer, 635-37; for various languages, 635 f.
Scribes, Hebrew, Grand Scribe, 679; a title of Ezra; *Sopher* became Sa-pan in China? 395. *See* Chapter XXIV
Scriptures to be saved from fire, 646
Scytho-Parthian kingdom, its capital Taxila, Taksha-sila, in northwest India, Scythian Sakae one of the dominant peoples, 322, 334 f., 342, 377, 387 *note*, 401
Scythopolis, "Scythian town," Greek name for Beth-Shean, seized by Scythians in their raids on Palestine, near 640 B.C., 109
Scyths, Scythians, Iranic peoples from Central Asia, closely related to Medes, Persians, and Parthians, 43, 108 f.; raid Asia Minor and allied with the Medes, 195, 287; many settle late in Armenia, 289; in Palestine, 108; advent in South Russia in late Greek times, 266 f.; their name given by Greeks to all in their region, 267, 291; overwhelmed by Sarmatians, 269; mutual development of Scythians and Greeks, 291 f.; recovery of language of Sakae Scyths, 292; Jews include them in the Askênos peoples, Ashkenazim, 293 ff.
Sea-dragon myth, known to the Servant-singer, 573
Sea-Land, Assyrian name for the lowland on the west and northwest of the Persian Gulf, 528, 562, 564, 569-72, 621, 622, 642, 654, 688, 702
"Sea-Kings," Jewish, control the lower Red Sea, 181
"Sea-peoples" of the Egyptian inscriptions, 23, 66, 68, 87, 88, 89, 696
Seers of royal descent, 506
Seir, Shera', mountains in north of Edom, 94, 178, 501
Seïstan, southeast Persia, Sakastana, "Sakai-Land," 272, 292, 321, 362, 565
Seleucia (older Opis, and Akshak), massacre of Jews there, 138, 656, 660
Seleucids, battle for India, 333, 334; do not control Black Sea, 260; place Jewish colonies on Caspian, 133; concede Jewish demands, 272
Seminaries misrepresent Hebrew history, 4
"Semitic face" imaginary, 5, 10, 148, 552; "Semitic race" non-existent, 155; no Semitic aborigines in Asia Minor, 589
Senegal, Senegambia, fusion of cults, 243
Sennacherib, ancestor of Jewish doctors, 108, 120, 169, 275; destroys Babylon, 516
Sepharad, 282
Sephardîm, Jews of Spain and Portugal, *see* Sardis, Obadiah
Sepharvaîm (2 Kings 17:26) = Sibrayîm, west of Damascus, 494
Sepharvaîm = "two Sipparas," Sfeira, Sifeyra, 657
Seres, Seri, "silk-people," (Chinese), "silk-trade," 374, 386, 387
Servant-Singer, Servant of Yahu, probably a group, 569 f., 573-79, 606 f., 669
Sesostris legend, 286
Seti I repels "Redskin" bandits, 66, 68, 690, 695
Seven Codes of Alfonso X, 247
Sfard, Sparda, *see* Sardis
Shaddai, Edomite god-name (AV "Almighty"), 35, 475, 568, 703
Shaf Yatîb, shaf weyatîb, name of Jewish temple in Babylonia, at Nehardea? 611, 659, 660, 661, 663, 664
Shalîakh, Shelîakh, Hebrew and Aramaic terms for "apostle" or "missionary," 125, 256, 451 ff., 601
Shalmaneser, 2, 343, 347
Shamash-shum-ukin, king of Babylon, 122, 516
Shambat-el, "Sabbat is divine"? a goddess of the Jewish community at Elephantiné, 187
Shampa Pakarad, traditional Jewish saviour of the Armenian kingdom, 15
Shamshi Adad V, 121, 286
Shapiro, Jewish family name, its origin, 636
Shapiro, Meyer, letters on New York negro Jews, 253-56
Shapûr, *see* Sapor, I, II
Shardânu, one of the invading "sea peoples" of the Egyptian records, Sardians?, Sardinians?, wore horned helmets, 68
Sheba, Saba, *see* Sabaeans
Shebet, not primarily a "tribe," 10; no assertion that "ten *shebâtîm*"

of Israel were carried captive, 10 f.
Shebna, Egyptian scribe, 115, 679. *See* Scribes, Hebrew
Shechem, 36, 53, 63, 80, 85, 87; Israel covenants with Yahu, 696; Hurrian Khabirû had occupied it, 696; sanctuary in Maccabean times, 429, 430, 436, 437
Shekînah, Kabôd-Yahu, "glory of the Lord," His abiding presence, a Babylonian conception, 606 f., 611, 615, 616
Shela clans of Judah in Moab, 176
Sherîfs, descendants of Mohammed, distinguished by green turbans or girdles, 124
Shemaiah and Abtalion, famous Jewish jurists, 169, 468, 498, 634
Shemaiah, Shema-Yah directs Jeroboam, 113
Shemaiah the Dreamer opposes Jeremiah, 612
Shipwreck on Bombay coast, survivors were ancestors of the Beni-Israel community, 344
Shirâku (Akkadian term) = Hebrew Nethinîm, 503
Shishak, Sheshonk, 190, 195, 514
Shombad, Jewish Armenian, founder of the Bagratid dynasties, 289
Shubbiluluyma, founder of the last Hittite Empire, 22, 76, 77, 86, 87, 88, 129, 689
Shuh-hu, Canton Jews, 393, 398, 415
Shutatarna, Shuwardata, Iranian rulers in Mitanni, 76
Shurpu Texts ("Burning" Incantations), 619
Sibrayim, 494; *see* Sepharvaim
Sibree, James, on Jewish traces in Madagascar, 424-25
Sialkote (Sagala), former capital of the Greek king Demetrius, in North India, 334, 386
Sicarii, "daggermen," originally a Samaritan movement, 141, 214, 431, 441, 442; *see* Zealots
Sidon, 27, 30, 62, 82, 93, 98, 211, 428, 437, 584
Sigha-marriages, "barley-dowry," 519
Silk, in Damascus 700 B.C.? 369; silk-trade, centered in Chinese Turkestan, 380, 386, 400
Simeon, tribe migrates into Arabia, 178, 501; old territory became part of Idumea, 162
Simon Geiôras, Gayyora, bar-giora, bandit-leader in Judea in Josephus' time, 477
Simon Bar-Kathla, Edomite war leader, 165
Sindians, tribes along the north side of the Black Sea, east of the Crimea, 267
Sînîm, Ts'in, China, 369, 376
Sin-idinnam, officer of Hammurabi, 122
Sinope, largest Greek colony on the Black Sea, 26, 43, 264, 281
Siwa-Oasis, in classic authors, Jupiter Ammon, 204, 600
Slaves, slavery, a pre-Jewish institution, 541; ransoming captives, 541; adopting them, 542; the custom infuses alien blood into any community practicing it, 542; negro slaves judaized, 246-52; purchased slaves become an eponym-clan, 542; one may sell oneself as a slave, 543; sanctuaries purchase slaves, 542; slave-women are concubines, 543; the children of slave-mothers not legitimate, 543; Jews principal mediaeval slave dealers, 544-49; proselyted slave wins freedom, 544, 545, 547; Gentile governments forbid proselyting of slaves, 545; church councils, 545-47; Christian slave dealers not disturbed, 546, 547; Moorish Spain a great slave purchaser, 547, 549; Abd er-Rahman III has slave-officials and guards (Arab "Mamelûkes"), 548; Northmen sell their captives to Jews, 548 f.; anathemas of councils ineffective, 550; Abraham's clan was one of circumcised "Mamelûkes," 550; Wakalindi adopt slaves, 550; Tiberias began as a freedman community, 551
Slousch, Nahum, claims Hebrew as the original "Israelite" speech, 57; claims M'zabi Berbers as original Jews, 151 f.; sees "pure Jewish" descendants in Arab and Berber tribes, but with much "Beduîn" about them, 219-21; find Jewish groups in many Tripoli peoples, 224 f.; troglodyte Jews of the Gharian, 227; "tribe of Moses" at Demnat, 234; Jewish garrison-sites in Libya, 238; character of North African Jews, 239 f.; early marriages, 156; North African Cohen-organization like Moslem Sherîfs, 601

Smith, Sidney, on Darius inscription, 283
Sneferû, Pharaoh, 177, 261
Socotra, 335, 336, 337, 338, 374
"Son": political-social term, 21-28
Soliman of Andalusía, on Chinese Jews, 397
Solomon, reversing David, oppresses the old Hebrew peoples, 54; uses David's annexation of Edom as basis of a commercial policy controlling Red-Sea-to-India trade, 101; adds Moab and Ammon alliances, 102; reaches India, 326-31; has a Tyrian temple, 584; has a Baal-of-Lebanon shrine, 103; has horse-market colonies in Kuë, the Amanus Mutsri, and in Egypt, 272, 282, 585, 588
"Solomon's Servants," 344, 492
Somaliland, 23, 28, 45, 47, 274, 318
Spain, Jews from Sardis-Sparda reach, 282-84
Speiser, Prof. E. A., on Nuzi discoveries, 77, 78, 128
Sprenger, Dr., on *Allûf* and *Ylâf,* 101
Sprengling, Dr. Martin, on Syriac versions, 645
Stavorinus, Admiral, on Cochin Jews, 343, 356
Stein, Sir M. Aurel, 389, 390
Stephen, why stoned, 465
Stevenson, Lieutenant Colonel K. L., associates Khabirû with Eridu, 566
Strabo, Jews everywhere, especially in Egypt and Cyrene, 217; northern Cappadocians are "White Syrians," 280; Macrones are Soanai (Svans), 279, 285 *note;* seventy to three hundred Caucasus tribes trade at Dioscurias, 304; the "Tower-dwellers," 306; distribution of the Svans, 307; Soanai east of Dioscurias, 308; Ariana and the Seres country, 386; Soanai and "golden fleece," 62; Khalonitis, 623
Sturtevant, Prof. E. H., on Achaemenian inscriptions, 638 f.
Subareans, Subartu, "highlanders, highland," 67, 81; *see* Hurri
Subbotniki, "Sabbath people," partially Judaized Russian, 302, 312; in America, 303
Sud river, suk?, "Market river?", 613, 614, 659
Suetonius on Jews at Rome, 139, 470
Sûk es-Sheyûkh, "Sheikh's Market," near site of ancient Ur, 659
Sumerians, 64, 82, 128, 689
Sura Academy, Babylonia, 653 ff.
Suram mountains, southeast boundary of Imeria in Trans-Caucasia, 42, 305
Surappu river, Nehar Pekod?, 657
Surinam, Cayenne, Tobago, Jews proselyte many negro slaves, 248, 252
Susa, capital of Elam, 43; Hurrians the founders, 77, 368, 565
Svanetia, Svans, 279, 307, 308, 315; *see* Macrones
Syene, *see* Assuan, Elephantiné
Synagogue of Cochin Jews, 356
Syriac script develops, 635-37, 642-43
Syriac writers, early church accepted Jewish Syriac, 643
Syrians, Greek term is geographic, not ethnographic, 161, 162, 280
Syrtes, on African coast, 209, 211

Taanach, Tell Ta'annek, 91
Tabibân, Falasha smiths, 201
Tacitus, on Cretan Jews, 235; on Jewish character, 456
Tadjik, Tajik, settled Iranians, 378, 384; *see* Sarts, Tats, Talish
Tajurra, Gulf at northwest of Somaliland, 46, 47, 95
Talish, Iranians of Caucasus, 310
Talmud, compilation begun, 653; unknown or rejected in Persia and Turkestan, 627; unknown to Falashas, 186, 187; to Bombay Jews, 353; to Caucasus Jews, 288, 313-15; repudiated by Karaites, 443 ff.; unknown to Kheibar Jews, 179
Talmud-Torah schools, 254
Taman Peninsula, 265, 268
Tamerlane, Timour the Tartar, 11, 15, 372, 385, 388
Tamil words in Greek, 331
Tamil-speaking Jews; *see* Cochin, Malabar
Tang, a village in Arrapha, 78
Tanit, Libyan Moon-goddess, sky-goddess, 152, 207, 209; *see also* Queen of Heaven
Targums, *see* Chapter XXIV; seventy targums, all by Moses, 629; Iberian, 630, 631; Phrygian, 630; Pamphylian, 630; Coptic, 631; Elamic, Median, Greek, Arabian,

Armenian, 374, 631, 644, 646, Roman, or Latin, 632, 633; Assyrian, 633, 634, 635, 644; Old Persian, 637 f.; Pahlawi, 374, 638, 644, 646; Syriac, 634, 639, 642-45; Greek (Septuagint), 632, 647; Aramaic, 632, 633, 634, 635, 640, 641, 647; Onkelos, 647; Jonathan, 647; "Canaanite-Berber," 648, 649; Samaritan "Idiot," 640, 641, 647; Median, 649; Tajik-Tat, 649
Tarhuna (in Tripoli), 227
Tarshish (Minoan coast colonies), 30, 98, 102, 181, 204, 272
Tartar royal guards, 131
Tartary, modern nomad Jews, 383
Tash-Kurgan, "stone tower," 272
Tashlik, "throwing sins into the water," 659 *note*
Ta-tsin, Chinese name for Assyria, 380; Ta-tsin = "great Tsir" or "Syria," 380
Taurians, of Crimea, 267, 270
Taxila, Taksha-sila, Scytho-Parthian capital in India, 322, 335, 342, 387, 400, 401
Taurobolium, ritual shower-bath of bull's blood, 64
Taylor, Bishop William, on Kaffir sacrifices, 1
Tebu, Tibesti, negroids of eastern Sahara, 210, 223
Tehennu, "Oasis-peoples" (Egyptian term), 87, 210, 220, 227
Tekla Haïmanût, "Flower of the Faith" (an Abyssinian saint), 199
Tell ("ruin-heap, hillock"), Tell el-'Obeid, 78; Tell el-Amarna, 32, 38, 49, 50, 56, 61-63, 65, 67, 80, 83, 86, 91; Tell Fara', Hyksos capital, 694
Teman, now Teyma, 94, 107, 124
Templars, Fetter-Lane, London, 523
Temple-poll-tax, 441
Tertullian, on child sacrifices, 215; on badges, 556
Teshup, Hurrian Storm-god, 78, 105, 128
Teucri (Zakkara?), Trojans, 66
Thaddeus, Taddai, Addai (apostle), 170, 645
Thamûd, Thamûdites (in the Midian region), 48, 177, 482
Thebaid (Greek name for the central region of Egypt, around the modern Luxor, Karnak, etc.: the "Pathros" of the Old Testament), 24, 190, 196, 215, 591
Theodore, Todros, Falasha Messiah, 200
Theodosius, emperor, against Jews and Samaritans, 140
Theophilus, patriarch in Abyssinia, 182
Theraea, island whence Greeks colonized Cyrene, 208
Thermodon river, now Termeh, "Circumcising Syrians" there, 279, 282
Thessaly, Jews in, 135, 136, 268
Thian Shan mountains, 400
Thomas, Apostle, in India, 335, 340
Thompson, R. Campbell, examines Eridu, 566
Thorowgood, Thomas, "Jewes in America," 3
Thothmes III, 66, 68, 79, 80, 328, 329, 568
Thothmes IV, 66, 80, 568
Thracians, 268
Thurston, Edgar, Mahapillas of India, 324; Cochin Jew traditions, 341, 343; Bombay Jew traditions, 346; copper-plate grants, 350-52; persistence of castes in Cochin Judaism, 355
Tibarenians = Tubal Cain, 42, 96, 268, 274, 277, 282, 294, 482
Tiberias, the city began as a slave-colony, 551
Tiberius, emperor, expels Jews from Rome, 470
Tiflis, city, once Jewish, 20, 305
Tiglath-pileser I, 91, 130
Tiglath-pileser III, 20, 73, 107, 119, 528, 635, 642, 669, 674, 680
Tigranes of Armenia (Dikran), 9
Timbuktu, 222, 223, 225, 237, 242, 245, 535
Tirhakah, Taharqa, 39, 190, 191, 192
Titus, Roman Emperor, 9, 18, 162
Tobit, Book of, 287, 313, 625, 680
Togarmah, Thargamos, 274, 277
Tokhari, Tukhara, Chinese Tu-holo (Kushans), 377, 378, 397
Tomb-slaves, donated guardians, 490; Ezekiel shrine, 503
"Tower-people," *see* Mossynoikoi
Trachonitis, Argob, "stony" Bashan, Zamaris Judaizes the region, 138, 139, 167
Trade-routes, 272, 319; Red Sea route to India, 323, 328, 331, 333, 334, 341; *see* Caravan-roads
Traditions fused, early Hebrew and later Israelite, 70; Khabirû and

later Judah, 88; Palestinian and Berber, 237; Sidonian Dan and Israelite Dan, 212, 229; ancient commercial Zebulun and later Israel, 99; Aryan and old Dravidian, 687; Hittite, Achaian, Hurrian, and later Israel, 689; Hoshea's Israel adopts old Hebrew traditions, 693; many covenants fused into one, 696; oracles fused, 69, 701-02
Trajan and the Cyrenian revolt, 9, 214, 215
Translations, *see* Targum
Transmigration, 76
Travancore Christians, *see* St. Thomas
Trebizond, 26, 266, 281, 314
Tribes Judaized in North Africa, 222, 223, 224, 227, 233, 234
Trilithic monuments (ancient Berber necropoles) Tripoli, 227
Tripoli Jews, 227 f.
Troglodyte Jews, Tripoli and Tunis, 224, 227 f., 234, 281
Troy, Vilusha = Ilios? 75
Tuareg, Tuarik (plural of Targî), 219, 245
Tubal-Cain, Tubal-Kayin, *see* Tibarenians
Tuimah (a Berber people), "Lake of the Tuimah" = the modern Fayyûm, the classic "Lake Moeris," 23; Temehu, 191; Mareotic district, 216
Tukulti-Nin-Urta (Nimrûd), 129
Tunis coast-guards unpaid, 131
Tunis Jews character, 239 f.
Turkoman raids mingle races, 385
Turkoman Jews, 16, 18, 363, 371, 372, 376, 377, 388, 389, 396, 421; Turkoman Christians, 388
Tursha, Turusha, Taruisha (Troas, Troïa, Troy), 88, 263
Tushes, of the Caucasus, 286, 305, 306
Tyler, Josiah, on Zulu "Judaism," 1
Tyre, 27, 30, 32, 61, 80, 88, 93, 101, 274, 275, 428, 584; ancestors of Tyre and Sidon came from Persian Gulf, 23, 31, 54, 60, 61

Ubaru writes of the asylum-status of Babylon, 516
"Ûlad" tribes, contrast with "Benî" tribes, 27, 28, 33
Uled Naïl, a North African harlot-sorority, 534
Umman Manda, Medes (Aryans?), 276; *see* Manda, Indo-Iranic
Ummidius Quadratus, Roman official, 441
Ur, 35, 50, 55, 64, 70, 84, 411, 562, 565, 572, 621, 659; is Kir, 55 *note*
Urartu (Ararat), 277, 675
Uriah the prophet, 476
Usambara "levitical cities," 202, 551; slave adoption, 550
Urim and Thummim, 615
Ushpia, and Kikia found Niniveh, 78, 81
Uz, 94, 95
Uzah, 94
Uzbecks, Uzbegs, a Turkoman tribe, 16, 378, 383
Uzziah raids Edom, Me'ûn and Gurba'al, 178, 501

Van Reeda translates Cochin Jew Chronicles, 342
Varuna, Aryan sky-god, 76
Veiled leader of worship, Kaifeng Jews, 413
Vetus Latina version of Scriptures, 632
Vilusha, Ilios? Troy? 75
Vischer, Canter, on Malabar Judaism, 356
Visigothic persecution of Jews, 218
Violation of Jewish women, in the Old Testament, 536, 539; in the Talmud, 534, 536; in mediaeval Germany, 533; in colonies, 537; in Cossack Russia, 533
Von Luschan on the "racial" character of the Jews, 150

Wachaga, Hamitized Bantu folk, about Mt. Kenya, 202, 550
Waidrang, Persian governor at Syene, authorizes the destruction of the Jewish temple at Elephantiné, 596, 599
Wak, Galla sky-god, 487
Wakalindi, East Africa, 202, 550
Wakhan, province in Hindu Koosh, where "lost tribes" have been reported, 24
Wasambara, 202
Wawat, Egyptian name for region above Assuan, 191, 329
Wayward Jewish girls Gentilized, 531
Wazan, Emily, sherifa of, 492
Wedan (AV "Dan also" Ezek. 27:19), Arabian mercantile center, 94

Weissenberg on Jewish somatic types, 185, 304, 372
Welch and Oestreicher on centralizing worship, 585
Wen-Amon, Egyptian envoy to Gebal, 1100 B.C., 103
"West-King-Mother," Chinese "Far West," 379, 380
White, Bishop W. C., on Chinese Jews, four sanctuaries in ancient Sianfu, 394 f.; twelve others in different towns, 396; mixed Chinese and Hebrew, 405 *note;* Chao conferred upon Lî family as an honorary patronymic, 406; New Kaifeng several miles from the Hwang-ho, 408; no such term as "Judea-district" in the Chinese records, 415 *note;* receives the memorial stones and has a rally meeting for the Kaifeng Jews, 419
"White Syrians," 162, 279, 280
Whish, C. M., on Cochin Jews, 341
Widows, 531; may be harlots, 532; presented to strangers, 532; made tomb-attendants, 490
Wilkinson, Sir Gardner, on Jewish types, 150, 158, 286
Wilson, Dr. John, on Bombay Benî-Israel, Konkan coast, 345
Wilson, Rev. J. Leighton, on religious syncretism in Senegambia, 243
Wiseman, Cardinal Nicolas, on Syriac versions, 645
Witchcraft, charged by Jewish physicians, 170
Wolad Sara, "sons of Sarah" = Jews, 28, 434
Wolf, Lucien, Jews and the Canary Inquisition, 247
Wolff, Dr. Joseph, Jews among nomads of Persia, 16; Benî-Israel of Poonah and Bombay, 17, 346; Lost Tribes in Badakhshan, 17 f., 24; Malabar and Yemenite Jews, and Jews of Khiva, 18; Jews in mountains of Nishapur, 20; Bokhara Jews, 21, 172; on pedigree-wrangle at Mocha, 184; Rechabites in Yemen, 185; Cochin Jews, 343; "Slaves of Solomon" in Yemen, 344; hatred of the Benî-Joseph for Levitical Judaism, 353, 430; Persian and Turkoman Jews, 371 f.; Jewish troops of Genghis Khan, 372; Messiah will be a son of Joseph, 431; Messiah will abolish the ceremonial law, 467; badges of Bokhara Jews, 554; no Talmud in East Persia and Turkestan, 627; Asaph ud-Dowlah, 639
Wolves' Mound, excavations at, 78
Women-levites, Kedeshôth, 492; *see* Levites
Wood of Ephraim, 691
Wood, Lieutenant John, in Upper Oxus regions, 371, 383
Worship-platforms, of central Asian nomads, 391, 404
Wright, G. Frederick, on antiquity of Judaism in the Crimea, 268
Writing on skins in Assyria and Babylonia, 635-37

Xenophon, on Colchis and Thermodon River, 281; on the Chalybes and Mossynoikoi, 306
Xavier, Francis, on Judaism in Socotra and India, 339

Yahu, name not known in patriarchal times, 475, 561; names compounded with Yahu not known before David, 35, 175, 231, 568; Genesis derives the cult "from the east," 561, 567; name Ya'u in the ancient cuneiform, 562; varied orthography, 574; occurs in the Kassite period in Babylonia, 562; at Beth-shean, 563; a Yahu-captain in Hurrian Palestine receives and directs Joshua, 76, 568; Yahwist Hurrians from Palestine placed by Pharaohs at Egyptian temples, 568; "Yahu a god of the Hebrews," 35; the name Yahu still in use among some Asia Minor sectaries, 568; "Yahu, god of Judah," is a phrase unknown in the Old Testament, 116; "Yahu, thy god" shows that Yahu was not the god of all the court, nor of all the land, 115; "the God Yahu who is in Yeb," 595, 599; "Yahu of Hosts" eliminated by Septuagint, 595
Yahu-oracles, for non-Israelites, 701 f.
Yahwism, its provenance, *see* Chapter XXI
Ya'u-bidi, king of Hamath (a Hurrian?), 108
Yathreb Judaized before Mohammed's time, 178
"Yeb the fortress," 137; *see* Elephantiné

Yehâ, ancient sacred capital of Abyssinian Judaism, 1, 197 f.
Yehûdî Nasrânî, "Nazarene Jews," any not of the speaker's race, 186
Yekan-Yâ (Jehoiachin), 591; leaves Jerusalem voluntarily, 609; Genung thinks him the original "suffering servant," 609; his faction recognizes no other legitimate king, and all later authority claims descent from him, 613 f., 632; resides at Nehardea, as commander of a frontier fortress, 610, 612; Baruch tradition gives him the vessels of the temple, 613 f.; the Pashur priests were with him, 611; became chief royal guest, 613
Yekweno Amlak, last Jewish king of Abyssinia abdicates in his favor, 199
Yemen, Yemen Jews, 15, 174, 182-185, 188; in India, 347-349
Yeno'am (Yanhamu), in Galilee, 65
Yentula, Chinese Levite-name, of Cherchen origin, 356, 405, 406
Yevan, in Arabia, 94
Yezdegird I, of Persia, 345, 661; Yezdegird II, 345
YHWH (Jehovah, Yahweh) its varied orthography, 574
Yirê Adonai ("fearers of the Lord" in AV), 465, 481, 581 f., 620
Yôm Kippûr ("day of atonement"), of Babylonian origin, 608, 626; not known to many modern Jews, 186
Yosippon, Josephus ben-Gorion, 626
Yüeh-chi = Kushans, 334, 377
Yusofzais, Afghan, Baní-Israíl; of recent origin, 363 f.

Zabdai, Beth-Zabdai, Bezabdé, 659
Zadokites of Damascus, 590
Zafin Ibrahim, Jewish survivals in Madagascar, 424 f.
Zagros mountains, *see* Mountains
Zahi, Egyptian name for northern Palestine, 87
Zakar-baal, of Gebal, 66
Zakir, king of Hamath and La'ash, 58
Zakkala, Zakkara, *see* Teucri
Zakkû-status, colonies, 122-26, 130, 136, 138, 140, 141, 142, 217, 272, 287, 298, 332, 407, 408, 505, 515, 516
Zakûtu hereditary, 123 f.
Zamaris Judaizes the Argob, 138, 139, 167
Zealots, 141, 165, 431, 435, 436, 438, 439, 440; *see* Sicarii
Zebulun, 10, 17, 18, 20, 24, 28, 68, 98, 99, 229
Zechariah, exiles are in all the "Northland," 277 f.; his "Flying Roll," 617-19
Zechariah of Kiev, noted Jewish propagandist, 301
Zedek (*tsiddîk,* "pledging troth"), 111, 485
Zedekiah, Zephaniah, deported priests, 233
Zephaniah, the prophet, 190, 194, 195, 196, 198
Zerubbabel, 162, 617, 676, 679, 683; does not include "Israel" in his kingdom plans, 676
Zinjirli in northwest Syria, 58
Zohab, *see* "Median Gates"





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THE ANCIENT HURRIAN TYPE

Ct. pp. 77-81, 128 f., 150 f., 698 ff.

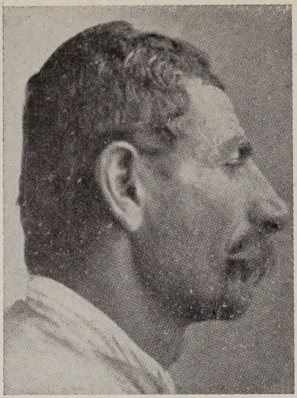
TOP: HURRIAN STORM-GOD, AND A GODDESS FROM SINJIRLI

CENTER: HURRIAN SOLDIERY

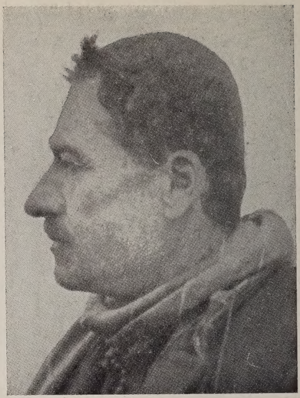
From Rameses II? Battle of Kadesh

BOTTOM: TWO ASSYRIAN OFFICERS CONDUCTING HURRIAN TRIBUTE-BEARERS OF "JEHU SON OF OMRI" (ISRAELITES)

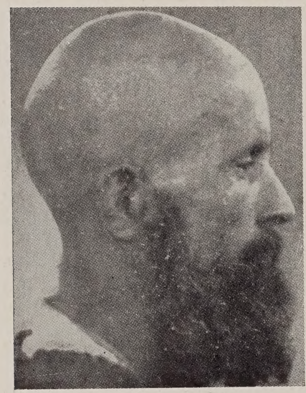
From the "Black Stone of Shalmaneser"



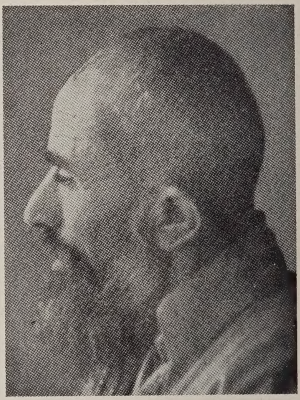
ARMENIAN OF KESSAB



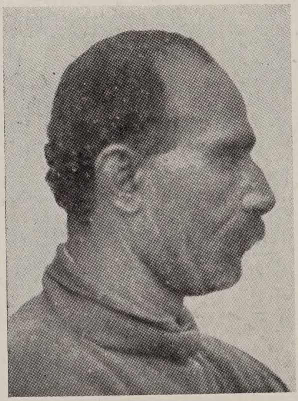
AN "ARAB" OF THE LEBANON



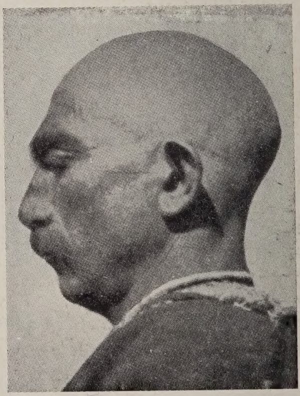
A MOSLEM OF AGHLASAN



MOSLEM OF GIRMEH



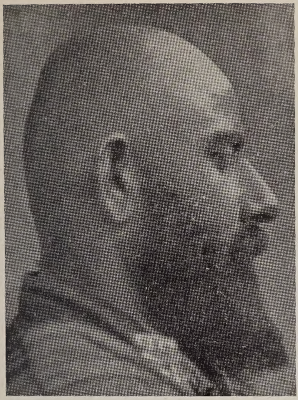
AN "ARAB" OF BEIRUT



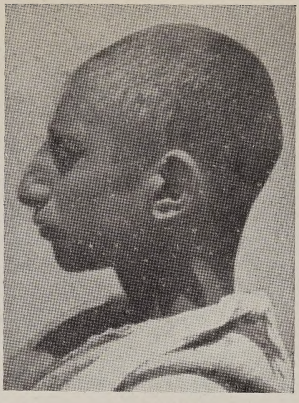
A KURD OF NIMRUD DAGH

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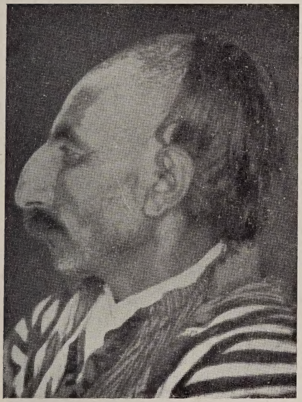
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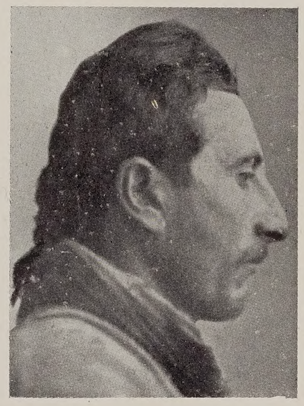
A NUSAIRI OF SKANDEROUN



A KURD OF KIAKHTA

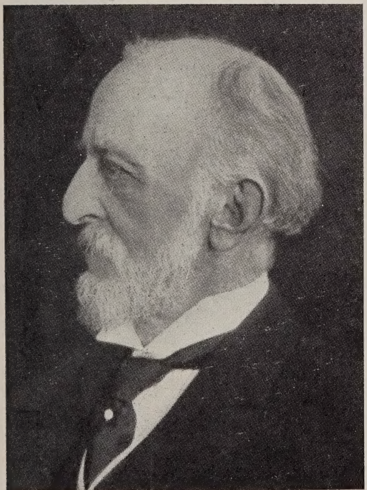


ARMENIAN OF AINTAB

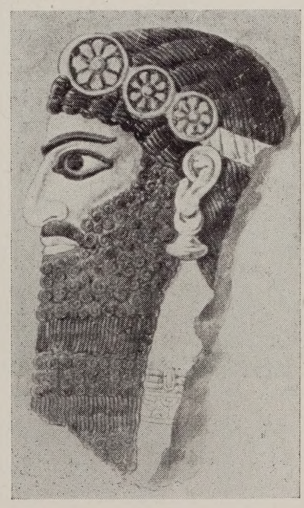


ARMENIAN OF JEBEL AKSA

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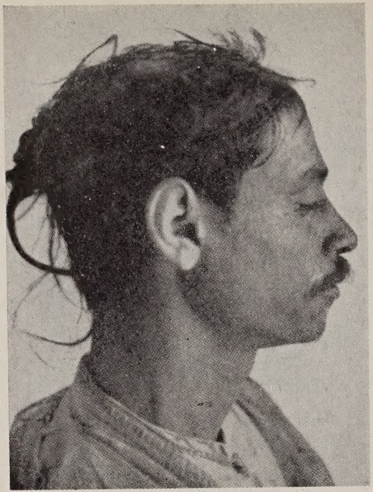
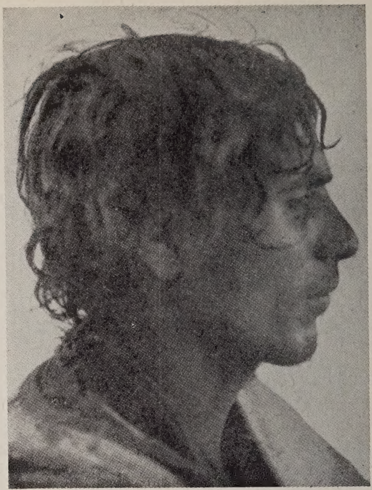


OSCAR S. STRAUSS



ANCIENT ASSYRIAN

THE ANCIENT HURRIAN TYPE

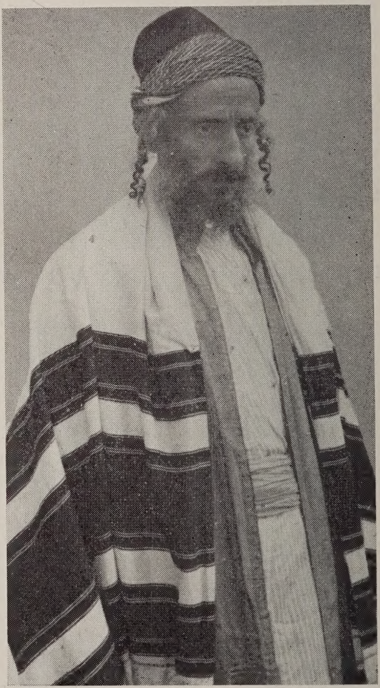



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TWO ANEYZEH BEDOUIN

Some think the Aneyzeh the desert Israelite

Cf. pp. 20, 152, 179 f.

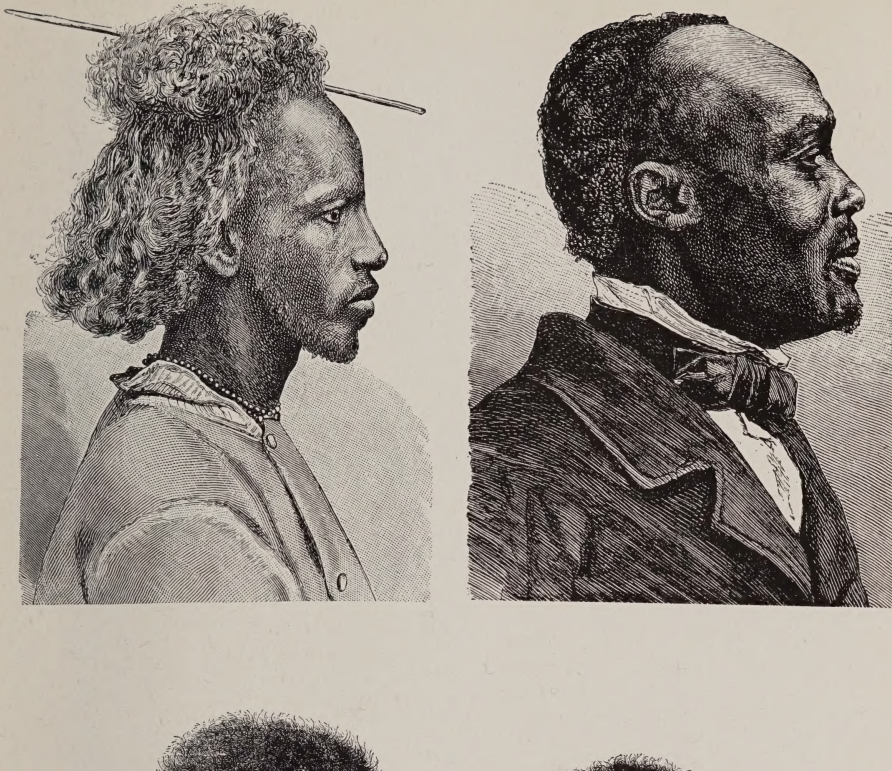



Photographs by the American Colony Stores, Jerusalem

YEMENITE ARAB JEWS

One in worship attire

Cf. Chapter IX



From Ratzel, *History of Mankind.* By permission of the Macmillan Co.

A GROUP OF NUBAS, OR NUBIANS
Hamitic, one with negroid admixture
Cf. pp. 190-96, and Acts 8:27



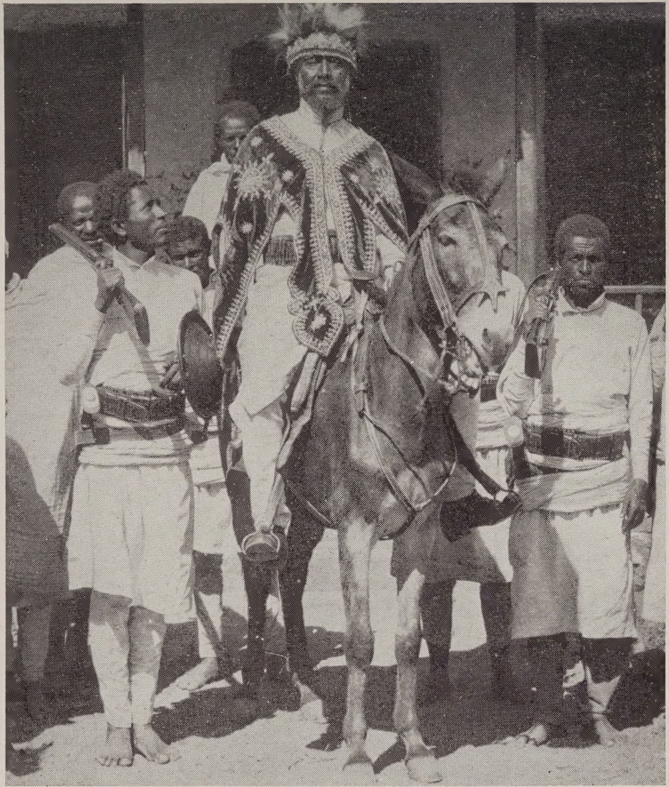


From Rosen, *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abessinien,* p. 428. By permission of Walter DeGruyter & Co.

FALASHAS OF ABYSSINIA: JUDAIZED AGAU

ABOVE: MEN BELOW: WOMEN

Cf. pp. 186-89, 196-201



Photograph by E. A. Salisbury. Copyright by Ewing Galloway, New York



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ABOVE: AN ABYSSINIAN OFFICIAL AND SOME ARISTOCRATIC LADIES

LEFT: AN ABYSSINIAN PETTY KING AND ATTENDANTS

Notice Semitic, Galla, and negroid elements. All have some survivals of Judaism

Cf. Chapter IX



Photograph by E. A. Salisbury. Copyright by Ewing Galloway, New York

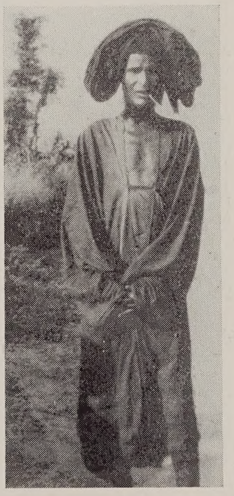
RAS TAFARI, PRINCE REGENT OF ABYSSINIA

He was made Prince Regent because Lyg Yasu, the heir-apparent, was determined to make Abyssinia Mohammedan. Ras Tafari is a staunch upholder of Christianity

For the Judaism in Abyssinian Christianity
cf. pp. 188, 194







Photographs by Constance Southworth

ABOVE: ARAB, BLONDE BERBER, AND HAMITE PRISONERS
From the Egyptian Reliefs at Medinet Habu

BELOW: THE HAMITIC AND FAIR TUAREG TYPES TO-DAY
Cf. Chapter X, Berber mixtures



Photograph Copyrighted by Keystone View Co., New York

VEILED TUAREG OR DAGGATUN
Berber and Arab stocks mixed
Cf. Chapter X



Photograph by Elmendorf. Copyright by Ewing Galloway, New York



Photograph by Ostrander. Copyright by Ewing Galloway, New York

JEWISH DANDIES, OF TUNIS, AND A CHILD MOTHER

See p. 156





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ABOVE: ULED NAIL GIRLS, AND TWO NEGRO CHILDREN IN ALGERIA

The Uled Naïl includes both Jewish and Moslem harlots

Cf. pp. 238, 490 f., 519 ff., 538

BELOW: TWO BEGGARS

The shaven head and crown lock in Morocco mark the Jewish Berber



From Rosellini, *Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia*, Plate 128

PHILISTINES IN BATTLE

From the Wall-Reliefs at Medînet Habu. The Philistines wear plumed head-dresses; the Shardina (Sardians?) wear horned helmets; the others are Egyptian soldiers

Cf. Pelishtim in Chapter X. One-fourth of the Jews of modern Palestine are of the Philistine type



From Cassell, *The World and its Peoples.* By permission of Funk & Wagnalls Co.

FULA AND NEGRO-FULAS FROM SENEGAMBIA

Many Jewish customs survive

Cf. p. 243



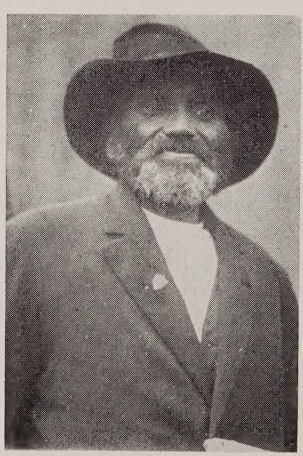
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LOANGO COAST NEGROES, INCLUDING MAVUMBU JEW

Cf. pp. 246, 249



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From Keystone View Co., New York

NEGRO JUDAISM

ABOVE: GOLD COAST CHIEF

He came one hundred miles to Accra, on the coast, to have his picture taken. His robe has Arabic and Hebrew charms

Cf. pp. 243-45

LEFT: A JEW

"Snapped" in a street procession of Jews in New York

Cf. pp. 253-56

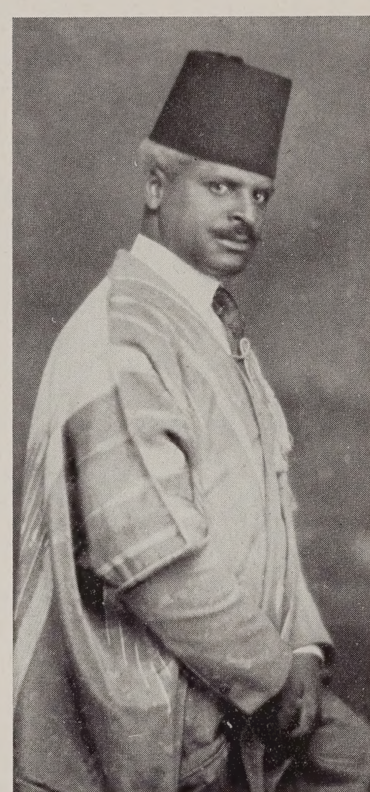
 

Photo furnished by Charles Scribner's Sons

NEGRO JUDAISM

LEFT: RABBI HALING HANK LENHT, OR BISHOP A. W. COOK, OF MONTCLAIR, NEW JERSEY

He announces that the negroes are the only real Hebrews

Cf. p. 255

RIGHT: BATA KINDAI AMGOZA, IBN LO BAGOLA

A Yoruba negro Jew, of the Emo Yo Quaim or B'nai Ephraim of Southern Nigeria

Cf. pp. 244 ff.



From the Guarantee Photo Studio, New York

NEGRO JUDAISM

THE MOORISH ZIONIST TEMPLE IN NEW YORK

These people claim as ancestors three Jewish tribes driven into Africa by civil wars among the ancient Hebrews. In the front line is Rabbi Israel ben-Newman, with hand upraised. On his left is M. Herman, President of the Congregation. Behind Herman, in the center, with a Yarmulca like a Turkish fez, is Rabbi Gurian, from Algeria. At the back, the man with the felt hat is Joseph Trench, one of the "Black Jews" of India. The photograph was sent by Mr. Meyer Shapiro

Cf. pp. 253 f.



Photograph by Keystone View Co., Inc., New York

JEWS FROM ALL PARTS OF RUSSIA

Present-day colonists in Palestine. Observe the many ethnic types

Cf. pp. 257-59



Photograph by Burton Holmes. From Ewing Galloway, New York

POLISH JEWS

Observe the various ethnic types: Teutonic, Iranic, Ruthenian, Mongoloid. Oppression has made the Polish Jews the most stunted people in Europe



From Reclus, *The Earth and its Inhabitants*. By permission of D. Appleton and Co.

A GROUP OF GEORGIANS

Karthli, mixed with Iranic and refugee elements. Much Judaism remains

Cf. pp. 305 ff.



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TYPES OF IMERIANS

These were the ancient Iberians, p. 42; they were Jewish for centuries



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MINGRELIANS: COAST PEOPLES AT THE EAST END OF THE BLACK SEA

The mixed population includes some of the "circumcising Colchians" of Herodotus. Some Judaism survives among them

Cf. Chapter XI


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LESGHIAN "GORZETI" (HIGHLANDERS)

Cf. p. 310


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KAKHETIAN WOMEN

All Kakhetia was once Jewish

Cf. pp. 289, 305, 314



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SVANS, OR SVANETIAN JEWS

Cf. pp. 308, 312, 316



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KARAITE JEWS

Judaized Tartars of the Crimea

Cf. pp. 267 f.



Publishers Photo Service, New York City

OSSES OR OSSETES, OF THE CAUCASUS

Iranic, with Georgian and Kazak infusions. Some villages still profess Judaism

Cf. pp. 306 f.



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A KHEVSUR, OF THE CENTRAL CAUCASUS

Feuds result in each man wearing mediaeval chain armor. Some Judaism remains among the mixed races

Cf. pp. 305, 308 f.



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DAGHESTAN JEWS OF DERBENT, WITH THEIR SACRED SCROLL

Their forebears were placed at Derbent in ancient Persian times

Cf. pp. 290, 309, 311



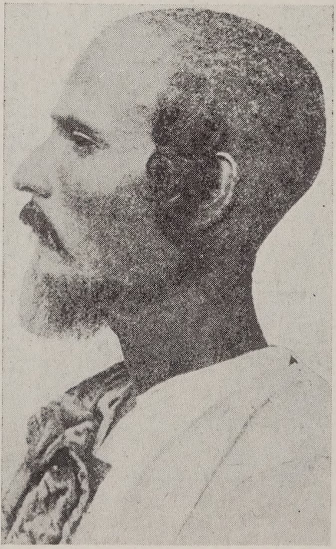
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JEWS OF INDIA: BENI-ISRAEL OF BOMBAY

Often called "Black Jews" of India; they are Judaized Marathis

Cf. Chapter XII







From *The Jewish Encyclopedia.* By permission of Funk & Wagnalls Co.

JEWS OF INDIA: "BLACK JEWS" OF COCHIN

Judaized natives; note the Arab sidelocks

Cf. Chapter XII



From Reclus, *The Earth and its Inhabitants.* By permission of D. Appleton and Co.

DURANIS, OR "PEARL-PEOPLE," OF AFGHANISTAN

Iranic, mixed with Turkoman, Mongol, and Rajput

Cf. pp. 360-66



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HAZARA MONGOLS, AFGHANISTAN

Jewish customs persist in a few tribes

Cf. pp. 360-66, 383-4



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NESTORIANS: AN ASSYRIAN CHRISTIAN FAMILY, IN THE KURDISH MOUNTAINS

Assyrian Christians were at first Jewish and still preserve some Jewish customs

Cf. pp. 168-71

The Assyrian Christians followed Judaism into Central Asia

Cf. Chapter XIII





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KURDISTAN JEWISH PORTER

PERSIAN JEWISH PORTER



From F. V. Schwartz, *Turkestan*, p. 39



ABOVE. TAJIK JEW, WITH ARAB SIDELOCKS, FROM KHIVA

LEFT: JEWS OF TASHKEND, RUSSIAN TURKESTAN



Photograph by American Colony Stores, Jerusalem

JEWS OF BOKHARA

Notice Tajik, Turkoman, and Mongol features

Cf. Chapter XIII



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Photograph by American Museum of Natural History

ABOVE: MONGOLS OF CENTRAL MONGOLIA, WHERE GENGHIS KHAN HAD A CORPS OF JUDAIZED TROOPS

LEFT: CHINESE JEWS OF KAIFENG

Cf. Chapter XIII



Photograph by American Colony Stores, Jerusalem

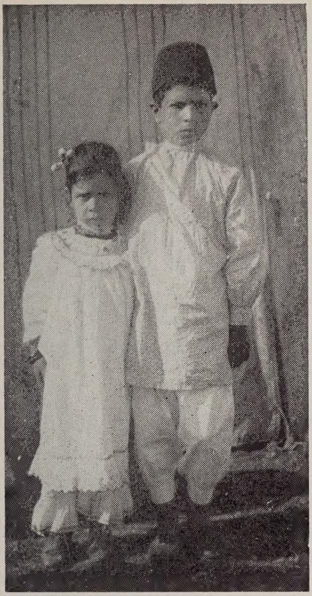
A GROUP OF SAMARITAN CHILDREN

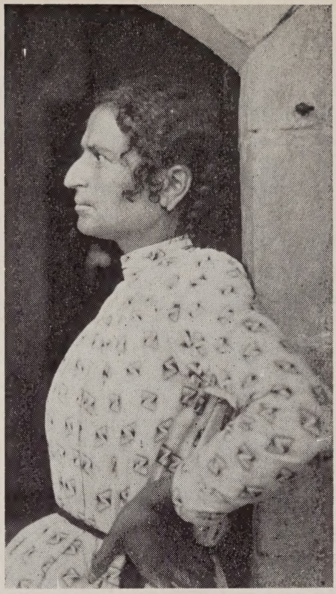


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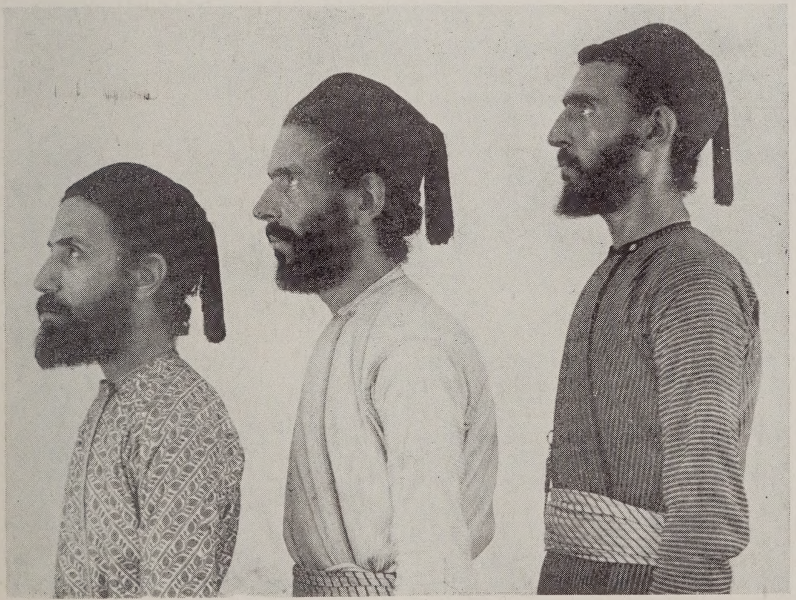
SAMARITAN HIGH-PRIEST, SHOWING THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH

Cf. Chapter XIV





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ABOVE: A SAMARITAN WOMAN AND TWO BETROTHED CHILDREN

Cf. p. 156

BELOW: THREE SONS OF THE SAMARITAN HIGH-PRIEST

Their uncut hair—Leviticus 21:5—is rolled up under the fez

Cf. Chapter XIV



Forms of the Badgf Worn by Medieval Jews

1. From the "Green Book" of Barcelona (1335)
2. From an illuminated "Revelations" (1500) In the New York Public Library
3. From a MS. in the Public Library Hamburg (15th Cent.)
4. From a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (14th Cent.)
5. From Kretschmer "Trachten der Volker" (1500)
6. From the "Liber Judæorum" at Manresa (1347)

These were badges that Medieval Jews were forced to wear to distinguish them from non-Jews

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JEWISH HEAD-DRESS AT VARIOUS PERIODS

1, 2. England (13th cent.). 3–5. Germany (13th cent.). 6–8. France (13th cent.). 9. Rhine Provinces (13th cent.). 10. Constance (1417). 11. Holland (15th cent.). 12. Italy (15th cent.). 13, 14. Germany (15th cent.). 15–17. Rhine Provinces (15th cent.). 18, 19. Worms (16th cent.). 20. Germany (16th cent.). 21. Worms: "Judenbischof" (17th cent.). 22. Swabia (17th cent.). 23. Frankfort-on-the-Main (1630). 24, 25. Poland (1765). 26, 27. Warsaw (1825). 28. Cracow (17th to 18th cent.). 29. Podolia (1750). 30. Tunis (1800). 31. Morocco (1800). 32. Moravia (1800). 33. Russia (modern). 34. Caucasus (modern). 35, Russia: Karaite (modern). 36, 37. Tunis (modern). 38. Russia "Yarmulka" (modern). 39. England: rabbinical (modern).

It is of interest to note the different head-dress in the different countries

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COSTUMES OF JEWS.—Plate I.

1. France (c. 12th cent.). 2. Germany (13th cent.). 3. Germany: Money-changer (12th cent.). 4. Italy (14th cent.). 5. Italy: Merchant (14th cent.). 6. France (14th cent.). 7. Germany (15th cent.). 8 and 9. Constance (1417). 10. Holland ? (15th cent.). 11. Italy (15th to 16th cent.). 12. Switzerland (15th to 16th cent.). 13. Germany (Worms, 16th cent.). 14. Germany (Nuremberg, 17th to 18th cent.). 15. Germany (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 17th to 18th cent.). 16. Holland: Rabbi (c. 1700).

This picture shows the costumes of the Jews in the different countries, from the twelfth to the eighteenth century

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COSTUMES OF JEWS.—Plate II

17 Germany: Jews in Praying Attire (Fürth, early 18th cent.). 18. Germany (Fürth, early 18th cent.). 19. Turkey (18th cent.). 20. Cochin (early 19th cent.). 21 Algiers (early 19th cent.). 22. Tunis (modern) 23. Tunis: Jewess in Street Attire (modern). 24. Salonica (modern). 25. Constantinople (c. 1850). 26. Jerusalem (modern). 27 Poland (18th to 19th cent.) 28. Russia (early 19th cent.). 29 Lithuania (modern) 30 Russia Karaite (c. 1850)

This picture shows the costumes of the Jews in the different countries, from the eighteenth century to the present time

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BURYING THE SACRED BOOKS

Jews of Edinburgh, directed by Rabbi Dr. Salis Daiches, bury in sacred ground their worn-out holy books and equipment. Dead books are entitled to an honorable burial

Cf. p. 647



British Official Photograph, furnished by Keystone View Co., New York

JERUSALEM JEWS ENLISTING FOR SERVICE UNDER BRITISH OFFICERS

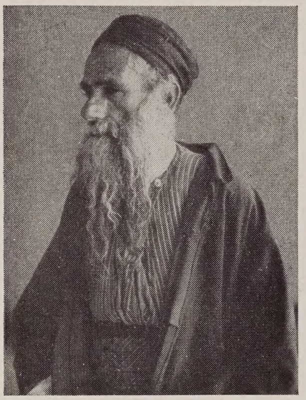
Observe the widely differing ethnic types



A YEMEN BEAUTY



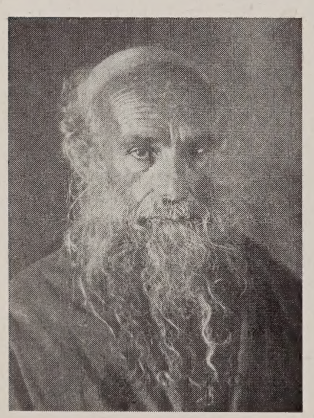
THE PEARL OF SAFED, GALILEE



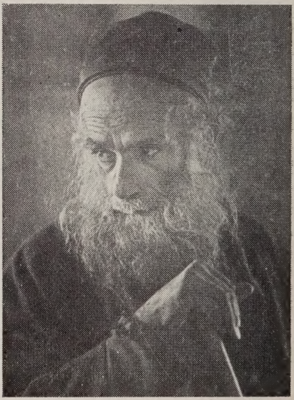
BERBER JEW, MOROCCO



HUNGARIAN RABBI



MOROCCO JEW, JERUSALEM



SPANISH JEW, JERUSALEM

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